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THE WORK; AND THE WORKMEN.

A

DISCOURSE

IN BEHALF OF THE

American Home Missionary Society,

PREACHED IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

MAY 8, 1859.

BY

WILLIAM T. DWIGHT, D.D.,

PASTOR OF THE THIRD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN PORTLAND, ME.

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DISCOURSE.

LUKE 24 : 47. "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."

FROM the connection of thought which exists beween this verse and the forty ninth, and also the fourth verse of Acts, 1st, it would seem that they must have been all uttered by our Lord on the same occasion; and that, but a brief season before his ascension. But however this may have been, the text prescribes to his apostles the great course of duty on which they were to enter so soon after his departure, and which they were to prosecute during life. They were to proclaim among all nations repentance and remission of sins in the name of the once crucified, but now enthroned Mediator. Greek and Roman, Scythian and barbarian, nay, the remotest dwellers on the earth, were to hear from the lips of these witnesses of their Master's death and resurrection, the good tidings of great joy. Whither, after their hallowed course of journeying and preaching should have fully commenced, it was to be subsequently directed, the passage gives no intimation; but the point, the place of its commencement, was announced as fixed. "Beginning at Jerusalem," was the sovereign charge. Their work was to be the greatest ever to be performed by mortals; for all the labors of patriarchs and prophets like those of John the Baptist, were to possess but little

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dignity and to accomplish but little benefit for the race in comparison; but that work could have no commencement other than at Jerusalem. Ephesus and Smyrna and Sardis, Athens and Corinth and Philippi, nay, Rome, the mistress of the world, were all to welcome the mystery of the Gospel. But to none of them might an apostle journey, to none might messenger or message of salvation be ever speeded, until after repentance and remission of sins had been effectually proclaimed in Jerusalem.

Such was the high command of the Saviour, given in anticipation of his ascension. The narrative of the Book of Acts informs us that it was strictly obeyed. The apostles left not Jerusalem, but continued with the one hundred and twenty disciples in prayer and supplication until the day of Pentecost was fully come; when the miracles of tongues was wrought, when Peter first preached repentance and remission of sins in the name of Jesus, and when three thousand converts attested their faith in him as the Messiah, by receiving baptism. They left not Jerusalem, but continued to preach and to bear witness to their Master, until, after thousands of additional converts had been made, and a great company of priests had become obedient to the faith, the martyrdom of Stephen took place, and this army of converts became scattered throughout Palestine and into other regions. The apostles still left not Jerusalem, except for brief visits to other towns in Judea, or in Samiara and in Galilee, until after eight years had elapsed from Christ's resurrection, when Peter was sent to Cornelius. Then, after the Gospel had been published, and churches had been established "throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria," churches which were "walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost," and "were multiplied," then the begin-

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ning of the great work had been made, and then that work was to be pursued among other nations. That the line of separation which the Saviour's hand had thus drawn, might now be crossed, the visit to Cornelius was the announcement; yet that announcement was preliminary only, for four additional years must also elapse before it was crossed a second time. Then Barnabas and Saul were sent forth by the Holy Ghost, from Antioch in Syria; and then, ere their return, they preached to the Gentiles in Antioch in Pisidia, salvation through the one effectual name.

"Beginning at Jerusalem," was thus the law of that vast missionary enterprise which dates back more than eighteen centuries, which in subsequent ages was seemingly suspended for long intervals, but whose rapid progress during the last fifty years has given such vigor to faith and ardor to hope. It needs not be here added that the entire ministry of Christ himself, whether prosecuted in person, or by successive missions of the twelve and of the seventy, was controlled by the same principle. Neither he nor they went into the way of the Gentiles, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The Greek inhabitants of the Decapolis were not indeed forbidden to intermingle with the Jews, to whom, when journeying through that region, he preached the advent of the kingdom of heaven: the Syro-Phœnician woman might also implore, and successfully, his healing aid in behalf of her demoniac daughter. But such cases were not even exceptions. To the seed of Abraham as such, to his own people and kindred according to the flesh, he came preaching peace; while the Gentile from other lands who was occasionally numbered among his hearers, though never personally addressed, was permitted to remain.

The text and these great historical facts which the

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sacred narrative proclaims to us as a practical commentary upon its true import, affirm a most important principle: That the great work of making known the Gospel of salvation which Christ has assigned to his followers in all ages and countries, is to be first effectually commenced by them at home. While they are never to overlook the similar need of other nations, while the unconverted world demands their efforts and their prayers, the claims of their own country are to be ever esteemed prior in the order of nature, and often also in that of time. "Beginning at Jerusalem," is to be the motto and the law, at the present day and in our own beloved country. The duty is as absolute now as it was on the day of Pentecost, for the principle is unchangeable.

Views such as these originated, thirty three years since, THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY. Many of its founders had been previously connected with similar Societies in different States, and especially in New England. Good men who deeply felt the power of our Lord's command in this passage, had been for many years coöperating in assisting needy churches in their own neighborhood to secure the stated ministrations of the Gospel; and also in sending forth pioneer missionaries to the scattered settlements in Western New York and Pennsylvania, and to the frontier border of Lake Erie. The work which these good men then undertook and gradually accomplished, was indeed a "work of faith and labor of love," and it was done in much "patience of hope." But when in the fullness of time, this National Society was formed, they gladly transferred to its vastly superior efficiency the great trust which they had previously assumed of sending the Gospel to the widely increasing and distant settlements; while they still sustained, in whole or in part, the work of assisting the needy congregations within their re-

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spective States. Such has continued to be the relative sphere of duty until the present time. Thirty three years, as just remarked, have passed away, and the American Home Missionary Society has been steadily growing, until it has taken deep root and filled the land. It has sent out its boughs unto the sea, and its branches unto the river, and the hills are covered with its shadow.

The second article of its Constitution is as follows: "The object of this Society shall be to assist congregations that are unable to support the gospel ministry, and to send the Gospel to the destitute, within the United States; also to coöperate with evangelical Christians in the support of Home Missions in nominally christian countries, to such an extent as the funds of the Institution may justify." Confining myself to the first half of this article, which includes what has long constituted its entire sphere of operation, I would observe that it specifies the appropriate work of the Society; and that it also names the agents whom the Society commissions to perform that work. We shall proceed to notice with some particularity THE WORK and THE WORKMEN of the American Home Missionary Society.

Its appropriate work is, in the words of the article: "To assist congregations that are unable to support the gospel ministry, and to send the Gospel to the destitute, within the United States." This is, in its essence, the same with that which is specified in our passage: that of making known to multitudes who would otherwise remain in ignorance, the Gospel of salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ. The language of the article is more particular than that of the text; for the article speaks of local churches, while the text does not name them. Local churches were not gathered until after the Saviour's ascension, but within the first five years they

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were planted throughout Palestine. Let us notice this work in several of its distinct aspects.

The work is that of *Home* Missions: The Society's sphere of operation is "the United States." It is one among many great kindred institutions, through all of which Christians are steadily laboring to extend the kingdom of their Master. But while some of these are confined to foreign countries, as their appropriate sphere of effort, while others may operate in all foreign lands and in our own, this Society, as its name denotes, is practically restricted to our own country. Its work, we repeat it, is that of Home Missions; and except in the contingency which is named in the latter part of the article, it can embark in none other. Our whole country, all our respective States and Territories, constitute the Jerusalem where only its work is to begin; and unlike the literal city of that name, they are the Jerusalem where only is its work to be perpetually prosecuted. We would cherish not the slightest jealousy toward one of these kindred associations; the kingdom of Christ needs them all; we bid "God speed" to them all, and pray that all may be trebled in their efficiency. We would name here particularly that noble institution, the American Board; while we would at the same time rejoice that this Society is, in all its length and breath of survey and operation, a Home Missionary body. Its existence was originally dictated by sympathies, interests, principles, which are sanctioned alike by nature and by grace; and the same sympathies, interests, principles have augmented its power for a third of a century, until now its broad stream wafts health and gladness to a thousand churches of our God. Man has not been formed to survey the near and the remote, either in space or duration, with an equal eye. Angels, we have no reason to believe, are elevated either intel-

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lectually or morally, above the necessity of these discriminations. Nay, there can be but one Being to whom the scenes of earth's last morning and of this evening can be alike vivid, to whose ear the young convert's first hymn is now rising as distinctly as the seraph's raptures before the throne; because he fills all time—all immensity. As creatures, and therefore as human beings and as Christians, the circle of which each of us is made to himself the centre, gradually fades as it widens; so that none but the half-crazed cosmopolite will be moving professedly in a circle whose centre is every where and its circumference no where. We begin existence, we advance to consciousness, we then enter on voluntary action, within a circuit of relations how narrow; and how slowly is that circuit enlarged, that it may include the friends, the acquaintances of childhood and early youth. From the family to the neighborhood, to another quarter of the village, to the adjoining town, thence in time—it may be—to the neighboring city, and thence beyond the circuit of the State, and thence still more distant, is the transit, until at length we grasp with some little energy the conception of country, of our nation and native land. Man may in time receive the one great complex idea of country, his natural sympathies—his moral and sanctified emotions may become proportionally diffusive; but the whole process of transition and enlargement only illustrates the principle that his sphere of duty and efficiency is primarily at home. The child practically comprehends this no less than the philosopher, the nomadic Tartar as truly as the inhabitant of London. The family, the Church, the State, were otherwise unmeaning terms, nay our entire race were but an immense aggregate of individuals, as unconnected as the sands on the sea-shore. What a testimony to this principle was once given by

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the Jewish captives, who wept by the rivers of Babylon when they remembered Zion, and then exclaimed: "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem! let my right hand forget her cunning!" What a testimony was also given by the Apostle of the Gentiles, when he exclaimed: "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen, according to the flesh!"

The sphere of action of this Society, we say again, has been chosen in direct conformity to this principle: its great work is to diffuse the Gospel at home. It interferes not in act or purpose with institutions that bear the Gospel to other nations; it is a co-worker with them all in that vast field which includes the world, but its efforts are concentrated and engrossed by one portion of that field—our own country. The moral wastes of our own land can not be cultivated and changed into the garden of the Lord by the scattered, or the associated efforts of separate local churches and of benevolent individuals; great national institutions are also indispensable, and among them as the very foremost has ever stood this Society. As a home institution, its efficiency is immensely augmented: this is, necessarily, the universal law. As the prosperity of the family, of the local church, of the city, the state, or the nation, can in the same circumstances be tenfold better promoted by its own action than by that of any other similar body, so the Home Missionary enterprise is necessarily conducted with vastly greater advantage than the Foreign. Broad as may be the region which it embraces, although stretching from the western slope of the Alleghanies to the Pacific, and from the fountains of the Mississippi to the Gulf, it is still one country, it is our own land, in distinction from all other lands. No three months' or six months' wearisome voyage must

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precede the missionary's arrival at his destined field of effort; no tedious season of acclimation—a process scarce ever effectual in its safeguard — must then extend through successive years. He needs no preliminary study of a foreign language, civilized or barbarous, the whole structure of which is so dissimilar to his own that years elapse before it becomes the familiar, the fit expression of his thoughts. The gift of tongues, were he to receive it as largely as did Paul, would be but a disservice, for even inspired Paul could write and speak only in Hellenistic Greek; while he addresses his countrymen from the Ohio to the mouth of the Columbia in one common language, whose idiomatic transparency not a dialect disturbs. This Society needs no diplomatic agents, American or foreign, to secure protection for its missionaries or for the converts whom they make. The idea of persecution, or of toleration by the government as a boon, or of interference in their work of publishing the Gospel by a human being, never enters the mind. The work in all its magnitude and ever continuing, is still performed wholly at home; in our own healthful climate; under the protection of our own constitution and laws; in the midst of our own homogeneous population; and at a vastly reduced expenditure of money. What an augmented efficiency is thus possessed by this Society! Other nations must also receive from us the Gospel, the whole earth is in time to become the kingdom of Immanuel, but what an argument for our hearty coöperation in its efforts is urged in the consideration that its work is that of *Home* Missions!

Such is the work in its region of operation: We should also notice *its magnitude.* This is sufficient to call for all the resources of this Society and for all other kindred agencies, were they trebled. Secure, were it

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practicable, all that could be justly demanded for the foreign missionary work; suppose that the whole world east of the Atlantic and west of the Pacific were to be converted to God; the work to be done here at home, would still transcend estimate. Let us limit the region of labor to what is proper missionary ground, excluding wholly New England and the eastern half of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and the region remaining which the missionaries of this Society are now traversing and are in time to traverse, exceeds a million and a half of square miles. True, other agencies will be also imperatively summoned; true, large portions of this vast area will be preöccupied by them or will continue unoccupied, from the utter inability of this Society or of any single institution to enter on them. Still the congregations which prefer the Presbyterian or the Congregational polity are already so numerous, such mutitudes of congregations are so rapidly forming wherever American emigration moves westward, and each coming year assures us of so vast an increase hereafter, that sobriety of estimate is scarcely practicable. The buffalo and the savage alike retreat instinctively, as the tide of civilization moves steadily, ceaselessly onward, with no ebbing wave: a tide not like that which rushed forth from Germany and Gaul over the waning empire of Rome, and then swept back in alternate desolations, but wafting enterprise, thrift, strength on all its advancing waves. Like an eruption from Etna or Mauna Loa, the flood moves irresistibly onward; and it is the work of this Society and of all other available agencies under God so to direct it, that it shall waft life and salvation instead of destruction. The statesmen and political economists of Europe look amazed and aghast at our unprecedented growth as a nation, for their own history and experience afford them no standards of calculation.

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The approaching census will announce that our population exceeds that of the British isles: the census of 1870, that we shall at that time outnumber the population of France: the census of 1880, that we shall then, probably outnumber the population of Russia in Europe, and be far the most powerful nation on the globe: the census of 1900, that we shall all but equal, if not exceed a hundred millions. Nothing human can arrest this prodigious increase, its causes are as fixed as those which produce the ascent of flame or the reverberation of thunder, so that the practical question for living American patriots and Christians, is, How is this vast population which is so speedily to take our places, to be made a moral, religious people? It is not the question, How shall we continue till the next century to be one people; for it is impossible that we should be disunited. Slavery or no slavery, the manufacturing against the cotton and tobacco interests, increased jealousies and variances ending for the time in civil war—all can not long divide us: the community of descent of language, laws, religion, historical renown, and the natural features of our country, all proclaim that what God has thus joined together, man can not put asunder. But how are the one hundred millions of the year 1900 to enter on that century a moral and religious people; instead of being then a nation, which, inflated by its resistless strength, and steeped in luxury, shall neither fear God nor regard man? This Society undertakes, relying on God's omnipotent grace, to answer this fearful question to the full measure of its own responsibility, and that answer we have given in the language of its Constitution. It will "assist congregations that are unable to support the Gospel ministry, and will send the Gospel to the destitute, within the United States." It purposes and promises to do this,

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and it neither promises nor purposes to do any thing more. This it has been actually doing from its very organization for thirty-three years; and its friends—to use Scriptural language, are "shut up" to this single mode of operation by its Constitution, by God's economy of grace, and by the very structure of society. This already immense population, swollen every year, in addition to its own rapid natural increase, by streams of emigrants from New England and the Middle States and by the twenty or thirty myriads who seek a better home than Europe affords them, consists not of Scythian or Tartar nomads, it can never sink into Asiatic or European barbarism. But such a population, breaking through the restraints imposed by our constitution and laws, may in time become a military republic, as maddened by the lust for universal dominion as was that of revolutionary France; and such a republic, after British America and Mexico had been acquired either by conquest or annexation, would then hasten on to reduce the different countries of South America into as many submissive provinces. The work then of the Society is of no less magnitude than this: With its many coädjutors, it is to plant and cherish the institutions of the Gospel wherever they are needed—especially through our entire Western States and Territories, and thus to preserve to the remotest generations our national freedom and happiness. In the accomplishment of this vast work two difficulties more formidable than all others, are to be surmounted: two hostile forces are to be encountered and vanquished.

One of these is Romanism. Perhaps three fourths of the emigrants from Europe since the year 1800 have been Romanists, and these have consisted mainly of natives of Ireland and of Roman Catholic Germany. This portion of our population, which is steadily aug-

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menting by natural increase, is not only becoming a substantial element in our great cities and in our Atlantic States, but is rapidly diffusing itself over the West; and it is in the West that Romanism is specially to be dreaded, where the hetrogeneous and repellent elements are constantly intermingling, and often seemingly without the possibility of fusion. To what multitudes from our Atlantic States, who leave all their religion behind them, will Romanism — as it gradually gathers its myriads here and there, and erects its cathedrals and chapels, and appeals to their refined or coarse taste by the pomp of its architecture, its solemn processions, its ministering priesthood, its matins and vespers, and its gorgeous ritual—will it find for the time a not unwelcome access? Transforming itself so far as its wiles are successful, into an angel of light; and assuming relations of a persecuted faith with those who are ignorant of its history from the beginning, both as the the oppressor of its own votaries whenever daring to question its supremacy, and as the steady enemy of Protestantism; it will then advance its claims to an antiquity coëval with Christianity, to an infallibility ever centered in its popes and councils, to a supremacy—opposition to which is rebellion against God. To the sentimental or rapt votary, and to those leaning in either direction, it furnishes its imaginative worship, its biographies of saints, its conventual dreams and mysticism. For the sensualist or the libertine who would drown all recollections of his Puritan faith, it can supply indulgences and the absolution of the confessional: his penances will form a sufficient expiation for all but deadly sins, and he needs but intrust the keeping of his conscience to his priest to be freed from burdensome remorse. Such is Romanism, unchanged, unchangeable, but wearing every needed disguise where not allied to

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the state; and as all sects, however true or false their faith, possess the same civil rights in this country, her disguise in the United States is as complete as it can be rendered. Yet even here, where Protestantism has triumphed for more than two hundred years, her attempts to expel the Bible from our schools, not only in this city but in two of the States of New England, announce—what Romanism would do if she had the power; and what she will do, the moment that she possesses the power: crush the supporters of every faith but her own, and destroy our free institutions; because freedom and liberty of conscience are inseparable. But her spiritual guides, for these are ever her leaders, well know that the power which they covet—if ever acquired—must be acquired at the West; and they can afford to wear disguises, to plot, to toil on, and toil on unwearied half a century longer, for should they even then succeed, the recompense will a hundred fold exceed the toil. We say then again, that the magnitude of the work of this Society is not to be estimated simply by the hostility or indifference which irreligious Protestants may constantly manifest. That indeed is truly formidable, and requires every effort for its overthrow. But a power working under a disciplined and most compact organization, inherently an enemy to the free institutions which protect its followers, and never abandoning its purposes of conquest, is also to be encountered at a hundred and a thousand points over these vast western regions: and how long, how long, think you, is the warfare to continue before we shall exult in the victory!

The other of these hostile forces is Infidelity. There seem to be but two great forms of opposition under which, in countries self-styled Christian, man's depravity arrrays itself against the religion of Christ. In one of these, the professed reception of that religion is but the

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credulous obedience which the ignorant and deluded masses render to the instructions of their spiritual guides. A superstitious and blind credulity receives, not what the Bible teaches, but what the priest teaches. This is the religion of ignorance; and the religion of the vast majority in every country in Europe of real, as distinguished from professed, Romanists. In the other form, Christ's religion in its true spirituality and life, is directly rejected. No belief of its revelations, intelligent or unintelligent, is either cherished or pretended, it receives no conscious nor unconscious homage. It is treated either as the work of imposture, or as a nonentity. This other form is Infidelity; and infidelity in our own country becomes in most cases—not in all, but in most—but another term for blank unbelief, for what is tantamount to speculative atheism. A moral necessity leads to this result; for wherever the Bible, with all the evidences of its divine origin as we possess them, and especially that of its transforming energy in the hearts and lives of men, is absolutely rejected, natural religion becomes divested of all its power. The man sees not the sun, and he has made himself blind to every lesser light. American Infidelity is, accordingly, more to be dreaded than European infidelity: its skepticism is not that of ignorance but of comparative knowledge, its descent is into deeper caverns, its spirit is more utterly godless. Nor can we specify the different classes which it threatens to allure, and peculiarly in the Western States, to its standard—secretly if not openly. Among these is the great multitude of emigrants from the Eastern and Middle States, who, as has been already said, have left all their religion behind them, and who at the same time can not be won over to Romanism; men, not a few of whom were once professed disciples, but have hopelessly apostatized, and have thenceforth sought to

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destroy the faith in which they once professedly gloried. Among them also are men of broken fortunes; the entire class of ruined speculators, the men who prey on the honest industry and enterprise of the community, the gamblers, the swindlers, the thieves, and all the men of violence and crime who hang upon the skirts of our great cities, and who, when driven from the East, flee to the West. And among them are the myriads, for whom life is but the gratification of the coarser appetites with their kindred amusements; to whom inordinate eating, and drinking, and smoking, the dance, the horse-race, and the theater, constitute the only joys to be desired in paradise. And among them, for we can name but another class, are those, who, chafing under the restraints of law and order at home, but hopeless of release while here, are ever ready to pounce upon any feeble State or territory abroad; the fillibusters, the armed brigands and cut-throats, who proclaim liberty at their landing, and then hasten on to fight, to plunder, and destroy. The men of these and other classes, and the "name" of each is rapidly becoming not one only, but many "Legions," constitute the serried ranks of infidelity as it is now growing at the West: and infidelity, which at one time will fight single-handed under its own standard, and at another will combine, if necessary, with Romanism, as did Herod with Pilate; for each discerns that our Protestant faith must be overthrown, before either can hope to triumph.

These two great hostile forces, we repeat it, are every where to be encountered by this Society while sending the Gospel to the destitute, and assisting feeble congregations to support the gospel ministry, throughout the West. Its own proper work is great indeed: for were that vast region all prepared for the immortal seed, what a labor of generations would be that of planting

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and sowing, and watering and weeding, of still planting and sowing and watering and weeding, and then of duly reaping and gathering in the harvest, as it should ripen under the dews of the Spirit and the beams of the Sun of Righteousness! But where thorns and briers are ever springing up, and stony places or the rocky bed beneath so often denies that depth which prevents the germ from withering, where the boar out of the wood is ever ready to waste the ripening grain, and the wild beast of the field to devour it, what a magnitude does the work assume!

While the work is to be thus performed at home, and its magnitude can be scarcely exaggerated, there is still another aspect to be momently noticed: *its necessary influence* on other nations. Just as easily can a *cordon sanitaire* shut out the cholera from crossing over an imaginary boundary line of two nations, as different forms of government or language can resist the influence of our great country from vitally swaying every bordering people. We will not cross the vast Pacific and ask—What is to be the power of our free institutions and of our religion, when the United States shall contain a hundred millions, on China and Japan and all Eastern Asia—God's Providence now visibly beginning to remove every obstacle to their full efficiency on these great civilized races at no distant day: an efficiency, be it remembered, which is to go forth from our country westward, and not eastward. This particular topic, momentous as it is, we can not notice. But we do ask: What, as this Society continues its work for twenty years and forty years to come through our wide Western population, will be, must be, the influence of our country, on the British provinces at the North, and on Mexico at the South; or on the whole of the rest of North America? Does any discreet observer doubt that our

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fifty five millions in 1880, and our one hundred millions in 1900, whatever then our national character, will sweep these two inferior nations onward in the same course, as the central orb controls its satellites? Should all schemes of foreign conquest be forever abandoned, should our whole intercourse with these two border nations be henceforth that of justice and good will alone, can all physical and moral causes united arrest this overwhelming current, when in 1900 our population shall be, as it is now, tenfold that of British North America; and when poor priest-ridden, superannuated Mexico, shall have, a quarter of a century previous, to preserve herself from dismemberment and extinction by internecine wars, implored her own annexation to our republic? We ask—What can avert this issue, whatever is to be then our national character? But we would anticipate here, as if God's whole past guidance of our nation were but the prediction of a far more glorious future, the steady and commensurate growth of true religion over our Western States to the Pacific; we are gladdened by the belief that this Society and all kindred agencies are to become relatively far more effective through these coming years of destiny; and we therefore affirm, that its work will be as really vital in these other immense regions as it is to be through God's blessing in our own. But we can linger over these brightening scenes no longer.

Such is the work. This Society sends forth its appropriate *workmen* to perform it. We say its workmen, for vast as is the enterprise, and assured as are its friends from the Word and the Providence of God that his Spirit's power and truth are indispensable to its successful prosecution for a single day; they are also assured, that the great spiritual harvest will not be gathered in without human coöperation. The Infinite

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One is pleased to employ those whom the Apostle styles—his co-workers, and the Society's entire system of operations has been directed by this principle. We learn who are its workmen, by resorting again to its second article. "The object of this Society shall be, to assist congregations that are unable to support the gospel ministry, and to send the Gospel to the destitute, in the United States." How simple, nay, how crude, would the mere man of the world exclaim, is this whole scheme! To assist, where otherwise there would be an inability, in supporting the Gospel ministry, and to send the Gospel to the destitute—this, then, is the narrow platform on which itself and its supporters all stand! Its workmen are to be all taken from the ranks of the gospel ministry, they are to be ministers and preachers only! Yes, these are the workmen, simple, if any choose to apply to them the epithet—simple ministers and preachers: the Society commissions none other. They are commissioned exclusively, not because they seek not and enlist not, as far as may be, the coöperation of all the friends of religion and of human happiness around them; but because Christ has assigned to the ministry which himself instituted peculiar duties and relations. The most important of these are included in the brief passage which has given direction to our thoughts: "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." In this passage the grand yet simple principle is announced by the Saviour, which this Society has ever made the basis of its system of working. When he purposed to evangelize the world, he also purposed to accomplish the mighty object, *primarily*, through an Agency which, deriving all its efficiency from the Holy Spirit, should be unlike any which mere human wisdom has originated. This agency is that of

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ministers of the Gospel. The Apostles went forth as the leaders in this great enterprise, while at the same time their special agency in advancing it consisted, not in their labors as Apostles, but as ministers. They indeed were inspired, they wrought miracles, to them was delegated the work of organizing the Church; but what efficiency would have attended all these peculiar powers, had they not, in the language of the text, preached repentance and remission of sins in Christ's name to the nations? It was Paul's preaching, which accomplished the wondrous results at Antioch, at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Corinth and at Ephesus: miracles and the speaking with tongues and all his other apostolical gifts would otherwise have been as powerless to convert the Gentiles, as were the miracles attending the giving of the law from Mount Sinai to convert the sensual and slavish Israelites. Our Society, we say, acts systematically on the grand yet simple principle here established by our Saviour—that of employing an Agency to do its appropriate Work, unlike any which human wisdom has originated. When he determined to extend that kingdom of which himself is the head, throughout the nations, how many systems of operation might he not have adopted; what diverse classes of agents might he not have employed! Had his kingdom been of this world, as even the Apostles fondly imagined it until the Day of Pentecost, he would have employed military force: each of the Twelve would have headed a conquering army against the legions of imperial Rome, and the fanaticism of the Crescent would have been antedated six centuries by the fanaticism of the Cross. Or had he chosen to propagate Christianity (then, indeed, how diverse a system from the Christianity of the New Testament!) by the more peaceful triumphs of Philosophy, he might have established Eclectic schools

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to send forth bands of teachers over the civilized world, each of them imbued with all that was renowned in Indian and Grecian and Jewish lore. Or, instead of abolishing the Mosaic ritual with its priesthood, he might have added to the one all that was venerable and gorgeous in the ceremonial rites of Egypt and Babylon, of Persia and Hindostan; and to the other a reputed infallibility, surpassing tenfold that of papal Rome. We may make the suppositions for the sake of illustrating the immediate topic, and proceed to say that, had all these modes of swaying the minds of men to the acknowledgment of his supremacy been rejected; Christ, as the author of a new religion, might have anticipated by eighteen hundred years the political science of our own days, and have established free institutions over Palestine or some other country, as affording the grand expedient for securing the unobstructed and triumphant propagation of the Gospel. Or, to speak here with greater definiteness, instead of bestowing on his disciples after his ascension the gift of tongues alone, he might have added—what to philosopher and peasant would have seemed as wonderful, and what to modern missions is immeasurably more important—the art of printing, as we now possess it. But had it been possible for Christ to have adopted any of these systems of operation, any of these agencies, could he have continued to be *the* Christ any longer? What assistance can a kingdom which is built on the Truth, ask, either in its foundation or its advancement, from the sword and the bayonet; from the dogmas of oriental and occidental philosophy; from an ancient or a modern ceremonial which aims to captivate the senses; or from free institutions, and particularly from a free press, as the necessary partner of its triumphs? No. Christ, while absolutely discerning the power of each of these

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instrumentalities for good or for evil, rejected them, all, and he sent forth primarily but one class of agents —ministers of the Gospel. We repeat it, that he requires, as indispensable to the great result, the coöperation of his disciples universally in every age; that ministers always seek this coöperation; that the Society in whose name I speak ever looks to this coöperation as vital; whilst we say once more, that in the text and throughout the New Testament, Christ has named but one class of *official* agents for the extension of his kingdom on earth, and that these are ministers. They are to preach repentance and remission of sins in his name: they are to proclaim his gospel fearlessly, faithfully, fully, as the power of God unto salvation to the believer, in the sanctuary and by the wayside, on the deck of the lonely ship or in the depths of the forest, because Christ has appointed it; because it has pleased God, by what men term, "the foolishness of preaching," to save them that believe. We say then again, that the workmen whom the Society commissions, are ministers of the Gospel; and we shall now proceed very briefly to notice their fitness for the performance of its great work. This is necessary to the proper elucidation of the subject, while it will also exhibit the wisdom of Christ as the Head of the Church in his institution of the christian ministry.

Let me specify as one element of their fitness, that they are *converted men.* In scriptural language, they have been born again, they have been sanctified by the truth. It is intended here, not only that Christ requires evangelical piety as a vital qualification of every minister, and that his own assumption of the office is an implicit affirmation that he deems himself the subject of such piety; but that in our own country, and particularly among the two great denominations of which

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this Society has the entire confidence, such is almost universally the admitted fact. I speak not of the priesthood of the apostate Romish Church, although the word church, in its true scriptural sense, is an utter misnomer as applied to that body; and as little of any other merely human ecclesiastical organization which, in Protestant countries, has been established by the state; but of the christian ministry, as the New Testament and particularly as the Epistles of Paul describe its character, and as we personally behold it sustained among ourselves. The men who constitute it, are converted men. They are neither men of loose morals, nor hypocrites, nor decent worldlings, nor self-righteous fanatics; they care not for the fleece rather than the flock, their chief object has not been a life of quiet indolence or of literary culture or of official influence and power. They have first personally experienced the transforming energy of the Gospel, and have thus made "partakers of the divine nature;" and they have subsequently, overlooking the prizes of wealth, high station and power which draw such numbers elsewhere, selected the ministry as the sphere of their most effectively honoring the Saviour and benefit, ing their fellow men. How immense the advantage which the christian minister thus possesses! Place him in any region, whether at the East or the West, where the controlling object shall be, not to heap up money till the pile rivals the pyramid of Cheops, not to kindle the furnace of party politics, not to lead silly women and men of a disturbed brain to swallow the inanities of Spiritualism, or of any similar delusion; but to produce those great moral changes which are decisive here and endure forever; changes in which the drunkard becomes rigidly abstemious, the libertine pure, the swindler an honest man, the blasphemer re-

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verential, the infidel a believer—changes where God's authority as the basis and the measure of all human authority shall be generally acknowledged: and what other laborer's efficiency will equal his own? Place him by the side of the moralist, whether refined like some of the British essayists, or uttering the strong and homely maxims of Franklin: place him by that of the metaphysician, who shall enlighten the educated as to the interaction of the intellect, the feelings and the will, while "the school-master shall go every where abroad," among the ignorant: let the Press in its daily and weekly issues disclose the selfishness of every mere party measure, municipal, state and national, and expose every crime and its perpetrators to public abhorrence: while at the same time in our large cities a strong police shall stand forth as an active coädjutor: and we ask again—Which of them will be the most efficient workmen? Nay, will not the minister be more effective than all the others? The experiment has been too often tried, to admit of doubt: in the hamlet, in the scattered population of the town, in the village, the city, the metropolis, in Europe amid Romanism and Protestantism, and in the United States. The man of no religion and no faith, if he possesses property which is to be secure from theft, will uphold the minister as the best of all peace officers: the lover of private and public order admits that *his* teachings are necessary to the prevention of private brawls and the outrages of mobs: the true Christian esteems the office and the men who worthily sustain it, as inspiration directs that they shall be esteemed. This is one element of the fitness of the workmen; they are converted, godly men.

They are also *Educated Men.* Their office is that of religious teachers, and to qualify them for its duties

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they have received the very best training which our country affords. With exceptions so few as scarcely to be counted, all of them have passed through a preparatory course of ten years' study; three at the classical school, four at the college, and then three at the theological seminary. Two thirds of our physicians have never entered a college, and probably two fifths of our lawyers; while not more than one fifth, or one sixth, of the ministry have failed to receive these ten years' preliminary training—the best, we say again, which our country affords. Thus trained, they enter on their life work as preachers of the Gospel, a course necessitating an amount of reading and of patient discriminating thought, giving a play and energy to feeling, and securing a comprehensiveness and elevation of views such as no other life work produces or requires. They are not educated to be agriculturists nor merchants, neither for the bar, nor for the healing art: but do I err when affirming that, as a profession, they are better acquainted with husbandry than merchants, and with the principles and practical course of trade than agriculturists; that they have a superior knowledge of the physiology and pathology of the human frame than lawyers, and of constitutional and common law than physicians? Let it not be said that this is the language of mere professional sympathy, the same in spirit with that of Demetrius of Ephesus. Christ's commission to the ministry can not generally be fitly held, its solemn trusts can not generally be rightly executed, where the preacher of the Gospel is not thus trained: the work of this Society can not be performed, either at the East or the West, unless such are the workmen. It is not claimed for them that, as a body, they are either profound scholars or popular authors, that they are artists or statesmen. While they have

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more true scholarship than any other educated class, still the Pulpit and the Pastorate are too engrossing to permit them to be mere scholars, or artists, or little statesmen, or great statesmen. The minister, in the relations of his labors to eternity, is ever constrained to adopt the language of Nehemiah: "I am doing a great work, so that I can not come down; why should the work cease, whilst I leave it and come down to you?" What is claimed for them is simply this: that the ministry of the two great denominations which sustain this Society, have received the most thorough preparatory training in all its stages which our country can give; and that the subsequent studies and labors of life are but the completion of such a training. Place them, then, where you will, in the quiet villages or crowded cities of the East, along the margin of mouldering forests or of vast lakes, or on the prairies, or in the swarming cities, at the West, and you have workmen rightly educated for their work. The minister belongs to no priestly caste, severed like the Brahmin of Hindostan and the Romish ecclesiastic from fraternal sympathy with his fellow man. He claims no official sanctity, he proclaims neither the infallibility of his Church nor his own power to dispense or withhold pardon. But as one who consciously knows the Gospel to be the power of God unto salvation, and assured that others will perish unless they also shall become possessed of that blessed consciousness; a man of like passions, habits, wants, of one country and language and faith with those whom he addresses; he will seek to win, and with the divine aid he will win, them to the side of order, of private and public virtue, of Christ and of God, as no other man will win them. He can meet the cloistered Romish priest with weapons furnished by the armory of God, and drive him from the field.

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He can meet the infidel on the ground of natural religion, and constrain him to surrender. Does not the history of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, does not the existing state of the churches and the ministry, justify these affirmations?

They are *the firm friends of Liberty*, and *of Law*. Where the Spirit of the Lord has once released the mind from its bondage to sin, to superstition, to the fear of man, and where free institutions, as the Northern and Middle States enjoy them, purify our air and gladden our very heavens, from our cradles—I ask not, what must be the man, but what must be the minister, who loves not Liberty as he loves life! First, the Gospel; and then Liberty, that he may enjoy the Gospel and all things else most dear. Such are the converted and educated men whom we are contemplating, such that portion of them whom the Society commissions. Their love of Liberty is their birthright, their ancient inheritance. It has been transmitted to them from the signing of the Declaration of Independence, from the fight at Lexington, from the embarking at Delft Haven, from the flight of Robinson and his flock to Leyden. It has been strengthened in them by every fresh reading of the histories of the English Puritans, of the Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters, and of those earlier champions for freedom—the men of the seven United Provinces of Holland. Thus generated and strengthened and sanctified, their love of Liberty can never be divorced from their love of the Gospel: their religion purifies and exalts their freedom, their freedom is the minister and the protector of their religion. Are not such men needed to do the work of this Society at the West, where, and where only, Southern Slavery can hope to gain an entrance? Who shall then stand in the breach, and drive back this foul

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spirit, if not the men who are armed with the sword of God's Spirit, even his quick and powerful Word? And who among them save the few descendants of John Bunyan's *Feeble Mind*, and of *Mr. Despondency*, and of his daughter, *Mrs. Much afraid*, will falter wherever this contest is to be carried on; whoever may revile them, or attempt to crush them! They love liberty too well, and know their duty too clearly, to be found wanting here.

Nor are they less the friends of Law, the twin sister of Liberty. It is irreligion that renders men lawless, and despotism digs a common grave for liberty and law. Where has a freedom comparable to that of the Israelites under the ancient theocracy been seen on earth, except among ourselves: and where has law in its manifold limitations and restraints, been more truly honored? Our intermingling and slowly fusing population at the West, will need for half a century, as the flood moves onward to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, the inculcation of obedience to Law, of reverence for civil government as the institution of God, of respect by every man for the rights of his fellow as equally sacred with his own. Liberty accompanies the emigrant from the Atlantic States each step of his far westward progress, she threads with him the forest, she crosses the prairies, she drinks with him at the sources of the Missouri; while Law follows on slowly, and often far behind. Though not a slave nor a slaveholder were ever to be seen beyond the limits within which they have now a legal existence, a fierce licentiousness of spirit, equally impatient of the restraints of human law and of God's law might easily and rapidly become general. The two must bear sway in equal measure together, or they must unitedly totter and fall. While then the ministers sustained by this Society will

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preach the Gospel as the remedy for all sin and suffering, while they will proclaim its condemnation of all injustice and oppression, particularly of that Slavery which would spread its sooty wings over our remotest States and Territories, they will also, as men who have been found faithful, set forth wherever they go the supremacy of Law. Liberty, or the right to think and speak and act, when, where, how each man's own reason and choice may guide him: Law, or those restraints and none others, which shall protect his neighbor from the abuse of that liberty. Liberty, as essential to that exalted state of earthly good which ancient prophets assure us awaits our race in coming years, and as an element of the higher bliss of heaven: Law, or that control of rightful authority here, which fits him for blessed subjection to infinite authority forever.

We have done. This Society commenced existence at the beginning of the second quarter of the century, and its thirty third Anniversary is now at hand. The Annual Report will then announce the rich measures of prosperity with which God has favored it. Its treasury enlarged, its missionaries prosecuting their labor of love with undiminished patience of hope, large showers of grace ripening the seed which they have sown into harvests of salvation, God's voice thus proclaiming that its course is to be ever onward. The same simple but grand object, that of extending Christ's kingdom as a Society for Home Missions, will continue to give wisdom to its counsels and vigor to their execution. Its officers, its friends, should then anew thank God and take courage. He has summoned it from the beginning to its great WORK: May He in all coming years, prosper the more abundantly the labors of its WORKMEN.

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Protection in the Family, in Society, and in the State.

A SERMON

Preached in the Congregational Church in South Dartmouth, Fast-Day, April 7, 1864, by Rev. Martin S. Howard, Pastor of the Congregational Church.

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DEUT. XXII, 8.—When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house if any man fall from thence.

The ancient style of architecture explains this passage, and exhibits its wisdom and its humanity. Jahn, in his Biblical Archæology, thus refers to the dwellings of the East: The roofs of the houses are flat. They were formed of earth heaped together, or in the houses of the rich, of a firmly constructed flooring, made of coals broken up, stone, ashes, chalk and gypsum, reduced to a solid substance by the application of blows. The declivity of the roof from the centre to the extremity is very small, scarcely an inch in ten feet. The orientals often ascend these roofs, to enjoy a purer air, to secure a wider prospect, or to witness any event which happens in the neighborhood. In the summer they sleep upon them. They ascend their roofs, moreover, to talk with a person privately, to witness a public solemnity, to mourn publicly, and to announce anything to the multitude, to pray to God, and to perform sacrifices. The roofs are surrounded by a breastwork or wall, to prevent one from falling, which is as high as the breast.

It is evident, from the common uses to which the housetops were put in that part of the world, that without this precaution fatal results would often follow, and that hence there was a benevolence in what at first thought might seem to be an arbitrary command: When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof that thou bring not blood upon thine house if any man fall from thence. To neglect this duty involved the owner of the house in guilt. It did not palliate the offence that the unfortunate victim had no special claim to protection. He might be even a stranger and a foreigner, but guilt lay heavy on that housetop if, on account of negligence or indifference, that exposed place was not strongly guarded against the natural possibility of accident or danger. Nay, no unbidden step might approach that perilous height, still the duty of making that spot secure from even the supposed chances of harm, was rendered none the less incumbent.

The principle involved in this command out of the law of Moses, is simply that it is every man's duty to perform his share in the service of public protection, security and happiness. No man is so utterly independent of every other that he is in any way absolved from the responsibility of looking after the welfare of his fellow-men, and actively striving, even at the expense of a sacrifice, to elevate mankind in the scale of social and moral being. So long ago as that far-off period when the Israelites were wandering pilgrim-like through the deserts of Sinai, the idea of public protection was proclaimed with such a sanction as made the neglect thereof a bold and defiant transgression. This doctrine has never lost its vitality. It is as vigorous now as it was four thousand years ago. As the world has rolled on, and progress has been made, it has assumed more importance from age to age, till under the freshness and brightness of the Christian dispensation, it has flowered into that lofty thought of the apostle: No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself.

In building a house it would seem as if one might be permitted to adopt his own plans, and leave every man to provide for his own safety when he ventures to set foot on the housetop. Quite unreasonable and absurd, that

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he must be held responsible for every reckless intruder, and answerable for his blood if he should happen, in his carelessness, to fall from the roof to which he had unceremoniously wandered! It was hardly worth while calling one's self free and independent if he must be thus narrowed down to such humble conditions as being compelled to build his housetop after such a pattern as would provide for the possible security of those in whom he could feel not the merest interest whatever.

In this way men are often heard reasoning at the present day, for though our housetops are not regulated in their construction by any law, and hence there is a larger freedom of architecture among us than that which prevailed under the theocracy of the Hebrews, we are still bound by laws which recognize the lofty principle that there are *common* as well as *separate* interests among mankind, and that while in some sense we are distinct and independent one from the other, there is a higher and a nobler sense in which all we are brethren. Every man holds relations to the world about him. He can never shut himself away so obscurely from his fellow-men that there will not continue to be claims upon him which he cannot honestly and successfully throw off.

The fact that a man *lives* determines his responsibility. It is not because he is rich or poor, young or old, ignorant or learned, but because he is a distinct part of humanity, claiming duties and having a right to them, from others; at the same time owing them by a debt which can never be liquidated in any other way than by actual service. It is worth our while to observe that one of the grand principles upon which God works in the world is that of *protection*. Each tree in the forest helps support every other. Isolate each one and the sweeping storm would speedily make a wreck of it. As it is, all the trees of the field stand, as it were, side by side in solid phalanx, and resist the attacks of the on-rushing blast. This is the spirit of Christianity as evinced by the teachings of the apostle when he declares that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored all the members rejoice with it.

The *principle of protection from evil* enters most deeply into all human relations, and is exhibited impressively,

I. *In its application to the family circle.* The fortress of the family is often besieged by the most fatal influences, against which the natural defenders of the household must place rigid guard with all the careful watch of the sentinel who knows not how near at hand the enemy may be. The young need to be protected from the attacks of evil, since they are unable to protect themselves. They are in just that stage of moral being when a single misstep may precipitate them to ruin. If it was a law that the flat roofs of the ancient dwellings should be firmly fortified against the liability of dangers, with what double emphasis should the parental heart be impressed with a sense of the importance of throwing up such strongholds of defence as shall save the young from the peril to which they are so constantly and so fearfully exposed! It is unsafe to throw down the bulwarks of parental restraint; to permit the young to follow their own chosen course irrespective of those bonds which are so well fitted to keep them in place, and to give them right moral shape which shall affect all their future welfare. It is every parent's duty to preserve his children, as far as may be, from the vicious influences which are abroad in the community. We know too well what some of those influences are. The vile associations in which the young are permitted to mingle are ruinous, we will not say to physical health by exposure, but to their social and moral habits, which are more precious in their preservation and purity than life itself. Parents need to see that their sons and daughters are not unnecessarily exposed to the society of those who contaminate all they breathe upon. Our village, in its proximity to a larger town, is a constant sufferer from certain influences which flow therefrom. The young are fascinated. They do not see their danger. They have never known the chasm of death which yawns before them. If parents are true to themselves, and faithful to their children,

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they will stand firm against all solicitations to permit them to mingle with the rude company which so often make night hideous with their profanity and ribaldry, and whose only influence is to bring others, now perhaps innocent and pure, as low and wicked as themselves. Perhaps this can be accomplished only by wholesome restraint such as it is every parent's right, and oftentimes his duty, to exercise, but if kind counsel and patient instruction will not perform the work, let not positive restraint be shrunk from, for the moral salvation of those who are inexpressibly dear, may be involved in *one firm act of positive decision.*

Yet there is much of safeguard in proper instruction; in a correct and consistent example, and in the innocent allurements of the family circle. Home should be made the centre of all that is happy and attractive. Let the young be bound to that sanctuary of the heart by such golden chains as that they shall never know what keeps them there. When home is made repulsive; nay, when home is not made a kind of consecration to the happiness, the amusement and instruction of every one who helps make up the little band of the family, from the oldest with gray locks and trembling limbs perhaps, to the little tottering smiling treasure, which, as a key, unlocks the sympathies and affections of so many hearts, no wonder its youthful occupants stray elsewhere for amusement and interest; and when they leave home they are not quite sure of finding better society, or associations which are more improving or exalting. In almost every case it will be found, I am sure, that there has been a loss instead of a gain. In a late number of the Atlantic Monthly, in an article entitled "House and Home Papers" occurs, among many others, the following sensible passage: "parents may depend upon it that if they do not make an attractive resort for their boys, Satan will. There are places enough kept warm, and light, and bright, and merry, where boys can go whose mothers' parlors are too nice for them to sit in. There are enough to be found to clap them on the back, and tell them stories that their mothers must not hear, and laugh when they compass with their little piping voices the dreadful litanies of sin and shame."

Home needs to have its laws. Your children need to feel that they are under some restraint. Their real happiness demands this. Their characters may be ruined without it. It is possible your unballasted ship may outride the gale, but there is a hazard in the experiment. Your children *may not* be dashed upon the perilous rocks of moral ruin, though you give them full canvas, and never touch the helm by whose use the danger may be shunned; but it is at your own risk. There is nothing in *reason* or *providence* to promise other than the most disastrous results. I do not counsel severity. There is rarely need of this. You men of the sea know that a straight-forward, consistent discipline commands obedience. Adopt the firmness of the shipboard with none of its harshness, in your family, and your children will be comparatively safe.

There is nothing more disastrous than leaving children to themselves. They may be very correct in their deportment and dutiful in their obedience, but they need watching; not always because they are bad, but because they do not always know what is good. They are destitute of experience. They are passing through a course of discipline, and the parent is the teacher. He may partially intrust the education of his child to others, but the responsibility is all his. There is a special call for parental fidelity and duty at the present time. The morals of the young are imperilled. If, as was the case a few years since, in certain sections of the State, the cattle were attacked with some deadly disease, every farmer would be looking after his stock to see whether the contagion had reached his flocks and herds. Is not the moral welfare of the young, to say the least, as much to be regarded? What remains to be done is to put up such barriers as shall, in some happy measure, save them from vice and crime. When the youth are learning to sip at the winecup and puff the scarcely less fatal cigar; when girls and boys are roaming through the streets when they ought to be sleeping, there is a demand most fearfully imperative upon parental restraint until such time as that restraint must, according to the nature of things, cease.

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The great lack here, and perhaps this is true more or less, everywhere, is parental discipline. It should never be forgotten that the parents are the head of the household, and that their word is absolute. This parents should teach their children, and never cease to insist upon prompt and cheerful obedience. Of course parents themselves need to be led in the way of true wisdom and righteousness. In teaching others they need to be taught themselves, and that is an inconsistent demand which requires obedience from others when it is obstinately withheld from one who is infinitely worthy to receive the homage and obedience of every heart. In a word then, parents should seek as much as in them lies to preserve their children's minds and hearts from evil. They are daily exposed to temptation and vice. They are hearing and seeing evil on our streets; in our shops; in our schools. They are never utterly free from its contaminating charm, and we all know how potently it works in undermining the character; in rooting out the good; in implanting the vicious seeds of error and sin. Pour around your children's minds and hearts better thoughts. Hold them back if need be by strong force, but strive to educate their souls, and by all hallowed influences train them up for God and immortality. They may, even then, break away from these barriers which you have put up about them, but their blood will not be on your hands. If they climb all these strong battlements which were meant to protect them from falling, it will not be your fault. If they perish they perish.

II. *Another bulwark of Society is found in the proper public education of the young.* If the hope of the future is to be found in those who are now children, it is in their right moral and mental training. Among all the facilities which are now afforded for properly directing the youthful mind there is extreme danger that the very exuberance of opportunity may prove an embarrassment, rather than an advantage. Responsibility is easily shifted from the parent's to the teacher's shoulders, and the child glides on, often receiving little thought and almost as little care. The welfare of coming time is in the hands of those who are now undergoing the changes of growth and development; but into what are the youth of our community growing and developing? This can be best answered by inquiring what facilities you are furnishing them to aid mental and moral expansion! It is not enough that taxes are cheerfully paid, and books and clothing are generously supplied. There is an apparent conviction in the minds of some, that education is the product of a certain process, as the material is put into the loom, and in due time comes out again, a choice and costly fabric.

Nothing is more evident in these passing days than that society most imperatively demand the thorough education of the people. Fifty years after the settlement of Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley, then Governor of the Colony of Virginia, expressed himself in these words: I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years! for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels, against the best government! God keeps us from both! The boldest commentary upon these words which history in any age has furnished is presented in the conflict which is surging over our nation to-day. The chief strength of the present gigantic rebellion is in the ignorance of the great masses. It is not patriotic enthusiasm; nay, it is not altogether despotic rule which binds those treasonable hosts together. It is the tyranny of prostituted talent grinding its iron heel into the very sinews and heart-strings of that great body of humanity which knows only to obey the mandate of wickedness and follow in the train of a heartless and defiant ambition. Where on the other hand is the best development of the nation's loyalty but in those sections where the Pilgrim faith planted the institutions of learning; put up in rude form the school-house and the college; passed laws which gave every child, from the very highest to the very humblest, a right to public instruction, nay, by arbitrary statute compelled the education of the rising race? The fiery line which divides patriotism and treason in our land is identical with that which separates the literary culture; the intellectual power; the edu-

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cated masses from that deep sea of ignorance which heaves and swells in slimy pulsations over that vast territory in which are bred all the corruptions of rebellion and crime.

The real hope of the future is not in the *young as such*, but in the correct *education* and *discipline* of the young. It will cost money and stern sacrifice to see that these are secured; and there are those of course, so narrow and selfish as to hold back just when prompt action is most needed. Thus the public welfare demands a change in the educational system of our town. The two best agents for civilizing the community are the church, and the school-house. I do not mean such hovels as disgrace our beautiful village where you send your children to be instructed; nay, where you send them to become martyrs to a most wretched and selfish policy, for is it not true that our children are physically disabled by being compelled to occupy seats so uncomfortable and tiresome as those which may be found in those miserable structures where the young are sent from year to year to acquire the rudiments of their education. When will affectionate parents learn that they are murdering their children, by forcing them to sit six mortal hours in those ill-ventilated, unevenly heated, inconvenient apartments which they would not regard suitable, in their outward appearance at least, for the protection of their cattle! It is not mere philanthropy; it is common and honorable selfishness which makes this appeal. The crime which develops out of ignorance may indeed be winked at, but the *fearful results* of that crime, the shattered health; the broken constitution; the shortened life of your child can never be atoned for—no, never!

Look then at the vitiated taste which such disgraceful quarters for the education, of the children of necessity cultivate. Why do you hang pictures in your parlors, and sitting rooms, and chambers! Why pile your tables and shelves with books and periodicals! Why attend lectures and improving places of entertainment! For the main reason that you desire to improve the *taste* of those who compose the family circle and to increase their knowledge, and call out to the best advantage all their noblest powers. Think then what you are doing in permitting your children to familiarize their minds with such spots as those where the youth of this village meet day after day for instruction; neutralizing positively all your efforts to refine them and to build up a noble and pure taste.

I am aware that some of you may not agree with me in these extreme views, but I cannot refrain from expressing the conviction that much of the coarseness and vulgarity which offend the ears and eyes of the more cultivated among us, is to be attributed in no small degree, to the educational facilities which an unwise prudence, an ignorant prejudice, and an undiscerning majority have provided for the mental training of the children. It might cost a few score dollars more, but I would hang engravings and paintings on the walls of our school-rooms. I would illustrate its studies with diagrams and apparatus. I would place a well selected library for general consultation where scholars and parents could avail themselves of its literary and scientific privileges. There are three places which should be made outwardly attractive more than all others: *Home*, the *Sanctuary*, and the *School-House!* These are the three great centres of thought, and feeling, and action. Adorn these outwardly. Plant hedges. Set out trees. Train vines. Interest the children in the cultivation of flowers. Excite enthusiasm. Touch their pride. Arouse their ambition. Kindle within them aspirations for something nobler and better than what they now are. This may be no easy task. It will be at the price of perpetual vigilance; but there is possibility in it and the precious results will be the triumphant reward.

Paramount to every other worldly interest thus, is the education of the young, and if this is the most desirable thing, then it becomes patriotic and Christian men and women to see that the best means are readily furnished. As good citizens let it be seen to that schools are suitably sustained. Let the great public sentiment flow with its mighty stream into this channel. Hold together on this one question, since it is for the life of society; the welfare of the nation and of all the future; since out of it grows the purest

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loyalty; the noblest morality; the soundest and most comprehensive piety.

Additional to the thoughts already uttered, my friends, is the cultivation of the moral powers by erecting safeguards of early training which shall seriously affect those into whose hands the activities of the future are soon to fall. It is a hard thing to reform one who has fallen. That young man whose appetite has got the better of his reason; of his sense of propriety; of his real manhood, and who has become little less than a pitiful wreck, presents but small ground for hope that he will ever change his course, and adorn his nature by a consistent and manly life. It is easier to start from the keel the noble ship; building her timber by timber, and plank by plank, till, finished, she glides joyously into the wave, than to raise from the deep sullen waters the sunken hull which the storms of the ocean have beat upon, and finally submerged within its angry bosom. Our real hope, therefore, is in the first startings of moral being. There is a susceptibility then which soon glides into something less impressible, and therefore more hopeless of good. The great work of parents and teachers is building fortifications. There is less of the aggressive in the moral discipline of the young, than the defensive. Hence the work of the family and of the Sabbath School is to exert such influences as shall strengthen the purpose, and invigorate the powers of resistance against evil. There is much of the iron-clad work to be done in the way of youthful education. What you need to do, as parents and teachers, is, not so much marshalling your forces and marching out in invincible battalions to slay the bold hosts of wickedness, for such a course may result in nothing better than a drawn battle, even if you do not return discomfited with your banner dragged in the gory dust, but you need to do what the foes of our Union have so long succeeded in doing in the cradle of secession where all fiery serpents hiss, so strongly guarding every avenue of approach, so faithfully watching every narrow line of ingress, that an undisputed advance would be among the utter impossibilities.

To this end right moral instruction is indispensable. In large measures let this be faithfully imparted. Let truth be inculcated from the first dawnings of the intellect till the work is achieved. There is no danger of commencing the process too early. Let the mother breathe her prayers and her counsels with her maternal caresses. They may not be understood nor appreciated, but they will be laying foundations of blessing which shall last forever. Train the young as you would train the tender tree in your garden. The rough winds, if it were left unprotected, would soon injure its fair symmetry and blast its beauty. You therefore take measures to preserve it from the violent attacks of the storm by such processes of sheltering and firmly fastening as shall make it competent in due time to stand among the trees bringing forth much fruit. With this purpose in view, strive to inculcate high and noble examples. Let the record of upright and heroic lives be put into the hands of the young. Let the sublime character of Washington and the scarcely less sublime life of our own present Chief Magistrate be placed before their minds as worthy to be emulated in all the characteristics of virtue, and manly integrity, and honor. Above all let the divine example of Jesus be made the great pattern with which to persuade and influence the youthful mind. This work is one not to be performed by odd jobs and occasional efforts, but by the persevering labor of a consecrated life. It is worthy of such a devotion. Thankless perhaps in some degree, since no good work ever gets in this world its full measure of reward, and yet not altogether thankless, for the benedictions which flow from a life spent in such a labor are never to be measured by any human standard, and we know that a life spent in the service of humanity is made blessed by the consciousness that far above all human approval or disapproval, is that divine smile which seems to whisper: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ye have done it unto me!

III. *The history of the world at the present hour illustrates with most solemn and thrilling emphasis, the principle with which we started.* Not only America, but Europe as well, is rocked by the struggles which are now

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heaving and terrifying either continent. The nations are to-day in the paroxysms of revolution, perhaps not in all cases fully organized and developed, but in more than one instance we know, smouldering like the volcanoes that rise in awful grandeur from their sunny vales, threatening to burst forth in more than volcanic storm, to carry havoc and death wherever its lava tide burns its resistless way. It is because the theory of public and private protection has been ignored in the enactment of laws; in the education of the masses; in the dissemination of truth, that the tempest is raging now so fiercely over our own land and threatens to produce changes in thrones and cabinets beyond the sea, such as would shake our hopes for the future did we not know that all these commotions are divinely watched, and moulded even, into the best forms, and with reference to the highest and most glorious results.

Wise as our fathers were in the forming of our government they did not perceive how much they might have done for the future; how much blood and treasure they might have spared the present generation, had they stood more firmly on the broad platform of human liberty, and as bravely withstood the encroachments of oppression within their own borders, as they did the usurpation which came from across the sea. Nay, if at that early time, and half a century later, the people had been *taught*, and had thus been able to judge for themselves what was just and right; had intellectual culture usurped with generous and expansive catholicity the narrow and sectional ignorance which sees nothing but self, and that only through the most bigoted and obnoxious of mediums; had the great principles of the Gospel been made to pervade in all its breadth and length this fair heritage of the fathers, we should have been saved this desolation of homes; this breaking up of sectional fraternity; this mad outbreak upon the sanctity of government, and liberty and law. A little protection then, would have been the nation's safeguard forever. Then protection was not thought of as necessary, and the oversight, if not the iniquity, of the fathers is visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.

But we may learn a lesson in this very neglect and the sad consequences which have followed. Take care of the future. The peace which we hope may be consummated the present year will be worth but little if it is not made to last without the possibility of again being broken by the madness of treason. Put up every barrier high and strong, to all the encroachments of that foul system of oppression which has robbed us of our gold; of our peace; of our treasures of pure and noble lives. It may cost a little more fighting and a little more sacrifice, but let the work be well finished up now it is fairly begun. This is but due to the brave men who have not shrunk from the peril but have already given their lives to their country for the sake of her liberty; to those who fell on the early fields of the conflict, the first precious offerings to the cause of freedom and humanity; to those who struggled on when the skies looked dark and the star of hope beamed faintly, and in those doubtful hours fell without knowing that sunnier days were soon to dawn; to those who have more lately borne the bright flag from victory to victory, yet who will not be permitted to join in the shout of the final triumph. To these we owe it that the Republic demand such a termination of this bloody strife as shall write *Liberty to all the inhabitants of the land* on every foundation stone, on every battlement, on every arch of her glorious structure, and that on her topmost pinnacles and gracefully ascending spires, shall float out, so that all the nations of downtrodden humanity shall see them, signals of welcome to the oppressed from every land; signals of good hope and courage to those who are still toiling and struggling, whose hearts are yet strong in our example; in our helpful sympathy; in our glorious success. Not only to ourselves and the past; but to the earnest, unyielding, liberty-loving natures in all lands, and to the future, we owe the eternal overthrow of slavery; the firm establishment of republican institutions on this continent, and the example of a nation which recognizes the authority of the Supreme Ruler; the binding force of His holy word; the sanction of His divine approval, and the value of His gracious blessing. In a word it is our high duty to stand

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before the world as a great Christian nation, lighting every land with the glory of those beams which shine only to bless and save mankind.

It is worth our while to observe that civil liberty follows in the train of the Word of God. Oppressed Poland has many years been making almost superhuman efforts to throw off the Russian servitude, and yet success has not attended those valiant struggles of a crushed race. The cause is apparent. The great palladium of human freedom finds no place in the worship or in the hearts of that unhappy people; and so long as the Bible is a sealed book in that land of free aspirations, Poland will groan in the night of her bondage. On the other hand the darkness of superstition is fleeing from the bright, sunny plains and vales of Italy, and that land of fair skies and classic memories; that land of heroes, and culture, and undaunted fortitude, after an eclipse of centuries, is brightening into something of her former glory, transmuted from the darkness of heathenism into the glow and radiance of the Christian faith. Italy is fast receiving the scriptures of divine truth, and just so fast and just so far as she incorporates them into her institutions and into the life and heart of her people, Italy will be free. The Bible, said Garabaldi, is the cannon which will liberate Italy! The safety of our own land is vouchsafed to us in the piety of the early Pilgrims who came to these bleak shores with the Bible in their hands; and whatever as a people we have to be grateful for, of wise and virtuous laws; of loyalty; of a morality in advance of others; of a religious conviction of truth and duty, we owe it to that stern Puritanism which based all its principles, and derived its noblest incentives of action, from this sacred volume of divine inspiration.

In the work of building up ramparts of defence in human society all men are required to engage. I have presented this subject chiefly in its relations to the young, and to the pressing questions which affect our common liberties. I know full well that it will bear a broader and a deeper application, while much has been left unsaid on the several topics which I have introduced. God may not have given you, my friend, children to educate, and train morally, or what he has given you may have already grown beyond your care and responsibility, but there is something for you as a lover of mankind; as a useful citizen; as a firm patriot; as a high minded and generous man, to do. In these matters there is no such thing as shirking duty. If it is done there is fearful risk in it. We all owe duties to each other. Each man stands related to every other in the Universe, and the whole complicated Universe suffers when the smallest fraction of its vastness is permitted to receive the slightest neglect. However small the influence we may be fitted to exert; however circumscribed the sphere in which our relations permit us to move, we may yet do something which will bless mankind, and thus achieve a work which shall bring joy to the angels.

In one of the countries on the continent of Europe, there was a law passed in ancient times, that whosoever should cut down a tree in a certain forest, he should pay the penalty with his life; a harsh and cruel punishment seemingly, till it was known that the preservation of that forest was the safety of that whole section from the mighty avalanches which often thundered down the glacier-covered sides of the neighboring mountain. Then it was seen how much mercy there was in that terrible penalty. It is at the risk of a more fearful ruin than the crashing destruction of the mountain avalanche, if we remove one of the barriers of virtue, and purity, and liberty; nay if we do not strive to build them up higher and higher constantly, till we and our children shall be so firmly fortified from the assaults of evil that by the help of the Almighty God our Saviour, our defence shall be impregnable.

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Christian Missions — A Work of Faith.

A

SERMON,

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS,

AT THEIR

MEETING IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,

OCTOBER 3, 1865.

BY

EDWARD N. KIRK, D. D.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS STREET.
1865.

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AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER, 1865.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board be presented to the Rev. Dr. KIRK, for his Sermon preached on Tuesday evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

Attest,

SAMUEL M. WORCESTER, *Rec. Secretary.*

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SERMON.

2 CORINTHIANS, v. 7.

WE WALK BY FAITH, NOT BY SIGHT.

FAITH is not here opposed to sight absolutely, but walking by faith to walking by sight. Sight has its proper sphere; being competent to guide in the lower departments of life, but wholly insufficient to direct our steps in all that pertains to our higher faculties and relations, and to our eternal destiny. The man who walks by faith, walks with God, as Enoch did. The man who walks by sight, walks with the world. The former walks with Abraham, towards the "city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God"; the latter, unless his course be changed, will never enter within its blessed gates.

Sight can guide us in selecting nourishment, clothing, shelter and comfort for the body, but cannot show us the path of eternal life: it can see man, but not God; earth, but not heaven.

The men who walk by sight complain of the decree that their salvation shall be conditioned on their faith, and not on their good works. But it is so, even in worldly matters. The man who sows his field, or freights his ship, does it by faith. If he had bestowed all his goods to feed the poor, that would not inspire in

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his heart the kind of confidence which sends the ship to a country he never saw—the faith which lies at the basis of agriculture and commerce.

Those who walk by sight, walk in a world which they consider to be real, while they regard as visionary the views and operations of faith. They see but two forces in the world—the mechanical powers of nature, and the attractive power of "the things which perish in the using." To them the objects of faith are the stuff of which dreams are made.

I shall now attempt, by an examination of the nature and the actings of faith, to vindicate it before unbelievers, and to quicken it in the hearts of believers.

WHAT IS FAITH?

It has been described as "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It may be defined as, appreciative and receptive belief. It is,

I. *A rational belief in competent testimony;* especially in that which God has given to man, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In this exercise it is purely rational; that is, based on reasons abundantly satisfactory to the human understanding. The evidence that Jesus Christ lived at the commencement of the era named after him, and that he delivered the words attributed to him, is as complete and satisfactory as that on which the belief of the histories of Rome, Greece and Egypt are founded.

There are, indeed, other religious writings claiming our confidence. But Brahminism has no historical basis, no historical documents to substantiate its claims; and Islamism has not one mark of a heavenly origin, except the strong Monotheism which is not original with it, but

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borrowed from the Scriptures. Jesus Christ has been on earth, as a man, perfectly truthful, yet claiming to be our God and Saviour; and confirming this claim by all the signs and badges of a divine messenger, a present deity. Annihilate him, or make him a myth or a deceiver, and the world is buried in the ruins of the Roman empire.

There was nothing in the vanquished Latin race, nor in their barbarian conquerors, to resuscitate society. It was the church of Jesus that cast into the turbulent elements of the dark ages those principles and forces which saved Europe, and made it become the home and the fountain of civilization for the world. That statement no historian can contradict. But this Jesus of Nazareth, from whom his church received these vital truths and regenerating impulses, is our witness to the divine origin of the Old Testament, our voucher for the divine inspiration of the men who wrote his history and unfolded his doctrines.

The man who refuses to receive the religion taught in the Scriptures, must decide to have either no religion, or one of human invention. In either case, he determines that his walk to destiny and eternity shall be by sight. Thus he must either give up to doubt his relations to his Creator, and to chance his eternal interests; or, he must make a religion. And need I make the appeal: What sane man would stake his soul on a religion made by man! Faith is also,

II. *The moral judgment exercised on the highest questions that occupy human thought.*

In the Mosaic Scriptures we find a code of laws. In the Gospels we find an uncodified law, accompanied by a portraiture and history of Jesus Christ, together with

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his revelation of the character and government of God. Now it is with us a subordinate question, whence we obtain these documents. We accept them as we accept an honest and good man, from his own showing. We accept the law they contain, as law in its sublimest form; the morality they prescribe, as perfect; the character of God they exhibit, as containing all excellence in an infinite degree; the character of Jesus there portrayed, as the most perfect conceivable, and utterly beyond the invention of man.

But he who walks by sight, sees in Jesus "no form nor comeliness, that he should desire him." Excellence is not esteemed by him for its own sake. He has not leaped for joy to discover in Jesus' teachings the ideal of human excellence, after which, and the way to attain to it, the noblest spirits have sighed. The unbeliever, who thinks he has proof that the sacred writers were impostors, if he were a good man, would sit down in sackcloth and ashes, weeping at the discovery. It would break his heart to find that the Bible is not true. Every child of Adam should receive evidence against the divine origin and truth of the Scriptures as a man receives proof of the vileness of one whom he had admired and loved. Faith is also,

III. *Confidence in the declarations of God* as to the past and the future; including his threatenings and his promises.

We walk by faith not merely in our friends, but, much more, in our infinitely wise Creator, Ruler, Friend and Saviour; whose testimony is to us the mirror of truth, prized above all the theories of the wisest men, and regarded as infinitely more worthy of consideration than their objections. For us, his promises gild the

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future. For his enemies, we see his threatenings shrouding the heavens in blackness. Heaven and earth must pass away, but nothing he has promised or threatened can fail of fulfillment. Our glorious expectations, accordingly embrace,

1. *The prospects of the kingdom of Christ.*

He is to become the king, acknowledged from pole to pole; barbarism, and the false religions that nourish it, are to be abolished; the Bible is to become the controlling moral force in cabinets, legislative halls, schools, families, and hearts; science, philosophy and genius are to find their glory in exalting Jesus once crucified, now risen; and in giving his word ascendency over the human heart. We are equally confident,

2. *In regard to the human agency by which this will be effected.*

The power that will produce these revolutions is that which rolls the planets in their orbits; the power of Him, who, while He makes the single grain of wheat to grow into a tall stem, bearing thirty, sixty, or a hundred grains, at the same time employs the farmer to deposit that grain at a suitable season in the soil suitably prepared; and who has equally prescribed the human agency by which He will save the world.

Our trust is in Him who creates the energy of steam; but who does it by engaging man to build the engine, place the wood in one apartment and the water in another, and then apply the match; and, by this simple process, produce one of the mightiest forces submitted to man's control. In our view, the power of the human will, and that of God's Spirit, affect the destinies of nations immeasurably more than climate, or any other physical cause, to which some attribute so much. We expect to succeed in our endeavors,

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3. *In regard also to ourselves.* We expect to be saved from merited ruin, and then to receive a crown of glory, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give us in the day of his appearing. We hope to meet many a glorified spirit in Heaven, who will say to us: You led me to Him who brought me here. There is then one other element of faith to be considered. By thus affecting us,

IV. *Faith becomes entirely practical, a supreme controlling power in our life.*

1. *By enlisting the deepest sympathies of our hearts.* This it effects by showing us that all mankind are in a deplorable condition, as apostate from God. The sympathy this fact excites is the starting point of all our missionary institutions and efforts.

Travelers describe to us the degraded state of the pagans; but we get more soul stirring sympathy from one verse of the Bible than from all we ever heard about the festival of Juggernaut, burning of widows, or the atrocious cruelties of the king of Dahomey. This one declaration—"Without holiness no man shall see the Lord," presents to us a more terrible picture of heathendom, and the prospects of idolators, than anything our eyes could discover; for this is the divine disclosure of the final issue of their wickedness. We, at the same time, get from the Scriptures loftier conceptions of the worth of manhood,—of what a Chinaman is, and may become; of what a Kaffir, a Fejeean or a New Zealand cannibal may be,—than from any other source. Our faith sees in each of them, a child of our common Father; made to be pure, lovely, intelligent, refined; a companion of angels, a courtier in the heavenly palace; to outlive the world, and the sun that adorns the sky; capable of a blessedness ever growing, never interrupted,

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never ending; sharer in the blessedness of God himself.

That shows us, too, that every man is a responsible, a depraved, and a guilty creature. If he is under the gospel, he has sinned against that. If he is under the light of nature, the Word says; "They are without excuse;" "because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them." Men palliate idolatry; but God declares it to be one of the streams issuing from a depraved heart. In this, however, we only coincide with the testimony of the better class of heathen writers, who have exposed their vices and degradation with a severity that can scarcely be surpassed.

We should attempt in vain to relieve our sympathy by shallow reasonings, or a shallower philanthropism, which folds its arms and leaves them to those tender mercies of God, to which it would not thus carelessly trust a child attacked by fever; no, not the life of a favorite dog.

We hear the God of justice declaring: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness," pagan or Christian, polished or rude. If the mercy of our God does not prevent men from becoming sinners, we cannot see that it will prevent their remaining such. Sin does not appear to us adapted to cure itself. If the mercy of God does not prevent remorse from following a murderer for half a century, we cannot yield to the logic that concludes it will not let the fire still burn and the worm still gnaw through a whole century. Having this belief, our sympathies must be moved. Our faith becomes a practical principle also,

2. *By awakening in us a zeal for the glory of God.* That, too, is an expression which conveys no meaning

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to those who walk by sight. By faith we behold something of that glory which fills the earth and heaven; the mild but awful majesty of the uncreated, infinite One; the brightness of that purity which makes the holy angels veil their faces; infinite power controlled by infinite wisdom and love. Every one, beholding that glory reflected in the person of our Redeemer, must desire, with intense longings, to have it manifested to all.

Some persons express their wonder at our "meddling with the heathen." Are they who thus wonder patriots? If they are, we, then, would appeal to them. When our country was outraged by traitors, when the world turned against it, did you feel no earnest desire to set the world right? Did you consider it meddling to send out, and even abroad, men, papers, books, letters, to vindicate our country's honor? Could we, who love her sacred name, look with indifference upon the caricatures, the misrepresentations, the ignorance concerning us, which others manifested? No. Neither can we behold with indifference three-fourths of this race 'changing the glory of the incorruptible God into' hideous caricatures of 'corruptible man; worshiping and serving the creature rather than the Creator, who is God over all, blessed forever.' Does blasphemy shock you; and why not idolatry? To persuade them to know and love, obey and please Him, is to us the most important use of our time and powers. Then again,

3. *Faith quickens our gratitude.* As Paul expresses it—"The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge . . . . that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them;" Him who has loved us from the beginning, and loves us now; who has laid aside

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his heavenly glory, and then laid down his precious life for our redemption. For us he came to suffer, to weep, to bleed, to die. This is the most wonderful love ever seen. There never were seen such tears, before nor since.

Now, when this friend and Saviour bids us go and tell these poor, perishing people that he came to save them, can we refuse? His appeal is made to every generous sentiment in our hearts: "Freely ye have received, freely give." It has pleased him, that by the foolishness of preaching men shall be saved. But, more especially,

4. *Our faith inspires us with full confidence in the transforming and saving power of the Holy Spirit, through the gospel.* And in this belief we go earnestly forward to evangelize the world; that is, to make men acquainted with the person and work of Jesus Christ. To this end, and in this confidence, we send forth the Bible to these people, to every man in his vernacular tongue. To this end we place before them living examples of piety,—the preaching, teaching and daily life of believing men and women, sent to dwell in the midst of them. Faith also,

5. *Leads us to pray, and to pray with expectation.* God has made prayer one of our principal duties; and he has given us the most positive and full assurance that he never leaves unregarded or unanswered prayer for objects he approves, offered in the way he prescribes. Especially are we encouraged to pray for that Holy Spirit who once brooded over the chaos of the material world, to bring it under law, and into order, life and beauty; and who equally broods over the moral world, and regenerates hearts and communities by means of the Gospel of Christ.

How far, then, does faith elevate us above the sphere

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of science or speculation; embracing, as it does, in its commanding vision, the great salient points of the past; the mighty plans, yet unexecuted, of the infinite mind!

Faith is the root of heroism. A man to be morally strong must, like Columbus, believe in something he has not yet seen; something beyond and above himself; and his heroism will rise in grandeur proportionably to that of the objects of his faith. Well might one observe, "One person with a belief, is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests." And therefore, the only safety of a country like ours, growing in wealth and material power, is to increase in some kind of faith, but especially religious faith. A heartless, skeptical republic is an impossibility; as France and other states have terribly demonstrated.

This question then meets us: Can we show the men who walk by sight nothing they can recognize? Must our faith appear to them Quixotic; especially that fruit of it, our missionary enterprise? Are there no proofs of its worth that lie within the range of their vision? Yes. There is one aspect of it that demonstrates, even to them, its harmony with the laws of the moral universe; its practical and eminently utilitarian character. They can see its influence on personal character and national destiny.

Where, we then inquire, are there more exalted specimens of character to be found than on the missionary roll; from the days of Peter, John, James and Paul; from the days of St. Patrick, Columba and Boniface, down to the missionaries of modern days? Where has been displayed loftier zeal than that which carried such men as these to the dwellings of barbarians, to the cabins and caves of the wild Britons and Celts? We see the noble Lebwin of the eighth century, going forth

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from his British home, moved by a Christ-like compassion, to the pagans of the continent; alone, unpatronized, unprotected. Suddenly he presents himself to the wild and warlike Saxons, in the midst of their idolatrous worship. Fearlessly he stands, with the cross in one hand and the Gospel in the other, crying to them: "Hearken unto me; and not indeed to me, but unto Him who speaketh by me. I declare unto you the commands of Him whom all things serve and obey." The amazed warriors at first are enraged—at length awed into silence. Every murmur ceases. A new feeling starts into existence beneath those stern visages and war-scarred frames, while the believing man, like Stephen, is gazing upon the face of Him who died to redeem them, and while he is denouncing their degrading rites and cruel superstitions. Under that man, Christianity, with all its civilizing power, entered that part of Europe.

Shall I speak of others, like Eliot, Martyn, Brainerd, Neff, Carey, Harriet Newell? Let Hyder Ali, one of the mightiest of the Indian princes, testify to the character of Schwarz. When the British commissioners wished to treat with him, his reply was, "Send me Schwarz. I can trust him; but I want none of your agents." We may also cite the eminent reputation our own missionaries have gained, not only for themselves, but for our nation, with all the civil and military officers of Great Britain, both in India and Western Asia.

Turn, then, to the results of these labors. It was no burst of romantic enthusiasm when Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia, falling by the hand of the fierce Wends, stretched himself on the earth in the form of the crucifix; and it was not poetic fancy in Carlyle to say of the act, "He was thus setting his mark upon a heathen

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country;" for he was taking possession of it in his Master's name.

M. Guizot says: "I think it is not too much to aver that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, it was the Christian church that saved Christianity; that it was the Christian church, with its institutions, its magistrates, its authority—the Christian church which struggled so vigorously to prevent the interior dissolution of the empire, which struggled against the barbarian, and which in fact, overcame the barbarian; it was this church, I say, that became the great connecting link—the principle of civilization—between the Roman and the barbarian world."*

But this Christian church was planted and nurtured to maturity by missionaries. Christianity came directly from Heaven to Bethlehem. It reached Rome, Paris, and London, by missionaries. It is now a little more than half a century since we began this work on the broadest scale—to take the map of the world, and, on bended knees, to ask God to show us how we, in the shortest period, could evangelize the human race; or rather, do our portion of the work.

We have followed Providence and apostolic example; striking mainly at great centres of influence, without neglecting the scattered sheep; *introducing* Christian truth, institutions and influences; leaving it to the natives to complete the work, as soon as competent leaders from their own people are trained. And now, what has Faith wrought within this half century? She has revolutionized, without bloodshed or strife, nations and tribes. Not to repeat the story of the Sandwich Islands, which presents one of the most wonderful phenomena of the century, look at this fact,—Wherever the mission-

* Hist. of Civilization, p. 51.

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ary can establish himself, every form of evil the people have been long enduring begins to diminish. It is computed that tens of thousands of murders have been prevented by their influence; hundreds of thousands have been rescued from slavery and the debasing thraldom of idolatry. In ten years, sixty thousand of the Karens alone have embraced Christianity. A hundred villages of the Khols, an interesting tribe in India, have entered upon the same course, seven thousand of them having been baptized in one year. India, in fact, is undergoing a moral revolution. Brahminism, that abominable compound of pride, cruelty and falsehood, is falling under the pressure of Christian truth.

The intellectual influence of the missionary is vast. Education is the handmaid to the gospel. Schools, books, a written language, the press, follow the missionary as light follows the sun. He has opened the path of knowledge to hundreds of thousands. Already it is safe to compute 250,000 pupils in the schools of the 1,600 missionaries sent from Europe and America. And now American Christians are erecting in Syria a Christian college for one of the most numerous and important tribes of uncivilized men—the Arabs.

Who can compute the blessing of the Christian homes our missionaries have created? Woman and the family have been raised to very nearly a Christian level, in thousands of instances. In a word, there are no pioneers of civilization comparable to the missionary. Widow-burning, caste, infanticide, are fleeing before the dawning light. British magistrates in India are sending for missionaries to come and subdue the fierce tribes they govern. Already there are at least 5,000 natives laboring at the various stations for the introduction of the Christian religion; and at least 250,000 pupils are in

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the schools, and 250,000 of the people have made an open profession of Christianity,—2,500 of these being Chinese.

And, to add no more, even commerce is feeling the beneficial workings and reaction of Christian missions. The missionary, by creating new ideas, aspirations and tastes in the savage, is opening new fields for traffic, and making demands for our merchandise. Where Mr. Lindley is laboring, in Africa, he has created such a spirit of agriculture that one man, in one year, for his own neighborhood alone, sent $1,200 to Boston for the purchase of plows. Steamships and railways, cotton mills and telegraphs follow in the wake of Christian missions. The missionaries have become the guardian angels of seamen in the Pacific. Formerly the natives were pirates and murderers. It was perilous to sail among the islands. Now that is all changed, wherever a missionary has been laboring.

Men of the world, walking by sight, here is something that should attract your attention and command your respect. Can you be engaged in anything more worthy of your manhood than this? Is it visionary? No. Your men of science know better than that. Philological, geographical, statistical, zoological, ethnological, meteorological societies now place the missionaries in the chief rank of their coadjutors. The venerable and learned Ritter showed our Secretary the whole series of our *Missionary Herald*, saying that he regarded the missionaries as his most valuable helpers in advancing geographical science; assigning as the reason for this, that they are intelligent; they reside among the scenes and districts they describe; they understand the native language; they are honest; and, he might have added, they have the confidence and cordial co-operation of the people and their rulers.

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Brethren, I have now endeavored to vindicate and to animate your faith. It remains to qualify it, and exhibit its

LIMITATIONS.

As this wonderful grace opens the vista of eternity and the vision of heaven to the mental eye, it is exposed to a danger which has not been always sufficiently regarded. Faith includes glorious, almost boundless expectation; and yet, as it is the finite dealing with the infinite, it must have metes and bounds.

1. *We must not expect to find this work an easy task.* Even the Lord of glory had a rough path; must ours be smooth? He bore the cross; can we dispense with it? Personally, we are to enter the kingdom through much tribulation. Our wrestling is not with flesh and blood, but fallen angels; the mightiest of them. Faith is to be tried by fire. It has no alliance with indolence or imbecility. And when we come upon the enemy's territory, we find it a fortified field; all engineered into bastions, abattises and trenches, all bristling with the weapons of war. Brahminism, Budhism, Islamism and Judaism; Atheism, Pantheism, Deism, Socialism and Paganism, crude or baptized, will meet us in any place, and worldliness and godlessness in every place we may enter. Christ is the owner; but Satan is in possession.

Thus, too, we are obliged to work at disadvantage; separating our laborers from those aids and instruments which laborers at home possess; sending them as strangers to use a foreign tongue.

Then we must organize a financial system founded wholly on faith; contracting large debts at the beginning of the year, to be paid by millions of persons who have given us no legal authority to contract these debts in their name.

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Then it is a rule of missionary labor that the more successful it is, the more we have to pay for it. It never keeps itself in motion. It walks by faith; not by mathematics, not by physical nor commercial laws. We send young Scudder to India, endowed with extraordinary qualifications for his work. Just as the door is opening to him he is drowned! We send young Chapin, full of promise, winning the native heart almost at first sight. The harness is scarcely taken on—and he dies! Another missionary, after all the labor and expense of the outfit and voyage of a family, finds he has made a mistake, and retires. A native schoolmaster in Africa just commences a work of education that promises to make the desert blossom. Disease cuts him down before his work is fairly through its first year. Many a cloud we thought big with rain has vanished in a day. Here is the patience of hope, the work of faith, the labor of love. We must also look for,

2. *Sacrifices.* The Master finished his work on a cross; and he made these terms of discipleship: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." The conditions of success are: "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground, and *die*, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." How shall it die in our case? By the sacrifice of property, children, ease, home; possibly, life itself. When Chapin was dying, in the fullness of faith, laying his precious manhood on his Saviour's altar, he exclaimed, "We shall never call this a waste."

Faith is subject to another limitation to its expectations; even that of,

3. *Delays and failures.* The church waited four thousand years for the advent of her Saviour. She then

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saw his cause prosper for a while; then, for long gloomy centuries, she was again hidden in the wilderness; until at length the Reformation dawned. How long we have waited for the overthrow of slavery! But it came. So now we are waiting for the overthrow of infidelity, error, and superstition; but still the issue tarries.

Then, too, the increase of the world's population marches with gigantic strides. More Pagans are born, more die in one year, than we have converted in over fifty years. Yet we walk by faith, not by sight, sure of two things; that God will give the increase, and that our labor is not in vain in the Lord. To-morrow, for aught we know, may be preached the sermon that shall convert the Martin Luther of China or India, and thus convulse the old dynasty of Paganism there.

But if we should see the seven magnificent churches of Asia declining, and at length annihilated, we should still know that Jesus lives, and his kingdom is advancing. Think ye our poor attainments and achievements have exhausted the provisions of infinite grace? Think ye that faith has yet wrought by us her highest work? No, brethren. We are men of little faith, too full of self and the world to give the power of God room to dwell and work in us. We need more of that love which moved the heart of Him who was, from eternity, in the bosom of the Father; but could not remain there, as that wail of a lost race came up into his ear, which would make the ease of home intolerable to some, the possession of wealth a burden to others.

Oh, how feeble is our faith in God's promises concerning prayer! "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do." And he that made this promise has all power in heaven and earth. Look at the Reve-

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lator's vision concerning prayer. It was about to receive an answer—a distinct, wonderful answer—and "There was silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour." Then he says: "I saw the seven angels which stood before God, and to them were given seven trumpets." They were going to startle a slumbering world with their utterances. But first prayer must have its place. And that place is thus assigned it: "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense." For what? That there might ascend before the Eternal Father the prayers of saints, typified in the agreeable odors of frankincense. But mark wherein the acceptableness, the sweetness, the prevalence, the power, the efficacy of our praying consists. We have a High Priest, ever interceding in heaven for us. We have the Holy Spirit, ever interceding within us, helping our infirmities. But to continue: "There was given," to this eighth angel, "much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense"—the sweet-smelling sacrifice of Calvary—"which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand." And what followed? "The angel took the censer and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth; and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake." Before the mighty movements of Providence—the sounding of the seven trumpets that shake the world—come first the secret, despised meetings, the closet wrestlings of the saints.

About the middle of the last century, Jonathan Edwards invited the churches of Europe and America to unite in prayer, more specific and earnest than was

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usual, for the conversion of the world. Those prayers could be answered only through political convulsions. When He who is "called faithful and true," "the Word of God," comes forth to his final victory, he will be seated upon a white horse, clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, followed by the armies in heaven, on white horses; his eyes as a flame of fire, and on his head many crowns. "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations. And he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God." And when John saw this wine-press trodden, the "blood came out, even unto the horses' bridles, by the space of sixteen hundred furlongs." Then the cry is heard in heaven, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen!"

After the extraordinary praying of the last century, came the American revolution; the French revolution; the Bible, Tract, Sunday school, and Missionary societies; the revivals of religion that have stamped the character of our nation.

In 1859, a call came from missionaries in India for a new concert of prayer—the consecration of a week to prayer, annually. The censer was waved before the throne; then, filled with fire of the altar, it was cast into the earth. And again there were 'voices and thunderings, lightnings and earthquakes.' Russia has broken the chains of twenty-five millions of souls. A nation has been born into freedom in a day. Austria, the home of Metternich, and the Jesuit, has adopted a constitutional form of government. Italy breathes again the air of freedom. Free worship, free schools, free Bibles, freedom for missionary labor, now proclaim the age of despotism past in that beautiful land.

And have we not heard the awful trumpets? Has not

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our continent been rocked by the heaving earthquake? Have not four million shackles been riven asunder here? Have we not heard the tramping of that great army marching on through fire and blood to save a Christian nation, and crush a despotism that forbade the coming of a day of freedom and brotherly love?

It was the utterance of so great a statesman as Sir E. B. Lytton, in view of these and similar movements: "Such important events, all leading to efforts so vast and so permanent in their relation to the advancement of the human race, have probably never occurred within so short a space of time."

Truly we are in the rushing current. Faith is then the want of the times. To see the Lord Jesus Christ in these mighty revolutions; to anticipate his movements; to meet him in the attitude of consecration and prayer; that is what is demanded by the signs of the times.

Brethren, guard then your faith. Recognize its insidious foes. Remember that the very companionship of unbelief has its perils. It sees nothing as faith sees. 'Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers.' Rationalism—full of self-conceit and learned folly—science perverted, shallow philosophy, worldliness, selfishness in a thousand subtle forms, are the antagonists of your faith. Watch them. Keep the citadel for your Lord—his banner ever waving over it.

Guard your faith, keep it fresh and vigorous, by much converse with its own peculiar themes; by much prayer; by conference with believing souls; by following its intimations; by the self-denying acts to which it calls; by consecrating yourselves, your property, your children, to the work of saving the lost souls of men. Take the cause of Christ closer to your hearts, and say, "Money shall not be lacking. If the Lord prosper us,

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we will give as freely as we receive." Take the missionary cause on your hearts, and say, "It shall never falter again, if God will help us. The word 'retrenchment' must never be written to another missionary, already discouraged by the want of means to prosecute his work. There must be no more spasms of zeal, but steady work."

Let our consecrated young men and young women say, "Here am I, Lord; send me."

Let us have a robust faith at home, so expressing itself that the heathen shall hear its boastings in the Lord, and the missionaries shall feel its invigorating pulse. This is our purpose. We are going to fight "on this line" till we have conquered; and 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall have been given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom;' for "all dominions shall serve and obey him."

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SPIRIT, SOUL AND BODY.

A

BACCALAUREATE SERMON,

DELIVERED AT

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BY MARK HOPKINS, D. D.
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SERMON.

I. THESSALONIANS v. 23.

AND I PRAY GOD YOUR WHOLE SPIRIT, AND SOUL, AND BODY, BE PRESERVED BLAMELESS UNTO THE COMING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

If man would know what he may hope, or attempt, under God's natural government, he must know what he is in his nature, and in the powers which God has given him. If, again, he would know what he may hope for under God's moral government, he must know what his character is. He must know his tendencies, and the direction of his voluntary activity.

Hence self-knowledge is in two directions. The question may be, What am I? What nature have I? What powers? Am I in the image of God as created by Him? Am I in the image of the brute as developed from him; or rather from that? Have these powers immortality as separate and conscious? Or are they mere upheavals of an infinite, underlying, unconscious force into which they will again sink, and all separate consciousness be lost? Or, again, the question may be, What is my real character? Disguises aside, and the glozings of self-love, What are my deepest tendencies? What is that supreme end to which all else is subordinated?

If a man would know himself fully, both these questions must be fully answered. He must know his powers, and he must know the direction of their activity.

To which of these forms of knowledge the injunction of the ancient oracle, "Know thyself," referred, or whether to both, it

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may be difficult to say. Probably to the first chiefly, because a knowledge of character could have no such place or importance under any heathen system as under Christianity. Such knowledge would not have been philosophy, and could have gratified no pride; it would not have been religion, and could have secured no reward. There was among the heathen generally no such knowledge of sin as to reveal to them either the importance or the difficulty of this kind of knowledge. Accordingly the current of speculation, so far as it had man for its object, was in the direction of the powers. So was it with Plato, and so has it been with the philosophers since. They have sought, and are still seeking, to give us the constituents, and to unfold the nature of man. Here, as in other sciences, the obstacle is chiefly ignorance, or a limitation of our powers.

With Christianity, however, this is reversed. That assumed that man is in the image of God, and is to live hereafter. And then, assuming also sin, and making destiny turn upon character, it gives to the knowledge of that an importance impossible under any other system. Hence the apostolic precept, "Examine yourselves," and the great standing duty of self-examination inculcated by the church, refer, not at all to the nature and powers, but wholly to the character and moral state of the man. Here, however, the obstacle is not simply ignorance from limitation of the powers, but from a liability to self-deception. The most difficult honesty in this world for a man to practice is to be honest with himself when he has done wrong, or desires to do so.

From this importance of character, and the difficulty thus originating, there has arisen a great department of Christian literature, that of self-examination for religious ends, to which there is nothing similar in heathen literature. There is, perhaps, something analogous to it, as the blindness, and inconsistencies, and folly of vice and of self-love have been made the objects of analysis and of satire. Into this region of character, of desire and passion and purpose, the satirist and the philosopher look,

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and, according to their temperament, find food for self-complacency, or scorn, or misanthropy. Not so the Saviour. Into this region He looks, and beholding with an infinite pity its agitations and turbid tossings as of a troubled sea that cannot rest, he says, "Peace, be still."

But while the Scriptures thus magnify the knowledge of character, and assume, rather than teach, the truths of philosophy, they do not, in thus assuming, ignore those truths. They rather receive them in the most radical and effectual way, making them pervasive, as the atmosphere, so that while they will never be obtrusive, their presence will be always felt, and their true nature will be constantly, though incidentally, gleaming out. So it is in the text. The object of the Apostle here is wholly moral. His eye is on the blamelessness of those whom he addressed and the results of that in the coming day; and yet, incidentally, he teaches us the true theory of our nature. In opposition to the current philosophy of our day certainly, if not of his, which teaches that man is composed of soul and body, the Apostle teaches that he is composed of spirit, and soul, and body. "And I pray God that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Let us then inquire for a little into the grounds of this distinction,—a distinction not new, but generally accepted, in the primitive church. That we accept it is not necessary to our salvation; still, if Christianity is to stand in its full beauty, and reach its full power, its implied and underlying truths must be rightly held. If they are not, there will be constant outcroppings of errors and inconsistencies on which skeptics and scoffers will take their stand, and jeer and mock the passing pilgrim.

The difficulties in the way of comprehending those underlying powers or parts of our nature of which the Apostle speaks, and which have thrown and still throw obscurity around them, are found in three words, as they are applicable to man and related

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to each other. These are *unity*, *complexity*, and *progressiveness*. Man is a unity; he is also complex, and progressive.

First, then, man is a unity. This we know by our consciousness. We affirm it by necessity, and cannot doubt it. He is a unity, but not a unit. What a unit is, or rather what is a unit, and whether there be one in this universe, I know not. A grain of sand is no more a unit than the universe is. A unit has no parts. A unity is made up of parts that find their unity in their relation to each other and to their common end. The eye is a unity. It is one thing, one eye, but it is made up of six principal parts, and if any one, or certainly two of these be removed, it will cease to be an eye. And so man is a unity, commonly supposed to be constituted of soul and body. The body is not the man, the soul is not the man, but the two united.

Such is the unity. But even as thus regarded, what complexity have we. For first, the body is a unity; and in it is a system for digestion, and that is a unity; and one for circulation, and that is a unity; and there are systems for secretion, and respiration, and locomotion, and sensation, and thought, and each of these is a unity. Then also the soul is a unity. But that is made up of intellect, and sensibility and will; and each of these is a unity, while all are to be combined into the higher unity that is to make the one man.

What now is that one thing which binds together these several systems and makes them one? Whatever it be, the complexity is so great that the mystery of the unity will not be increased if we make it greater. It is to be said, too, that beings are higher in the scale in proportion to their complexity. This is on the principle that that which is higher becomes so by having all that is below it with something added. If, therefore, to body and soul we add spirit, we raise man in dignity, and increase no difficulty or mystery.

But besides this difficulty in comprehending man from the complexity of his unity, we find another from his progressive-

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ness. This requires the unity to be preserved not only in the midst of complexity, but through such changes in the mode of life and forms of the being that it is difficult to recognize its identity. At birth, all the instrumentalities of a former life are dropped. At that point there is not merely progression, but a new mode of being. There are objects, and instrumentalities, and forms of being, inconceivable before. And then, from that point, what progression! What a change from the infant uttering its first faint cry, to a Newton trembling with joy as he grasps the problem of the heavens! What a change again from that same infant, still preserving its unity, to the coffined dust, and to the possibilities for the spirit of the untried and unending scenes that lie beyond death!

The full problem of man then is, first,—first practically, though not logically,—that of his end and of his law as derived from that. This is the problem of Moral Philosophy, and is for all. It is therefore explicitly revealed. Here we have the moral law, the great law of love. We have secondly the problem of what man has been, and is, and may become, in the unity of a complex and progressive being that has undergone one entire change in the mode of its life, and is destined either to undergo another, or to go out in annihilation. This involves the problems of metaphysical philosophy, around which a sea of controversy has always surged. To be truly man, the being must retain throughout, the constituents which make him man. Are these, then, body and soul? Or are they body, soul, and spirit? Is there a spirit distinguishable from the soul, though perhaps not separable from it, as the soul is distinguishable from the body? When the ruins of the fall shall be retrieved, and the ravages of a penal death shall be repaired, is it these three, spirit, soul and body, instinct with an immortal vigor, and in a union attempered to the harmonies of heaven, that shall go to make up the one redeemed and perfect man? This is our inquiry, for so the Apostle seems to say.

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First, then, reversing, for convenience, the order of the text, what is the body? and what is its relation to the soul?

The body is commonly supposed to be mere matter. It is not. It is organized living matter built up by unconscious force, and includes both the matter and the force. A tree is nothing but body. A tree is not the mere matter which we see. It is far rather that unseen force that has worked from the first moment of germination, and deposited every particle, and protruded every branch, and scolloped every leaf, and has made the tree to be a maple tree instead of an elm. In every living organism it is this mimic soul working out the pattern of its home after its kind, that is the wonder of nature and the ground of our sympathy with her. This unconscious force it is, with the organism it thus holds in its grasp and charge, that is the body. This is the same in us as in the tree, except that in us it is made moveable, and is taken up into relation to a higher life. In us, indeed, the body is a double set of organs, one of which builds up and repairs by an involuntary force another set for the use of the soul.

This force then that builds the house I live in, that digests my food and circulates my blood and fashions organs for my use, this house and these organs—are they a part of myself? For the time being, yes, and so a part of myself that without them I am not a man. They are not my personality, but without them that unity which makes me a man is gone. Except as a part of myself that house and these organs become a corpse and return to their original elements; and as separated from these the soul passes we know not where, and exists we know not how.

What the link may be between this life of nutrition and the higher life of the soul, I know not. Let those who are troubled by the mystery of a Trinity in unity, resolve the mystery of a unity of two hundred and four bones, each separately formed; and of the muscles, more numerous still, that cover them; and

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of the stomach and blood-vessels that build them up; and of the nerves that run through them; and of the brain that crowns them; and of all these, moved and built up by an unconscious force with the higher life of the conscious and intelligent soul, so as to become its servant. That was its purpose. It was that all these, in their unity, should become the servant of the soul. So it ought, but the reality and power of the higher unity is seen in the fact that the soul may, instead, become the servant of it. It is possible for the life of the whole man to be centered, and by deliberate choice, in the nutritive life and the passions that connect themselves immediately with that. So is it with whole tribes of savages, I say not nations, for at this point of elevation the idea of a nation does not dawn. So is it with gluttons, gourmands, epicures. The stomach is the centre of life, and the intelligence is used to serve that. The soul keeps house in its kitchen. This is the point to be noticed here, that that which gives unity to the whole, and is truly the man, can, and does take up its abode and find its life in this lower part of our complex being to the neglect of all that is above, and so becomes "of the earth, earthy." In the language of Scripture, the man becomes "*carnal.*"

With the intelligence thus employed, the higher æsthetic, and moral, and religious powers can find no proper objects or scope, and all their manifestations in the direction of art and of religion will be either fantastic or hideous. Voluntarily placing himself on a level with the brute, passion will run riot, and through superstitions, and unnatural cruelties and lusts, the higher powers will avenge themselves by degrading the man below the brute.

Such is the body, consisting of the power that builds it, and the structure built. In its present materials and functions—some of them at least—it cannot be permanent; but with some material, and with some functions through which the soul shall be in

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relation to a material universe it must be forever a constituent of a complete humanity.

We next inquire respecting the soul. In inquiring after the body, we simply needed to transfer to man the nutritive life of plants, adding however the organs built up by that life for the use of the soul. In inquiring after the soul, we transfer to him again the sensitive, instinctive and directive life of the animal, adding all that is built up by these and that may be conjoined with them for the use of the spirit. Animals have instincts, and directive powers, and natural affections, and something of what Kant and Coleridge call understanding. They have powers correlated to this fixed order of nature by which they provide for themselves in it, and for the most part secure to themselves all the good of which they are capable. This is the special characteristic of the soul, that under the guidance of instinct and of intelligence in the form of prudence, it deals consciously with a fixed order of things—a nature.

In respect to this, the animal and man run into each other by imperceptible shades. In its lower forms instinct is perfect. There is a tendency on the one hand, and a provision on the other, and well-being is secured. But among the higher animals there is diversity. Different animals of the same species will pursue different courses under the same circumstances. They have diversities of feature and of characteristics. They have some power of generalization and of inference. They assume what are called first truths. If an animal does not state to itself the proposition that causation and the laws of nature are uniform, it yet proceeds upon it. If a bee does not put it into a geometrical treatise that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, it yet takes a *bee line* when it has freighted itself with honey and would go to its home. Here man has all that the animal has and something more, though of the same kind. Rooted in the same soil, he is as the towering tree with its branches and leaves and tasseled blossoms tossing and fragrant,

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beside the lichen hard by on the rock, or the moss at its root. Through his understanding, and the instruments with which he is endowed, especially the hand, man is perfectly fitted to deal *intelligently* with a fixed order of things, to profit by experience, and to subdue such an order wholly to himself; and whatever powers may be necessary to put him into relation with this order, and to give him dominion over it, belong to the soul. To this belongs the recognition and articulate statement of what have been called the first truths of pure reason, those necessary affirmations, always the same, which are implied in reasoning, and through which alone reasoning can fully understand itself. On these, however, the brutes act as well as ourselves, and they have been unduly exalted into the highest ground of difference between man and the brutes. To this belongs the reasoning power, and so the power of controlling the mightiest forces through a knowledge of their laws, and of combining materials anew at the behest of use and of beauty. Through this, man can construct machinery, and use fire, and the metals, and steam, and lightning, and the printing press; can act on the distant and the future, and can rise to the conception of law. Through language, experience and all knowledge can be diffused and transmitted, so that not only, as with the brutes, the individual may be improved, but the race may make progress.

Finding his centre and life in the soul and in nature, man looks no longer downward, but outward. At first he cowers before the forces of nature and deifies them; but at length he comes to know them as uniform and controls them; and how far this control may go it is impossible to say. Through machinery man is already laying off on to nature his heaviest burdens. Already he spans continents with the iron track. He makes the bed of the ocean the track of his thought. He evokes from a drop of water the power to send that thought with a speed that makes the swift-rolling earth but a laggard, and confounds our notions of time. He takes apart the mechanism of nature,

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analyzing it into its elements. He traces force through its subtle transformations. He seizes the light from the farthest star and wrenches from it the secrets of its home. He may yet, who knows? navigate the air, and parties be seen careering and bicycling through it. Through chemistry he may combine the elements into food without the labor of tilling the soil.

With such a world for his home, and such powers at his command, civilization will have ample materials and scope. Now there will be nations, and cities, and wealth, and art; now the Parthenon and the Coliseum. Now refinement will take the place of barbarism, manners will be polished, and nothing that can minister to comfort, or taste, or luxury will be wanting. Now the full capacity of man for achievement and enjoyment within the limits of nature will be reached. Here we have the sphere of what, in the Scriptures, is called "the natural man."

But in all this man can know nothing but this rounded, limited, necessitated frame-work of uniformities. Except in the mere notion of it, sapless and powerless, he can know nothing of anything that will put him in relation with what is above or beyond the horizon of time. What can such a system know, what can it utter, of anything beyond itself? Hence the time has come for the reign of sense, and of experiment, and of positive science. Now, what man can see, and touch, he knows, and only that. What belongs to the on-goings of this visible system is real to him, and only that. Now art is not fantastic; it may reach high perfection: but what of religion? Religion! what need have we of that? God! what need of him? Have we not force, uniform force, and do not all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation, if it ever had a beginning? Have we not the *To Pan*, the universal All, the soul of the universe working itself up from unconsciousness through molecules, and maggots, and mice, and marmots, and monkeys, to its highest culmination in man? Certainly no God is needed, a miracle is impossible, or if possible it cannot be

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proved even by the senses, and the idea of a revelation is absurd. If the religious nature must find some resting place, let it make the unconscious universe with its sleeping capabilities its god; or let it frame to itself the conception of a god whose work is finished, and who is enjoying himself in everlasting repose. This is, indeed, just what those who practically ignore the spirit have always done and are doing now. Yearning and groping after something higher, yet recognizing only necessary relations as in mathematics, and the uniform and unconscious forces of nature, they transfer what they thus find, and only that, over to the infinite. Of this the result may reveal itself in different forms, and under different names. In India it may be Brahminism or Budhism. In Germany it may be transcendentalism, or positivism, or pantheism. In this country it may be an humble imitation and jumble of them all; but the thing itself and its paralysing effect on the religious character will be essentially the same, whether at Benares, at Berlin, or at Boston.

Such is the soul. Some would make it include only instinct and sensation. I would make it include the intellect of man, perceptive, and combinative, with those endowments which fit him to be a denizen of this world, to serve himself of its substances, and to have dominion over it by the adjustment of its forces for the accomplishment of his own ends. It knows of nature, and of science and art within that, but of nothing beyond.

We next turn to the spirit. We here pass into an entirely different region, and hence infer a difference of soul and spirit. If there be a distinct function, there must be a distinct organ; and certainly sense is not more different from intellect than intellect is from the power of spiritual apprehension. We here pass entirely away from and above anything that belongs to the animal, or to which his acts can have relation, and come to the immediate knowledge of moral law, of a personal God, of our filial relation to him as made in his image, and of our responsibility

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to him. We come to all that is involved in prayer, in communion with God, in loving him, and in making him our portion. We come also to that brotherly kindness of which the Apostle speaks, and by which we love our fellow-men as the spiritual children of a common Father. This is the region of the spirit, and of all this the brute knows absolutely nothing. He has nothing in common with us in it. We here reach the region of personalities, and sanctities, of that which calls for respect, and awe, and veneration, and worship. Of all this the experience is impossible, not only to the brutes, but to mere intellect, or to taste knowing only beauty. The logical faculty with its concepts and notions cannot compass it. The intuitions of the pure reason do not give it, for "that which is spiritual is spiritually discerned." There is a discernment by the spirit, not merely of ideas and relations, as by the intellect, but of qualities as meeting a taste and a want. "O taste and see that the Lord is good." The brute cannot say that; the intellect cannot say it; nothing can say it but that which has immediate apprehension in the region of spirit as sense has in that of matter. Either this is, or there is for us no spirit, no personality, no God. It is through sensation, which is feeling, and perception, which is knowledge, that we are conversant with matter, and in our knowledge of the material world these are blended. So they are in the meaning of the words that express that knowledge. The word house, includes both a sensation and a perception. And so it is with the spirit in its knowledge of spiritual things. There is intuition, apprehension, knowledge, but so blended with feeling that they become one and receive a common name. Only thus could we have such words as obligation, righteousness, adoration, love, that is rational love, holiness, and godliness. These imply spirit in immediate communication with spirit, as sense-perception and words from that, imply intelligence in immediate communication with matter. And as we have from our intercourse with matter, sense-perception, including both feeling

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and knowledge, so do we have from our intercourse with spirit, senti-*ment*, that is, from its etymology, immediate apprehension of mind or spirit, and including both intuition and emotion. This is the characteristic of spirit, that it does not deal with gross matter, touching, tasting, handling; that it does not analyze, and abstract, and combine, and induce, and deduce logically; but that it blends and fuses the intuition of that which is highest, with emotion; and so approves, and condemns, and loves, and rejoices with a "joy unspeakable and full of glory," and wonders, and adores. So does it become "the rapt seraph that adores and burns."

This immediate apprehension just spoken of in the region of the invisible and the spiritual, is said by some to be by faith, and it is on this that they base their definition of faith. But since evil as well as good spirits must have this apprehension, such faith, if it be faith at all, cannot be that required by the Gospel.

But would not man be a moral being without the knowledge of God? Yes. His moral nature would affirm obligation to choose as between higher and lower ends, but it would, as I think, be so without light and sanctions, that its impulses would either simply take their turn with others, or be wholly disregarded as an impertinence. Such a nature without God would be an organ and a function without its proper element and sphere. Man is a spirit in the image of God. It is as a spirit preëminently that he is in that image. God is his supreme end and good; and if this be not known there may be moral phenomena as blind gropings, but no working in distinct light, and no moral law recognized as supreme.

Such is the spirit. It gives us a sphere above that of nature, in which there is intuition of personality, and of what pertains to that; and in which emotion is always blended with intuition. In it there may be a consciousness of the immediate presence of God with us. In it we have a basis for the operation in us of the Holy Spirit in his quickening and sanctifying and comforting

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influences; and here it is that we find the sphere of those who, in the Scriptures, are called spiritual. And as we have seen it to be possible for man to concentrate his life in the lower region of the body, or again within the on-goings and fixed laws of nature, so also is it possible for him to concentrate his life in the region of the spirit. He may "live in the spirit, and walk in the spirit." He may not only look downward, and outward, but also upward. The failure to do this is the great failure and apostasy of man.

The view just stated seems implied throughout the Bible; and whoever will notice it will find it implied in a large portion of the evangelical sermons he hears. If we accept it, besides throwing light on important doctrines which cannot now be specified, it will give us first, a clear distinction between man and the brutes. We can then give the brutes all that is claimed for them, and still not rank with them. Let them generalize, and contrive, and even reason if you will, it will yet not be claimed that they have the capacity of knowing, or loving, or worshiping God, or of working under moral law. It will not be claimed that the alternative necessary for moral freedom is possible for them. This distinction is of special importance just now. This view will also give us a clear distinction between nature and the supernatural. Nature is necessitated, spirit is free, and all operation of free spirit within nature is supernatural. This is the only consistent line that can be drawn. The operation is supernatural, but not miraculous. If it be directly by the will of God, and the course of nature be reversed or suspended by it, it is a miracle, and, if we admit a personal God, any supposition that this is impossible is absurd.

To the view now presented objections may be made—some perhaps which would not lie against the common view. It may be asked whether the spirit can exist separate from the soul, as the soul from the body. It may be said that our Saviour spoke of the soul rather than of the spirit, asking what a man should

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give in exchange for his soul, and warning us to fear Him who can destroy both soul and body in hell. But it is to be said, also, that the words spirit, and soul, and their cognates, cannot, for the most part, be used interchangeably even in English, and that the contrast between the Greek words signifying these is much stronger, the word for spirit and its derivatives being generally used in a higher sense; and that after the Holy Spirit was given, the use of the word spirit greatly predominates. It was his spirit, not his soul, that our Saviour commended into the hands of God; and the first Christian martyr said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." No angel, or devil, is said to have a soul. They are spirits; and it is the "spirits of just men" that are "made perfect."

But this is not the time or the place to consider objections. As I have said, it is not essential to all to recognize this distinction. But to you, my Beloved Friends of the Graduating Class, to you I come to-day, and say to each of you, in the broadest import of those words, "Know thyself." Know the law of your being as active, and your character under the law. Know also the nature and powers of that complex being which God has given you, and by which you are fitted to act under such a law. As students and thinkers it becomes you to trace all practical knowledge back to its roots, all action back to its principles; and the human mind can never rest, and human action can never be as complete and consummate as it may be till this shall be done. This I exhort you to do fearlessly. Regarded as active, I have taught you a law and system of action drawn as rigidly from the constitution as if there were no Bible; which yet, as I think, and as I believe you think, agrees perfectly with the Bible. Beginning with the body, and showing how structure has reference to ends there, and how the law of action is always determined by the end, we passed to the intellect and the moral nature, and found the same true there. We thus reached the "Law of Love;" and found that our business in this life is to

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apply "Love as a Law." Here we found the underlying facts of our constitution and the Bible perfectly in accord. But if the Moral Philosophy of the constitution corresponds with that of the Bible, does not its Mental Philosophy also? So I think. Examining the constitution in this aspect of it with the same fearlessness, I think we shall be compelled to distinguish between the soul and the spirit as philosophers have not yet done, and that the crowning science here is not, as has been supposed, a Psychology, but a Pneumatology as distinguished from that—a science of the spirit with its conditions, and laws, and products, as the highest part of man. When we come to know man fully, I think we shall know him as body, soul, and spirit; and that thus in Mental, no less than in Moral Philosophy, it will be found that the constitution and the Bible are at one.

But whatever may be thought of this division of our nature by the Apostle, and I suspect the Apostle was right, it is certain that the three spheres of life based on this division are recognized, not only in the Scriptures, as they are most fully, but also by mankind generally. These spheres are, First, The Sensual, having its seat and centre in the body; Secondly, The Worldly, in which life is centered within the compass of nature and of time, and in which, as I suppose, the soul may be greatly cultivated while the spirit is neglected and dwarfed; and Thirdly, The Spiritual, in which man "lives in the spirit, and walks in the spirit." In the first of these spheres the appetites bear sway; in the second, the desires; in the third, the moral and spiritual affections. Into these three classes, in Scripture language the carnal, the natural, and the spiritual, mankind may be divided. These three spheres of life there are, and whatever may be their basis in our complex nature, it is to these, my beloved friends, that I wish to call your attention as you are about to enter upon the new and wider responsibilities of life.

But is it possible that any one of you shall go down and abide on the low plain of animal life, and sink into its indulgencies

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and the vices that riot there? I trust it may not be, and yet it is possible. Strange as it may appear, experience and observation hardly seem to diminish the number of travelers in this road to destruction, and many educated and strong men go in at the gate that stands wide open at its entrance. Accordingly, we still see gluttons that come to poverty. We still see those who "tarry long at the wine," or what they suppose to be wine, and who have "wo," and "sorrow," and "contentions," and "babbling," and "wounds without cause," and "redness of eyes;" who say "they have beaten me and I felt it not, when shall I awake, I will seek it yet again." Yes, and those lips of the strange woman that of old dropped "as an honey comb," and the mouth that was "smoother than oil," are speaking still; and the feet that went down to death, and the steps that took hold on hell are still traveling the same dreadful way; and there are victims who "mourn at the last when their flesh and their body are consumed, and say, How have we hated instruction, and have not obeyed the voice of our teachers." But whoever may enter this gate of sensuality, be not you of the number. Dally not with the allurements at its entrance. "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it and pass away."

But if I may be hopeful of your escape from low sensuality, what shall I say of worldliness—of that world which the Scriptures put in opposition to God and to Christ? "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world the love of the Father is not in him." What world is this? As an object of love, it is that world of nature and of time of which I have spoken, seen out of its relation to God, and idolized. As consisting of persons, it is those who thus idolize this world of nature and of time, whether speculatively recognizing God or not. They may be formalists, or superstitious, or skeptics, or even atheists, and yet the radical character be the same. Most men love and idolize the world in pursuing the ordinary objects of gain and of ambition, but do not justify

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it to themselves. This you will be tempted to do, and this is your great danger. But as educated, you may be tempted to do it, and to justify it, in the name, and under the authority of science; and the temper of the times requires that you be specially guarded against this.

You live in a day when science is making great progress, and you are called upon to advance and honor science. Science is simply a knowledge of the works of God as they are revealed under uniform laws of succession and construction. This knowledge the Bible favors. It tells us that "the works of God are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein." Let them be thus sought out. They ought to be. But when men suppose that science is all; when they begin to talk about the majesty of impersonal law in the place of a personal God; when, instead of making this magnificent and amazing scene of uniformities but the outer court of God's temple, they make it a finality, cutting it off from the sanctities of religion and the higher glories of the upper temple; they dwarf both it and themselves, and not only make that which is so beautiful in its place to be an insolvable enigma, but, as offering itself to meet the highest human wants, they make it to be a failure and a deformity. Science is good, but with no revealed system to meet the higher wants of man it is a pillar crowned by no capital, an avenue terminated by no mansion; and ignoring that which is highest, it falls back into rejections and pettinesses. There is no narrower man, often none more bigoted, than he who thinks that science is all. With his spiritual faculties undeveloped, self-complacent from defect, plodding and sneering in his little round of uniformities, he is but half a man. You may see him where scientific conventions gather, with his plant-box across his shoulder and his geologic hammer in his hand, on his way to spend God's day as a naturalist, instead of honoring him by spiritual worship with his people; and as he goes he shall meet a woman aged and blind, who can see no plants, who cannot see even him, but whose lips

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move in prayer; and he shall think of her only as a poor specimen of Natural History; and he may be the greatest among naturalists, and she may be the least in the kingdom of heaven; but she is greater than he. She is greater because she belongs, and he does not, to a kingdom of purity and joy and free service, having God for its light and centre, and love for its gravitating force, and in which science but furnishes the ground under their feet from which its subjects may rise into their true life. Science is good. It gives control over nature. It is the basis of art. It ministers to comfort and to taste. But it eradicates no evil passion. It does not reach the deep springs of human action, so as to control character; and hence it can not renovate society. It can assuage no grief. It stands at the door of the tomb and is dumb. It knows nothing of sin, or of redemption, or of prayer and communion with God, or of a judgment day. It has not one property of a corner-stone on which you can build for eternity. Give science then its place and full scope. Study the works of God; but study them as his works, and so as to bring you nearer to Him.

Nearer to God—that is what we need. God is a spirit. We are in his image. A spiritual life pervaded by the worship of Him in spirit and in truth is therefore our true life. Away from the life of the flesh, and the love of the world, I now call you to this. I call you to walk, like one of old, with God. Failing of this you will fail of that which is highest, and, severed from the source of life, your failure will be final and utter. "To be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace." If the race could but be lifted up to this, the great adjustments needed would take place of themselves. Knowing himself, and knowing the Bible as God's provision for his spiritual life as nature is for his animal life, the higher and lower natures of man, man and nature, and nature and the Bible would come into accord. Knowledge, and the inventions and power that come through that, would be greatly increased. Soliciting

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her by the hand of a more skillful and loving science, man would be nourished at the breasts of a nature more plastic and richer than now. No longer infidel, like the Hebrew mother of old nature would take man as at once her own and her foster child, and bring him up for God. The region of spiritual life would no longer be, or seem to any, one of mysticism, or uncertainty, or gloom. So it was not to the Apostle. So it will not be to you, my friends, if, holding body and soul, nature and science in their own place, you shall centre your life in the spirit, and seek in yourselves and in others the welfare of that. So doing, all other ends must fall into subordination to moral and spiritual ends, and your first and most urgent need will be seen to be, not wealth or honor; not even what you shall eat, or what you shall drink, or wherewithal you shall be clothed; but that blamelessness of the "whole spirit and soul and body" for which the Apostle prays in the text. Guilt, guilt, and not ignorance or poverty, you will see to be the great obstacle to be taken out of the way.

And as moral and spiritual ends will subordinate all things to themselves in your own life, so will they, as they shape the future revealed in the Bible, shape all your expectations of the future. You will not look forward, as many do, to the continuance forever of a nature, embosoming physical science indeed, and beautiful in many of its aspects, but yet evidently out of harmony with man and sympathising with his unrest. You will heed the prophecies in nature herself from former upheavals and over-turnings, of another yet to come; and you will look for this, not from any upward movement of blind forces, but from the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will raise the dead, and judge the world, and bring in everlasting righteousness.

Seeing then that we look for "such things" I can do nothing better for you my Beloved Friends, as you stand thus on the threshhold of new responsibilities, and with the issues of life and of death in your hands, than to exhort you, with the Apostle

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Peter, to "be diligent, that you may be found of Him in peace, without spot and blameless;" and to pray, with the Apostle Paul, that "your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

NOTE.

THE doctrine of the foregoing discourse is not newly adopted by me. On the 158th page of my Lectures on Moral Science it is said:—"Here it is that we find the ground and necessity of a threefold division of man into body, soul, and spirit, which the Scriptures seem to recognize, and which philosophy will be compelled to adopt." The doctrine is now awakening increased interest, and I desire to call attention to an able English work upon it which I have recently seen,—The "Tripartite Nature of Man," by the Rev. J. B. Heard.

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By Rev. J. C. Wortley; M. E. Church, Manchester, Mich. 1870.

The Living Seed and the Fruitful Soil.

"For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."—MARK iv, 28.

A thorough knowledge of first principles and general laws is the true mark of a great teacher. The work of such a teacher among men is, to illustrate those principles, and explain those laws by word and deed, so as to show their fitness and use for the condition and conduct of mankind in all ages. In the ministry of truths possessing fundamental and general properties, Jesus is leader and chief. The honor of being "The Teacher," is accorded to him by the testimony and judgment of friends and foes. His life and ministry were not merely the "coming to pass," the actual occurrence, of what had been spoken in promise and prophecy, and long expected by prophet-lawyers and poet-kings, but an era of revelations of hidden truths, of demonstrations of latent moral powers, and of applications of new spiritual agencies in the salvation of men. Excellence and glory belong to Christ as a teacher, because of the superior merit of his ministry in material and method, and also because his own spirit was a clear and beautiful outbeaming of the principles with which he was dealing, and his own life was an actual demonstration of the truths he uttered in doctrine. The range and compass of his thoughts and feelings in their direction toward the divine—and in their extent over the human, testify of a

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perfection of wisdom, power and goodness in him, which is seen in the life and ministry of no other. He gave a new meaning to old words; a strange power to familiar forms, and a spiritual life to piety and charity. Life, worship, power, world, brother, royalty, commonwealth and immortality, were words which, in his lips, possessed the deep significance and impressive grandeur of divine revelations. The mystery of that quiet, strange, self-conscious authority with which he speaks in law and judgment to all men, of that calmly but strongly pronounced assurance with which he submits to the consideration of of men his claims to supreme and universal dominion—and of that graceful and cheerful certainty with which he contemplated the final triumph of his followers, and the increasing glory of his reign, is found in his perfect understanding of moral nature in men, of the inexhaustible sources of divine life, and of the gracious influences and spiritual agencies in connection with it. He saw as none else did nor could—what the inevitable contact and perpetual action of heavenly with human powers and energies were, and would produce, and in that sight, reposed the unutterable secret of his wonderful teaching and profound legislation. He knew and had the where to stand. But in his estimation the moving and elevation of the world were not to be accomplished by the skilful application of mechanical genius, as Archimides thought, nor by a shrewd display of intellectual dynamics, as the philosophers said. With him the real progress of mankind was a thing of life and growth. Scatter, said he, the divine word—the heavenly seed, with its imperishible vitality—on the soil of man's moral nature, with its indestructible spontaneous fecundity. From that seed and soil shall come the harvest of moral virtue and spiritual blessedness. Regeneration and Holiness, Resurrection and Immortality, were the

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words he used to indicate the beginning—the increase and the fruition of his heavenly experience in the history of man. "For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear." A discussion of the subject before us leads us to an examination of the proper department, method and extent of Christian labor, in the dissemination of gospel truth, and in attaining the highest culture of mankind.

I. The Proper Department of Christian Labor.

This singular and beautiful parable, is exceedingly valuable, because of the hints it gives concerning the proper department of Christian labor, concerning the true secret of increase in goodness among men, and the correct method in labor for obtaining such an increase. By the field is understood universal moral nature in men. By the seed is meant the word of God—in its revelations of his character, will and government—in its utterances concerning human relation and duty, and in its precepts and prophecies of what is right and wrong—good and evil in the judgments and actions of men, both as it relates to this world and that which is to come. The sower is Christ, or any one who represents and succeeds him. As to the ownership and tenure of the field, there is neither objection nor dispute intimated. It is the sower's field. The truth suggested by this is, that the real ground of Christ's claims and rights to a supreme interest in the whole human race is found in a universal moral nature in men. In his advent and ministry, therefore Christ is directly and chiefly concerned with what is highest, noblest and best in men. He works in the field that belongs to him. He does not ignore either the physical or the intellectual in men. He honors them for their use and service in illustrating moral principle and virtue; but he does not stop with them and exhaust his

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energy in simple attempts to relieve and control them by an arbitrary authority and a special legislation. While he allows and commends a discreet and a charitable attention to these, he at the same time passes into the region beyond them, and there sows the seed of eternal life. It is not in the soil of pure animal instinct, or pure human intellect, that the seed he sows could germinate and become fruitful. It must fall in different—in a better—in a congenial soil. It is in the soil of man's moral nature, whose special property is spirituality that the fallen seed takes root, springs up and brings forth fruit. Christ not only brought with him the good seed, but put it in the right place. He knew the life of that seed was eternal, and that the fertility of the soil on which he sowed it was inexhaustible and universal in human nature. These two properties united and active in mankind, just as they were in him, produce a harvest of true manhood, of which his humanity was a sample. His life and ministry are the pledges and first fruits of that "full corn in the ear," that perfect and ripened manhood yet to come, in the history of the race. Faith and love as he understood and taught them, are chief elements of productiveness, in piety towards God and charity towards man. These enter largely into the increase of moral goodness, the growth unto perfection. Immortality, as he taught it, was the fruition of these, in spiritual and heavenly blessedness. The difference between the seed he sowed, and that sowed by other great teachers of morality, is this: this has a heavenly divine life in it, theirs has not. He vitalizes natural ethics, or codes of morality produced by the experienced observations and judgments of men, with the life of a divine Spirit, by which is produced a harvest of holiness and righteousness, of peace and joy. This, in his expressive language, is the "Kingdom of Heaven." It is, there-

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fore, in perfect harmony with the order and nature of things, that he addresses himself to the moral nature of men, and deals with it as his legitimate field. As the true husbandman, he pressed with wonderful skill and unequaled energy, the ploughshare of his divine teaching into the very subsoil of humanity, and turned it to the sun and showers of heaven's light and love. Prophets and poets, law-givers and philosophers before him, were ignorant or afraid of, or unable to reach this soil, whose fertility they did not understand, and turn it to the proper influences. They pronounced it cold and dead, and decided it had better be *under*. Jesus said, "Turn the cold soil to the sun—the dead soil to the air of heaven. One will warm, the other will enliven and enrich it. In that very field which you pronounce barren, will appear fruit multiplied a "hundred-fold." The mistakes and the failures of other husbandmen are seen when the true husbandman comes. Their attention had been given to the physical condition and intellectual wants of men, and their energies directed to those enterprises and pursuits which promised the needed protection and support. The natural increase of population, with their active instincts of self-preservation, made industry and commerce necessary. Social alliances grew into nations; common usages into civil governments. The more thoughtful of men looked at the intellectual powers these enterprises evoked and exercised, and turned their attention to the study of the human mind. Hence arose the "seers," the wise men of ancient times. After them came the philosophers and the schools. Some of those enterprises and observations show a wonderful strength and activity of muscle and brain, but at the same time, we discover a wonderful destitution and sterility of moral principle and virtue. The under and deeper heart of mankind was not yet

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reached and touched with the heavenly influence of a divine life and love, united with a pure and true human sympathy. Their gods and their religions were gods and religions of muscle and brain—not true heart. Their idols, were images of intellectual ideas and creations, wrought out from the phenomena of nature, which they carefully observed, and clothed with such sacred forms as the untrained instincts of man's social and moral nature suggested. They were either reproductions of nature or reflections of themselves or both. The wisest and best of those men were dissatisfied with idolatry, because the true light and the true life were not in it. They sought another God because these were false. Their speculations concerning the "unknown God" are full of interest to us, because they show how imperfect is that moral virtue, which is supported only by even the best of intellectual speculations, when compared with that supported by the "sure word of prophecy." Idolatry itself, with all its cruelties and abominations, shows a feeling after God which needs a true husbandry to become fruitful of good. Its history shows how in different ages, it has tended to a material formalism, or to an ideal materialism. In an age of physical industry, destitute of mechanical genius and skill, men will deify muscle. In the earlier East, Baal, the god of muscle, has many worshipers, because hard work and harder war are the chief employments. Giants were considered special favorites of this god, and were duly honored of men, because they could show the most muscle, lift the heaviest beam, hurl the longest dart and wield the largest sword. In an age of intellectual speculation, destitute of a true religious spirituality, men will deify brain. In the later West, Jupiter, the god of brain, has many worshipers, because legislation and education are the chief employment. Philosophers, not giants, were considered the special

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favorites of this god, and were duly honored of men, because they could talk the most eloquently concerning the origin of gods and men, of heaven and earth, and of the causes and laws of things. Even in its grossest and most revolting forms, idolatry intimates what is good in man, and testifies to a sense of obligation in him to recognize a good enjoyed. The worship of idols, under the influence of moral nature in men, is an outgrowth of the human intellect, rather than a corruption of the worship of the true God. Individual experience and common observation led mankind into certain speculations and conclusions concerning nature and themselves. The Orientals worshiped nature, the Greek's mind. To these the Romans added the earth, because of her spontaneous and abundant fertility. In these different and false religions, even from the lowest polytheism to the highest pantheism, we discoverd evience of a fertile moral nature in men, and learn what under the most unfavorable influences it is capable of producing. The evil of idolatry is that it makes a creature the object of human reverence. Against the worship of a creature, the soul sooner or later rises in rebellion, or falls in doubt. Moral nature must have a God and a religion worthy of itself. Such these were not, and hence their failure to afford the desired good. Christianity deifies neither muscle nor brain, but inspires the heart with a heavenly life and a holy love. Human blessedness, said Christ, comes not of muscle and brain alone, but from spiritual life and moral holiness. It must not however, be inferred from this that Christianity, in asserting the supreme dignity of moral nature in men, regards with indifference, what good has been accomplished by muscle and brain in the departments of industry and education. It rather rejoices than grieves at these triumphs and monuments of human genius and toil. These are the witnesses of

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man's superiority. Art shows what industry is, when human intelligence is put into animal instinct. Science shows what physical nature is, when human thought and reason are applied to the use of its forces and laws. It is the glory of the intellect to put animal instincts, into harmonious action with the constitution and course of nature. This is civilization. Now, when the human mind alone attempts to control and direct the moral sense, just as it does animal instinct, and physical forces, it finds a power not only different from them, but in a certain sense superior to itself. The intellect looks to the known—the tangible and the actual. Uncertainty and confusion attend it when it passes beyond these. Moral nature looks to the spiritual, the divine, the heavenly. To this, rather than the intellect, the highest and best revelations of God are made. Nature is God's revelation to the mind. Goodness is his revelation to moral nature. One is as much superior to the other, as justice, right and freedom are superior to authority and force. In art and science, knowledge is power. In this kingdom he is the greatest who knows the most. Education and study are worship done to the royalty of knowledge. In morals, goodness is power. In this kingdom he is the greatest who is the best. Prayer and discipleship with Christ are worship done to the royalty of goodness. Jesus reaches and stirs that in man, which underlies both instinct and intellect, and which puts them both in the direction of justice and piety. He brings the divine and spiritual into contact with the moral, and certifies that from these will spring the bountiful harvest of heavenly blessedness in human experience. "For the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear."

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II. The Method of Christian Labor.

A thorough knowledge of the proper field of Christian labor affords the best explanation and justification of the irregularity of its method of activity. It is in regard to its singularity that we discover not only the pro found originality and matchless wisdom of Christ as a true husbandman, but also that rule by which all true Christian energy must be directed, to be safe and successful. He sowed the good seed—seed unmixed with human errors and uncorrupted with human lusts,—on the "good ground" when life and fertility uniting produces a rich increase. Those very questions which had exhausted the energy of all teachers before him assumed their proper place, or disappeared, when the light of his life shone upon them. "In him was life, the life was the light of men." Questions of parentage and kindred, of authority and government, of church and state, of meats and manners, of times and places, in the settlement of which so much learned discussion and popular confusion had been involved, were secondary questions with him, because they did not constitute the department with which he was chiefly engaged. There is a wonderful moral significance in his first utterances. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." By those simple but mighty words, he breaks the vigor of selfishness down, and smites the pride of race, of wealth and of power out. As a matter of fact, the seat of Moses and the throne of Cæsar were no more in his eyes, than a seat on Jacob's well, or a couch in the house of a publican. As a question of right to the true privileges of his kingdom, paternity from Ham was just as good as parentage from Abraham. A cup of cold water given in his name, representing the principles and virtues of his kingdom, was worth more than a province from

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Cæsar, a kingdom from Herod or a world from the Devil. The washing of his feet with tears by a poor penitent and outcast harlot, had a thousand times more value in it than the splendid suppers and gorgeous apparel of rich and self-righteous Pharisees. He did more honor to the faith of a single Centurion, than he did to the mere popular favor of the whole house of Israel. A dispised publican's prayer had more saving power in it than the whole Jewish church had. One good Samaritan was practically worth more than a herd of heartless priests and formal Levites. Those inventions of church and state so highly esteemed among men, were an abomination to God and him, because of their utter destitution of moral worth. They were thoroughly human, and the defect of them was the want of a divine life. Their failure was the result of neglect and violence done to moral nature. Christianity proposes doctrines, observes ordinances and commends duties that are inagreeable with moral nature and promote it to the highest culture and fruitfulness. Its method happily avoids the difficulties, and carefully guards against the dangers encountered by other systems. Men enter into the kingdom of God not by natural birth, but by regeneration, a birth of the incorruptable seed, viz: the spirit and word of God. Discipleship with Christ means the teachableness, the innocence and trustfulness of a little child. Service in his cause means self-denial, cross-bearing and suffering for the good of others. Worth in his kingdom is the purity and perfection of love. Honor consists in the constancy and completness of obedience. Strength is in great faith. Zeal is the energy attending the continual baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire. Virtue is the outgrowth of that "fullness of God which filleth all human capacity." "He taught as one having authority, not as the scribes." His method of addressing men, of inspiring and control-

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ling men, has the highest sanctions of the moral judgment as to its merit and truthfulness. The basis of the reformation he proposed revealed the radical defects of both Judaism and Gentilism. The method he adopted would change or stop the whole machinery of their traditions and ceremonies, their nature-worship and men-worship. It was a fatal movement against the existence of all false religions. With its growth and increase come the decline and fall of religions springing from human authority and increasing only through a luxuriant dogmatism. The religious husbandry of state-craft and priest-craft, practiced both by Judaism and Gentilism, must cease ; doctrines and beliefs they produced, become obsolete. Arguments and evidences, long, and unanswerably urged by them, mysteriously lose their power. Great transformations go on quietly, and society, like a desert under culture, wears a new face and bears a better fruit. By Christ's method, the true life appears in forms more beautiful, in facts more blessed than in any yet known. It contemplates neither the social oppression nor elevation of one class at the expense of another. It is to bring forth the true manhood of man, and establish an universal and blessed brotherhood. It is the glory of Christ to put the greatest force of moral principle into individual experience, the highest form of moral virtue, into individual action and the richest abundance of spiritual blessedness, into individual enjoyment. False religion fails, because it attempts to *make* moral virtue. Moral virtue, said Jesus, "Is not made any more than the grain of the field." It is a thing of life and growth. Vitality is in the seed, fertility in the soil. "The sower sows and the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear."

III. The Extent of Christian Labor.

In the light of these conclusions, on the department

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and method of Christian labor, we arrive at a just conclusion concerning its extent. It is certain that it must be commensurate with moral nature in mankind. "The field is the world." The sayings of Jesus concerning the increase and extent of the "kingdom of heaven" among men were not the result of a shrewd calculation of chances, nor the effusion of a special moving of the spirit of prophecy. They were statements made on the strength of a perfect knowledge of the life of the seed word, and the fertility of the soil moral. He knew that was a life which could not die,—a fertility which could not perish. Such life and such fertility in contact, possess the property of universality. Other systems of morals grew and perished, not because of the sterility of the soil, but because the true life was not in the seed. The seed of falsehood is corrupt and perishable. It has a life, but it is not essentially eternal. The fruit of a false religion is a cruel distinction of classes in society, a distinction fruitful of pride in one, and envy in the other. The brazen gates and massive walls of the huge old cities of the East, confined alike a people and a religion. The Greeks and Romans, like the Egyptians before them, made their gods and their religion according to the fashion and working of the natural mind, and fringed all their institutions with intolerance and exclusiveness. The old Egyptian said, "Crush the Israelite." The warrior and priestly castes of India said, "Crush the laborer and the poor." The classic Greek said, "Crush the Helot." The proud Patrician said, "Crush the Plebeian." The Jew said, "We have Abraham for our father and in the blessings of the covenant with him, no other people can share an equal part."

With these general and organic defects in them, it is certain that those systems could not become universal and perpetual. The fatal worm-bite of selfishness was in them; the drought and mildew of prejudice and pride

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were upon them, and they must "wither away." Christianity reaches that which is spontaneous in the individual, and universal in the race. It says in doctrine to all men in every class and nation, "We have a common Father; we are brethren. One Father—one faith—and one family are the glorious utterances it ever makes. This sentiment runs through all its institutions of learning—all its labors of love, giving them a beautiful uniformity, according to the law of a spiritual life. The general and essential properties and peculiarities of Christianity appear in its increase and fruit. Christian life is a very different thing from mere social refinement, and Christian experience from intellectual culture. Christian enjoyment differs widely from mere aesthetical delight, arising from the enchantment of beautiful scenery in nature and art. Christian motives are free from fleshly lusts and worldly ambition. Christian thought is something more than intellectual activity. Christianity enthusiasm is more than sentimentality. Christian law is more than formal logic. In Christianity, worship is communion with God. Faith is seeing God and things invisible. Love is human feeling on fire of heaven. Hope is the pledge and first-fruit of immortality. Truth is strength, righteousness, power, holiness, beauty. Perfection is likeness to God in moral goodness and spiritual blessedness. The same inspiration which is in her doctrines is in her ordinances and her deeds. Baptism is a continual anointing with quickening and purifying grace. The Lord's Supper is a perpetual memorial of divine love in human sacrifice to redeem. Relieving the oppressed—helping the needy—visiting the widow and the fatherless—the poor and imprisoned—comforting the sorrowing—healing the sick—cleansing the leper—casting out devils and raising the dead to life, are the legitimate and certain fruits of Christian principle and life. Casting

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out devils is easy enough when the power of moral goodness is perfect. It was this perfection of goodness in Jesus which the devils feared and honored—which the outcasts of men felt and loved. The simple coming of Jesus, in the greatness of his strength, near those possessed, tormented the demons before their time, and they left. Casting out devils is not the fruit of purely intellectual vigor and culture, but the decrease of evil before the increase of good. The Temptation in the Wilderness demonstrated this goodness was in Christ, and the demons ever after acknowledged his superiority. It is this power of goodness which every true disciple has—which every true apostle uses. The history of Christianity is a repeating of Christ's mediation—a multiplication of Christ's life, The perpetual and fruitful virginity of Mary is a type of the purity and spontaneous fertility of man's essential moral nature. The immaculate conception is a sign of that "power of the Highest" that descends upon it. Moral goodness in experience and action is the "holy thing" born of it. Temptation and teaching—crucifixion and resurrection, become historical facts according to the application of this power and law. "The works that I do, said Jesus to his disciples, ye shall do likewise." The conversion of a soul shows this power applied. Now what is productive in one is productive in all, because moral nature is common, universal and spontaneous. The general principle is, "like produces like—goodness multiplies itself as wheat in the field;" "what a man sows, that also shall he reap," "and he that sows bountifully shall reap bountifully."

From this general subject, the following particular conclusions are easily made:

1. There should be a discreet use of the doctrine of total depravity. If there was a good desire—a generous feeling—or a manly quality in any one Jesus met, he

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addressed himself to that. In like manner Christian enterprise must not overlook what is generous and noble in men. Christianity does not contemplate the creation of a new world of moral nature in men any more than toil and industry contemplate making a new physical world. Husbandry means the cultivation, not the creation of the field. It seeks good fruit in abundance by securing the most favorable conditions and influences for life and fruitfulness. The same field which brings forth thorns and tares, will bring forth grapes and grain when the right seed, with the proper cultivation, is put into it. The curse did not destroy the fertility of the earth: the fall-depravity does not destroy the fertility of moral nature in men. Put the word of God into human thought —feeling and action—into marriage—parentage and education—into industry, commerce and legislation—into the market—the forum and the pulpit, and good shall come as fruit increased a hundred-fold. "Truth shall spring up out of the ground, and righteousness shall look down from heaven."

2. No amount of social or intellectual culture alone can produce the harvest of spiritual blessedness.

Deep ploughing and high cultivation alone, gives no harvest from any field. There must be seed sowed as well as land ploughed. Many have made the fatal mistake of supposing humanity bears in itself the elements of its own purification and blessedness, and have said cultivate highly and the harvest will come. Accordingly, they have looked to social and political reforms—to education and legislation for a harvest of virtuous pleasure, but after all their labor, the harvest does not come. The mistake is, they have not sowed the true seed—the divine word—upon the soil thus cultivated. This mistake in seeding is essential and fatal. Any reform labor which

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neglects the true seeding must fail. It is especially in the seeding that the superiority of Christian enterprise consists. Just as human intelligence makes man superior to the beaver and the gorilla—just as a divine life—the perfection of moral goodness—made Jesus superior to Socrates and Confucius, so the vitality and quality of this seed-word makes it superior to all other teachings of men. It is this inherent moral energy in Christianity which gives its excellence and fruitfulness.

3. The gifts and labors of Christianity are spontaneous and voluntary. Jesus "gave himself." "Freely, said he to his disciples, ye have received, freely give." Christianity has a large hand to "give good gifts to a a human brother, as well as a large heart to take them from a heavenly Father. Its charities are different from others, because of the superior moral goodness in them. Its praises are offerings of gratitude to God for mercies he gives. Much love is returned, because much forgiveness has been received." Its sacrifices are for saving men—its gifts for blessing them. The inspiration of a divine life is in its words—of a divine love in its deeds. There are no Shylocks in Christianity. Ananias and Sapphira were smitten by the judgment of God, for their lying violence to the Holy Ghost. The same Judas who sold his Lord, hanged himself. According to the law of life in Christ, every man becomes free from the law of sin and death—free from lust, free from hate. He speaks freely, acts freely and gives freely. He lives not for himself, dies not for himself. He and all he has are consecrated to the Lord. His wealth and talent are used for God and man. Christian gifts are like rich, ripe ears falling from the reapers for the benefit of poor and pious widows like Ruth. The productiveness of Christianity is certain because of the vitality of the seed, and the fertility of the soil on which it falls. This certain productiveness is the fulfilment of prophecy—the result of labor, and the fruition of hope.

"For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

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BEAUTY.

"For how great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty!"—ZECH. IX. 17.

The prophet is speaking of the Lord, and has been showing his wisdom; his overruling providence; his special kindness of deliverance toward the people. And in the last verse of the chapter he breaks out, "How great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty!"

One by one the various traits of divine excellence came before the mind of the prophet; and at last he, as it were, generalized them; and the whole vision struck him as a vision of extreme beauty.

This is not a singular representation of the Bible. We are apt to be misled by the fact that many figures which are applied to God are figures of an Oriental monarch. He is robed in state; he is represented as crowned and sceptered; and the beauty of royalty is attributed to God. And we are apt to suppose that as this is borrowed imagery, so the use of the term *beauty* is also figurative, metaphorical, and that the attribution of beauty as we usually understand that term, to God, is unusual—perhaps improper.

On the other hand, the wisdom of God, his justice, his purity, his truth, his love—all of these, in quality, in quantity and in harmony, form a symmetric whole, which deserves, if anything deserves it, the epithet *beautiful*, and meets the highest conception, and overreaches the highest aspiration which the human heart has for the element of beauty.

The Church of God, by a like figure, is often painted as a queen or a beautiful woman—a woman wise, beauteous, and clothed in beautiful garments. This is particularly so in the book of Canticles, where human life is spiritualized, and the divine character, and the divine tenderness, and the divine affiancing to the human soul, are set forth through that bold and peculiarly oriental mode—the household love. And heaven, as it is represented in the New Testament, is represented upon the same substantial principle that is employed to make known to us the Church of God, and God's own nature. According to Scripture, heaven is the land of beauty. Whatever elements, by the general consent of men, represent utter joyfulness and perfect beauty, are selected and put together, and called *heaven*.

Priests in garments of praise, with precious stones, represented to

SUNDAY MORNING, April 10, 1870. LESSON: EPHESIANS II., 1-13—III., 1-21. HYMNS (Plymouth Collection): Nos. 216, 364, 655.

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the age the highest type of a man, and they are transferred to the heavenly vision. Of all places that the Jew knew on earth, there was none for situation so beautiful as Jerusalem, and nothing so beautiful as that city—"the joy," as they termed it, "of the whole earth." And heaven was called "The New Jerusalem." And in Jerusalem there was nothing that struck men with such admiration and wonder as the temple, which blazed in its pristine glory of silver and of gold, and was carved with an elaborateness of art which was at that time unknown anywhere else. Then the temple was the very center of their conception of architectural exquisiteness; and it was employed to help them to form a conception of the heavenly land.

All things in nature, also, were gathered up; and it was on the principle of gathering up all the transcendent elements of beauty which create joy in man, that the heavenly city was reconstructed, and that it stands painted in the Word of God.

Is beauty, then, a reality in the higher spiritual life? Is there, in the inward, invisible and truly spiritual life, that which answers to our idea of sensuous beauty? Or is it figurative? Is it one of those childish things which the apostle says is put away when one grows up? No. I hold that beauty is first spiritual, and afterwards natural and material. I hold that it was divine; that it inhered in the nature of God, and the nature of spiritual existence; and that we call the outward and physical world beautiful, borrowing the term from the higher sources of beauty, instead of, as men are accustomed to think, calling spiritual things beauteous, and borrowing the term from sensuous pleasure. "That was not first which was natural," says the apostle, "but that which was spiritual." That is not highest which is material, but that which is invisible. And there is more and more real beauty, and less and less figurative and decorative beauty, as one advances toward the spiritual life.

Let us examine the relation of beauty to moral qualities.

As God has created the world, beauty is not a kind of seasoning scattered upon the weightier realities. Men think that the beauty of this natural world is a kind of decoration. As one builds a house, and then puts pictures in it, which are not really necessary to the well-being of the house; as one spreads a table, and over and above that heartiness of food which is needed to supply the body with strength, gives something for the eye, sugaring over the loaf, and tucking in flowers here and there—things that are very well, but things that are not food, and might be dispensed with; so men think that there is beauty, to be sure, in the world, but that it is incidental in the great framework of things. The substantial verities of things in this world, men think, have nothing to do with beauty. But I aver that beauty is not only a part of

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the course of nature, so that if it were excluded the whole structure would be changed and re-formed to a new ideal; that it is not merely a frosting; but that all things in the great scheme of evolution and development tend towards their highest estate by tending towards beauty. Ripeness and beauty are identical. Perfectness and beauty are identical. Maturity, whether it be of fruit, or flower, or what not, works by stages towards beauty, in the material globe.

So that beauty is not an accident. Still less is it the trimming which God gave to the perfected work. It is the divine idea of a mode of creation. It inheres in the structure and in the subtle nature of things. God re-made the world that when organic life began to work towards higher and higher forms, it evinced that higher tendency by the evolution of beauty. It is a kind of goal toward which all right things are tending. It is in nature a kind of signal of attainment. So that it might almost be said, taking it on the great circle, and as a generic fact, that just so far as things are material they are remote from developed perfection

As the human mind is cultivated, it becomes more and more sensitive to this quality. The less culture men have, the further they are from the admiration of beauty; that is to say, the less comprehensive is their admiration. The uttermost savage admires a glittering bead; but that is not admiring beauty. As men grow cultivated, every single faculty demands beauty. The reason, the social affections, the moral sense, the whole nature, comes more and more under the esthetic; and even the ethic clothes itself in the esthetic. So that when the human mind develops and grows toward its perfection, it grows toward the sense of beauty.

As beauty is the highest thing in nature, as all things have been seen to be developed in the direction of beauty, and as the chief, the sovereign fact in this world is man, so man himself indicates still more signally what is the law and thought of God in the creation of the world, and of the beings for whom the world was created.

Perfection in matter and ripeness of mind, then, are indicated by the tendency to develop, or the actual development and perfection, of the element of beauty.

But moral qualities come under this law, just as much as physical qualities do. *Fullness, fineness, and harmony*—there is the formula. In nature, it is called *quantity, symmetry;* and the equivalent of this in moral elements, is *fullness, fineness, harmony.* And this makes beauty in anything and in everything. Whatever elements the mind produces when it acts so as to give fullness and fineness and harmonious proportions to the product, are beautiful. That is to say, they produce the

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sense of beauty in those that look upon them, and tend universally to do it.

Now, not only are right things commanded all through the Bible, but you shall find, upon analysis, that though the Bible does not use the term *beauty* as we do, it is not enough that we should be just, or that we should be conscientious, or that we should be true, or that we should be amiable, or that we should be benevolent. There is to be fullness in each of these elements, and there is to be harmony among all of them. And here is the formula fulfilled which goes to make social and moral affections beautiful.

It would seem enough to say to men, "Be kind, be generous, be benevolent;" but no. *Let love be without dissimulation. God loves a cheerful giver. Give without grudging one to another.* These are the elements that go to make beneficence; that free it from wrinkles; that give it largeness and generosity.

Men think of humility as being a stoled and draped nun, clothed in black, and downward looking. No; the humility of the Bible is not the exaggerated sense of a man's wretched imperfection. No man is humble who is looking down. Humility is the sense of such ineffable excellence that when a man's aspiration looks up, and he compares what he is with what he would be, he is humble. It is a state of appreciation in a man of excellence, and an ideal of an excellence beyond, sitting in judgment on his relative position, that makes humility. Humility is a head-up quality—not a dragging, miserable, mean feeling. Many men have mortified-pride, and call that humility. Many men have the blues, and call them humility. Many men palm off all the wretched and reactionary feelings of their nature, and call them humility. Humility is one of the noblest and one of the most resplendent of all the experiences of the soul. When every part of a man's nature is sensitive and apprehensive, and when the sense of character and of being is so radiant and large that the man feels his own relative imperfection, compared with that which he now perceives to be possible—then it is that humility is born, and is the child of aspiration.

So of conscience. Conscience is to be draped and clothed in gentleness and tenderness. And so of all the moral excellences. You will find, in one place or another, in the New Testament, not simply that they are commanded, but that they are commanded in certain modes; that they are to be exercised in certain ways; that on the one side the evils to which they are liable are cautioned against, and on the other, innocent, admirable qualities, which make them beautiful, are enjoined. You will find in the New Testament commands in respect to loving, and truthfulness, and generosity, and activity, and various other excellent qualities; and you will find that they are all

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enjoined in their modes as well as in themselves. And in the instruction of the disciple, there is as much anxiety manifested that he should be *beautiful in holiness*, as that he should be holy.

The growth toward ripeness in moral experience is analagous to development in physical nature—that is toward beautifulness. Just in proportion as any one of our better feelings becomes predominant over the others, men feel that character is growing *lovely*, *attractive*, *admirable*, as they say. And these are only step-stone words that bring you to the last one—*beautiful*. And when a man whose passions have been in the ascendency, puts his affections over his passions, everybody says, "How much he is improved!" When a great truculent, bull-headed man, who has been living in the indulgence of the most beluine parts of his nature, begins to be subdued by home influences, and the little child is able to lead him; when his great strength begins to be brought under the control of his tenderer domestic affections, everybody says, "How beautiful the sight is!" It *is* beautiful. The term is exactly well applied there. And when you find that superadded to this, there comes over a man's nature the higher graces, the magnanimities, the generosities, the fervors of devotion; when one begins to live by the power of hope and faith and love, and maintains purity of living, men look upon him and say, "Admirable! Beautiful!" And it *is* beautiful—*literally* beautiful.

There is nothing so beautiful in this world as beauty of character. Oh! how men long for it! I do not wonder that men have worshipped Gods that they made out of men. Man is a worshipping creature, and if he cannot get anything better, he will make his own God. A God he will have, and a God he will worship. Men hunger, they long, for some Being that they can reverence and adore. The artist does not more long for beautiful features or faces or forms, than every moral nature longs to see characters that are so well, so strongly, so harmoniously, so finely and fully developed, that they impress those who behold them with the idea of admirableness, and make them feel that it is pleasant to sit and look at them, and to be where they are.

I have known some persons that impressed me just as some pictures do. Now and then there is an elect picture. Most of the pictures in this world are *in their sins;* but now and then there is one that has been converted, and is elect and precious. And to sit in the room with such a picture is to have a perpetual blessing. If a man could swing the rainbow as a hammock and sleep in it, how the poet would like to do it! But now and then there is a rainbow-picture in the room which is like the falling down upon me of all sweet and celestial influences I know not what it is; and I am lifted before I am aware what lifts me. Now and then there are picture-persons; but they are rare. We

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are obliged to take each other just as we are. We are only good in spots, at any rate. Most persons are like these street organs, that have been very much used, in which only every other note sounds, and in which each of the notes that do sound has an individual liberty of its own; and so it is crank-turning, with a hop-skip and a jump, one note being hit here, and another there, with a blank between. Now and then there are harmonious natures, well chorded, well put together, even in quality, admirable in proportion, entirely self-restrained, and with force enough to throw out a continual influence. Under such circumstances we feel not only that they are beautiful, but that they are beautiful in both senses—that they are physically beautiful, and morally beautiful. For it is not possible that one should be under the dominion of a noble feeling, and not look beautiful in the face. So really is beauty the creature of the mind and the soul, that when the body is never so homely, if the soul has the power of expression, it will shine through and fill the pores of the skin, and transform the individual. There is no person who is not radiant when he is under the inspiration of the highest feelings. There is no person, though he be hump-backed, and dwarfed, and disfigured, who, if he has the love of God, and a soul of praise, will not shine with divine outward beauty. Though his body may not be symmetric and harmonious artistically, yet everybody will say, "He is handsome. The deformed lump is not as homely as I thought."

Ah! the visions that have gone from men! The most beautiful things are the things which you remember, and that were fugitive. Many of you remember the day when you thought God had sent a ministering angel to wait upon you all your life. That ministering angel became your companion; and you were imperfect, and she was imperfect; and you went on battle-door and shuttle-cock fashion; and by-and-by you settled down into a kind of humdrum life of toleration one for the other. And you would laugh at what you called sentiment and sentimentality, saying to the young, blasphemously, "Take it all out now. I know what that means. I was once in your place." And yet there come hours in which such an one remembers how the most beautiful thing he ever saw in this world was the fair virgin face of the loved one, in that moment when the full assurance of love dawned on her soul. And she remembers his face. And there was not in all their life another point of time in which they looked reality so absolutely in the face.

Men say that that was sentiment. Men say that that was fancy. *I* say that it was the very alphabet of everlasting truth. I say that it was one moment's gleam through the opaque and sin-contorted world, so that these persons saw how beautiful the soul was in its best feelings, in their best moods, when they were radiant. That was seeing the soul

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itself. Ah! that the curtain should have fallen so soon! Ah! that the literature should have been so little! Not only do men know that these things are beautiful, but if they grow in this knowledge, if they go on learning, the longer they live the longer and the more perfect becomes, not simply their appreciation of beauty, but their conviction that of all beautiful things there is nothing in this world like a beautiful soul and like the beautiful experiences which proceed from it. Moral quality, then, is beautiful.

Now for some applications.

1. All the world recognizes beauty in the lower grade of qualities. Everybody recognizes gentleness as something very beautiful. Everybody recognizes amiableness as something very beautiful. It is the higher moral experience that men lack a knowledge of. Devotion is more beautiful than passion. The love of God in the soul is far more beautiful than any love to man can be. Faith and hope in their full fruition are to the eye of anyone that looks upon them far more attractive and far more beautiful than a cheerfulness or buoyancy or hopefulness of the lower life.

The qualities of religion to which we are called are supreme, not alone in importance, but in art even. They are essentially and intrinsically more admirable, more noble, more beautiful, than all the lower experiences. Men recognize the truth in regard to the lower ones. We look at what are called the *moral virtues*, and we think them to be admirable. But I will tell you that the analogy of the same experience which you have had in regard to the lower forms of emotion, goes on up to the very highest. And when I call you to a Christian life, I call you to the supremest art. I call you to the highest range possible. For to be a Christian man does not mean that a man should become meager, and poor, and mean, and low. It does not mean that he should become, as it were, the offscouring of the earth. There is more nobility in the Christian idea than in all others put together. You recognize beauty in body, and you recognize a faint idea of beauty also in the lower social qualities. And that same God, so much of whose handiwork you recognize, has made beauty to rise and be more impressive, and more grand and glorious, as we go up. And when we come to the heavenly land, methinks we shall be yet more impressed with the wonderful radiancy of beauty than with all other things. We shall be like men that look the sun in the face. The light will be so strong that if we should gaze full upon it, it would blind us.

2. How great is the variety of spiritual things in the Christian life! and how few things are gained! When one looks at the varieties of spiritual beauty which are possible, he is struck with the meagerness of actual attainment among men. There are very few Chris-

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tian experiences which have become strong and powerful. Little fineness is given to our Christian feelings. Everything is defective in harmony. In other words, if I may so say, Christians are barbarians yet. And what I mean by that is this: A barbarian will be half-naked, with no clothing except a ragged blanket about his loins; but if he has a string of beads around his neck, and something in his ears, he is immensely tickled with his beauty. And you laugh at him. But Christians are just like him. They have two or three tinkling virtues that they put on which cover a part of their nakedness, and leave the rest uncovered. Miserably clad, they are, in the garments of nature; and they are quite elate and quite proud of their attainments, and their beauty and grace. Ah! a sense of beauty requires more largeness, and more harmonious adjustment of all the parts of our nature.

How many persons are there that are beautiful in temper? How many Christians are there in this audience, who, under provocation, blossom into beauty—that is, who have meekness? How many persons are there, who, in the midst of all their gains, are humble—that is to say, have such a sense of that which lies before them that they are *not puffed up;* that they do *not behave themselves unseemly;* that they do *not think of themselves more highly than they ought to think?*

How many persons are there whose good nature is anything more than the mere product of good health, so that when they are unwell they are cross, and when they are well they are good natured? How many persons are there in whom there is anything like disinterested benevolence; who really like to do good; and who act benevolently without stopping to ask whether it is for their interest or not—who do not depend upon the poor crutch of self-interest to hold them up to their benevolence? How many persons are there who sow not expecting to reap again? How many persons are there who do kind and beneficent things from the love of doing them? How little of that which we call evidence of piety or Christian character, has strength enough to go alone! How it is mixed with lower motives! How few there are in God's choir on earth! and how discordantly they perform together when they attempt to emit the sweet sounds of Christian experience in life!

The Bible declares that God's people in the world are the bride of the Lord. The church is spoken of under the figure of a bride. It is compared to a bride adorned for her bridegroom. Paul represents Christ as preparing to present us before the throne of his Father, without blemish, wrinkle or spot. That is to say, as a young man, going forth, finds the companion of his life, wins and marries her, and brings her home with unutterable joy and gladness, sure that the household will all admire his choice, and presents her, fair and admirable, to his

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father and mother, so the Bible says Christ is doing by us. He is wedding us to himself, and is preparing us, that by-and-by he may present us perfect before the throne of his Father.

But how little is the Church beautiful in its grace! How little is there which makes us so comely that God will be glad to look upon us, and will say to his Son, "How fair is thy bride!" Life has done so little to us that death must do a great work if we are beautiful when we get to heaven.

3. The unbeautifulness of Christian life is sadly shown in the popular impression with regard to religion. What is the impression of the world at large in respect to religion? Is it the general feeling that it is desirable and beautiful! No. To a very large extent men feel that religion is something that may be obligatory or as a duty, but that there is nothing attractive about it. Or, they regard it as a policy of safety; for the most part, and feel that if religion can be got along without to the end of life,it had better be deferred, that they may take their enjoyment and spend themselves in worldly pleasure, but that in their last hours it is well for them to step in and take religion, and so be safe for the future. That meets the idea of men.

The true idea is, that a man who goes into a Christian experience, goes into a larger liberty, and goes into a larger joy—not the joy of the mystic; not the unsearchable, hidden joy of faith; but any joy by which a truly Christian man may be made happier. Whatever it is right for any man on earth to do, it is all the more right for a Christian man to do. May the hired servant eat? and may not the son eat? May the servant respectfully speak to the master of the house? How much more the son!

If a man has come back to the divine conception of human nature; if he is attempting to shape the whole character and life so that manhood shall be what God purposed in the great outline of nature; if he is brought into communion, through grace, with God; and if he is made an heir of immortality, and he feels both worlds, around him and in him, and the whole power of the God-head is resting upon him, and his mind is coincident with God's, and the divine thought mingles with his thoughts, do you suppose he is made mopish and miserable by these things?

We are told that we must *take up our Cross and follow Christ.* Yes; but every step the cross of Christ grows lighter and lighter, until by-and-by the cross carries us, instead of our carrying the cross.

Why, we are as men that are in a dungeon, and to whom the word comes, "Brake your chains, and get out of your prison, and follow liberty." To be sure, they must put forth exertion to break out; but the moment they are out, are they not better off than they were in prison?

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The word of the Lord comes to us in our bondage to the animal appetites, in our bondage to opinions, in our bondage to carnal and secular pursuits, where we are all moping, and groping, and looking down; and we are called to a higher life. We are called to more freedom in reason; to more freedom in moral sense; to more freedom in affection; to a wider, purer, finer, nobler way of living. There is not one feeling in ten in your nature that you use. But God calls you to the whole of yourself. And the way to come to one's whole self is through a true Christian experience. A man who knows how to be a better husband, a better father, a better friend and a better neighbor, is happier for it. A man who is called to a Christian life, and responds to the call, does business easier, and more naturally, Whatever a man does, he can do better if he does it as a Christian does it, than if he does it as a man of the world does it. There is nothing that so helps a man in the discharge of the ordinary duties of life, as harmonizing his whole self with the divine conception.

In being called to a Christian life, then, we are called, not to circumscription, nor to gloom, but to largeness, and power, and symmetry, and fineness, and fullness—in short, to *beauty*. And every man who becomes a Christian ought to seem more radiant than ever before. And he will if he is living in a full understanding of his privilege, and up to his privilege, or anywhere near it. For it does not require perfection to be handsome. A moss-rose bud is handsome before it blossoms.

4. Christians should at least be as sensitive to spiritual beauty as to physical. I do not blame men who want to surround themselves with outward beauty; but I do blame them if that is not a suggestion to them of that other and higher kind of beauty from which it sprang, and of which it should be a symbol perpetually. All men should love beauty in common things. I think less of a man who does not. If a man drives horses, I like to see knots on his horses' heads. If a man is an engineer, I like to see him polish the brass and the iron on his engine. I like to see a man that has a little corner stuck full of flowers, though he is obliged to earn his very daily bread off from the scant ground that he owns. The sentiment of beauty is a thing which belongs in a man; and the absence of it is a deformity.

Some men thank God that they do not care for these folderols; but it would seem to me just as sensible for a man to come in with the stump of an arm, and hold it up, and say, "Other folks are proud of two hands, but I thank that God I have only one." Are a man's deformities things to boast of? Are they subject-matters of gratulation?

Every man who is a true man has in him, and all over him, if he only could get at it, and give it culture, a sensibility to that which is

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harmonious and fine and beautiful. I do not, therefore, blame men for building themselves handsome cottages, instead of homely ones. I do wonder that they build such homely ones, when it does not cost any more to build a fine line than to build a foul line. I do not wonder that people have their trellises covered vines, and their gardens filled with flowers and sweet-smelling shrubs. I marvel that men should be so insensitive as not to admire these things about their houses. I cannot imagine why it is that men should build fine houses, and pay thousands and thousands of dollars for carpets for the floors, and for paper for the walls, and for perpendicular carpets for the windows (spending great sums of money to get the light in, and greater ones to keep it out), and for upholstery—I cannot imagine why it is that people should do these things, and then have no pictures in their rooms except those miserable Swiss machine pictures (I wish all the ships that start to bring them across the ocean would founder on the other side), every one of which represents a mountain, a stream, a bridge, and a fool looking at it generally! They go all their life unhungry, unthirsty, needing nothing, wanting nothing that shall feed the soul with higher beauty; but they must have a carpet every five years; and they must have a big, fat, plethoric sofa. That which shall minister to the fancy, to the esthetic nature, they can dispense with. They do not want anything which shall lead them to look beyond the profitable; which shall teach them to carry the idea of profit higher than that which is measured by money or by the esteem of men. I marvel that men do not have a larger sense of beauty. I do not marvel that they have a sense of physical beauty; but I do marvel that when men have learned to love things beautiful, they stop short at the body, and do not want to be beautiful of soul.

I see men that groan because they are neuralgic. There are men whose temper has been neuralgic all their life; and nobody groaned but those who lived with them. I see men who are retiring from business, on account of nervous depression, over-work and over-anxiety; and they nurse themselves, and care for themselves, and every morning look at their tongue, and every day they feel of their pulse; and the road between them and the doctor's house is beaten hard. And yet they have been a great deal worse inside. If they could see their soul's portrait, they would see that they are sick enough there. But they never went to a doctor on account of their soul. They did not care much about that. They could not bear to see the pains of the body, but it did not trouble them to see the pains of the soul. They could not bear to have outward things inharmonious, and less than full and powerful and symmetric. They loved to clothe whatever they had with the garments of beauty. And when they come to the higher form of beauty, why is

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not the analogy carried on? Why do not men want to be beautiful in their higher nature? Why do they not desire the best and noblest things? Oh! the conflict of life—the damaging conflict of life! How many there have been that started out brave, pure, true and noble, but that, by the time they were forty-five years old, shook their heads, and said, "These things are very pretty to talk about; but there is not much reality in them. Life does not permit their realization."

Now, I believe it is possible for men to be men in this world, harmonious, brave, noble and beautiful. It costs some trouble; but it is worth all it costs, a thousand times over. And we are called to it. I do not believe one word in cynicism. The cynic is my abhorence. When men tell me that this life is to be poor in order that the other one may be rich, I deny it. It is not so. If we are only willing to be rich and beautiful in the right place, in the right way, and in the right elements, then this life calls for riches and beauty. This is the meaning of the Master, when he says, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

In a town—or city, as it called itself—where I had a former parish, there were but two or three gardens, and I undertook to preach the Gospel by the garden as well as by the pulpit. I had my little acre, and filled it full of things that I could ill afford to buy, and which I could not beg; and on Sundays, I used to see many of the German population out looking at them. I had a bed of three thousand hyacinths one year; and they were an attraction to a great many of these common folks. And, to their honor, I will say that I never lost a flower. But then, they were *Germans!* My roses and other plants blossomed, and the neighbors continually saw them. And my efforts in this direction were not without their fruit; for, though I never said a word on the subject, it was not long before my example began to be followed by others. Now and then there was one that came and looked over the fence and shook his head as though he doubted the wisdom of my devoting so much land and so much time to the cultivation of flowers. I recollect that an old elder of my church stopped one day, as he was passing, and, with a twinkle in his eye, said, "Wall, I s'pose you enjoy all these things. I think the purtiest flower I ever seen was a cabbage"—which was very well for him. Nevertheless, taking the young and the old, they saw my bright flowers, and the love of flowers grew, and it was not more than two or three years before there were ten times as many flowers in that town as there ever had been before. It was a small and humble way of fulfilling the law, *Let your flowers so shine that men, seeing how beautiful they are, will go and make gardens for themselves.*

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You have a garden, but how miserably it is kept! People go and look over the fence into that garden, but they do not see anything there which they want to reproduce. And I do not wonder. I should not want to be a Christian if I had to be what some of you are, just as you would not want to be one if you were obliged to be what I am. We are not handsome enough to make folks want to be like us. We are not true enough Christians. We do not live high enough. We are not beautiful enough. But Christ says to every one of us, "Plant. Let all sweet graces come up in you. Let them blossom. Let there be something for every month of the year. Let the twining vines and the trees hang low with fruit. Let the whole garden be filled with fragrance and beauty, that men seeing your good things—your blossoms and fruit—shall glorify your Father which is in heaven." That is the way we ought to live; but alas! alas! it is not the way many of us do live.

5. God is bringing all good men toward that realm and that indescribable experience which is hinted at in the words of Scripture. The work which is going on in us, we do not ourselves at all appreciate.

Have any of you ever been present when an organ was set up? I have, on several occasions. Imagine a child looking at the litter, at the glittering pipes that are scattered about, at the unfinished outside, and at the mysterious and obscure inside. Little by little the machinery is put into its place. One by one the stops are introduced. And at last, after pretty much all is in, one man goes in, and another sits at the keys, and they begin to bring the organ into tune. Did you ever pass by a church where this process of tuning was going on? Do you recollect passing by this church when this organ was being tuned? One note was taken as a comparison note; and the next one, being put down, began to squeal in the greatest discord. Then it was subjected to a series of tappings and knockings, when it came up, and came up, and came up, until at last it was brought into a perfect blending. Then the next was taken, and that began away off, and came up screaming like a child dragged to its parent, and gradually was subdued, and finally was all right. And if I thought once, I thought a thousand times, when this organ was being put up, "Well, that is just like me. The Lord is bringing me into accord in that way, and I scream when I begin, but work up to a tuneful state at last."

That is what is going on all over the world in the churches. We look upon this great scene of human life, and are apt to think that it is a mere chance, hustling conflict. No; there is an Eternal God; there is a divine providence; there is a work, mystic, mysterious and hidden, going on. And under tears and pains and cries, and in the midst of conflicts, and with ten thousand things that seem to be jang-

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ling, harsh discords, the tuning hand of God is at work; and little by little the whole human family is being brought up higher and higher, and God's people are becoming more and more harmonious, and more and more beautiful; and very soon we shall be carried forward into that land where the whole work shall be completed upon us, and the glory of the Lord shall rest upon us, as the sun rests on the blossoming fields in June.

Let us not be discouraged, brethren. Let us mourn that there is such imperfection and such discord now; but let us remember that we are to go into heaven, not by our perfection in beauty, but by the grace of God, by the gift of love. Let us remember that we are being carried into the other land as the struggling wretch is carried into his father's house, for discipline—a discipline that shall make him a sweet child. Let us remember that by our trials and sufferings we are being made beautiful. Do not count them to be the most fortunate who seem to be the furthest removed from God's discipline. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement whereof all are partakers, then ye are bastards, and not sons."

God is working. Trouble, anxiety, forelooking, foreboding, anguish, bereavement, disappointed affection—these are only so many tools which God is employing, by which to polish, and make fair and comely, the qualities of your soul. And by-and-by, out of this shop-work, out of this tribulation, you shall rise fair as the sun, glorious forever, and shining as the stars in the firmament of God.

Take courage then. Do not look down and within. Wait for the hour of transfiguration. As from a mountain-top behold your hope, like Christ, whiter than snow. And in that royal moment look up and take your measure and conception of life from this highest and most radiant point. And then rejoice.

Soon pride will have done its battle. Soon selfishness will have run out. Soon all disturbing passions will have lost their power. More and more time itself helps you to bring all the royal attributes of your soul into fullness and harmony. And pretty soon death shall put the ground on your head. And then you shall be as beautiful as God—he being Father, and you children, and heaven the glorious land of beauty.

Are there any who wish to go with us? Who would be crowned for a moment and discrowned forever? Who would wear the garments of praise for a single year, and then moan forever more?

My friends, we are living an invisible life. There is a kingdom of God within us. There is a work of God going on there. It is a hard work. It is a work in which our progress is slow—it humbles us to

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think how slow. Nevertheless, we are called; and being called, we are being educated by the hand of the Lord. Will you not join the number of those who are preparing, by the strife of this life—by its joy, by its hope, by its precious experiences, as well as by its cares and sorrows—for dying, and who shall be more and more disclosed as they draw near to death?

In that last hour, you and I will be very different, oh man! You are richer than I am now; but when you come down to the grave, and your will is made, you cannot take one penny of that difference which there is between you and me with you, and I shall be richer than you are then. My treasure is laid up in heaven, but yours is laid up on the earth. Oh friend! when you go down to the grave in your old age, and the wine, the dance, the exhileration, the gay associates, and the wild wail of wickedness, are gone, you will think of them as of a storm on the horizon, in the past. And you will be withered. And you will have no hope, no outlook. Then the poor man, that seemed to have nothing in this life—the Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate—will begin to come to his immortality. In that hour his joy will begin to rise above the horizon. They that have nothing but the hope of immortality are stronger and happier the nearer they come to death; and they that seek this world as their chief good, drift further and further from their possessions, the nearer they come to the mortal hour. My help will come to me when I need help most. You have your help when you need it least. By-and-by, when heart and flesh fail, you will have none at all. My joy is to come. Come gray hairs, come dimness of vision, come dullness of hearing. In me these are signs that I am about to sprout and grow in a higher life. But when infirmity whitens your locks, when your eye grows dim, when your ear grows heavy, have you a future? Is there immortality of joy and blessedness for you? If not, are you living right? Are you living according to the dictates of your own reason? I do not ask you to join this church, or any church; but I put the question to every sober-minded man's conscience and understanding, Are you living so as to be rounder, larger, finer, purer, in every respect, all through? Are you living so that you know you are coming nearer to God, and nearer to the spirits of just men made perfect? Is your future growing radiant, or is it growing sadder and sadder? Are you living right? and if you are not living right, is it not time that you should gird up your loins, and step out of the old ways, move out of the old ruts, and take a new start, with a new purpose, and earnestly call upon God for help, that, peradventure, before the day be past, he shall come to your rescue, and your soul shall be saved?

May God make us all wise unto everlasting life and everlasting beauty.

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PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We draw near to thee, with humble boldness, our best Friend, and highest. With thee is all power and all discernment. With thee is all goodness. Infinitely more tender art thou than man knows how to be. For the human soul is a desert, parched, that bears no good thing; but thou hast an everlasting garden on which comes no winter. Thou art infinite in all excellence, beautiful in holiness, standing above all conception of man—beyond all power to conceive. Thou art the One overflowing with excellence, which is imparted to all that are near, and that can receive the joy, the light, the life, the love, of all that are garnered in heaven. Toward that blissful centre tend all things that are good. Time, that sifts all things, shall collect and bring to thee whatever is worth preserving in all the wide outlying realms of universal being. And thou art the Father, the best Companion, the nearest Friend. Thou art the One most suited to all the moods and exigencies of the human heart. And though there are gradations of being infinite, and those that reach nearer to the companionship of the Almighty than we do, yet thou dost condescend unto us; nor dost thou stop upon the outskirt where they are that have reached the highest, with the noblest endowments. Thou dost also dwell with the broken in spirit, with the humble, and with the contrite ones. Thou dost love, not because of our excellence, but because of the stores of lovingness that are in thy nature. Thou dost come to us as the day comes, that does not seek out the things that are the fairest, but rests upon all things, and makes them fair in its own beauty. And so is thy righteousness unto us, which covers our imperfection and homeliness. In thee we become gracious and beauteous. All our good is of God. Thou art perpetually sending forth that influence which should create us into true holiness. We bless thee for what thou art, and for what thou hast revealed of thyself. And we are glad to believe that this is but the beginning; that we know but the alphabet; and that though even this little so transcends the measure of human experience that we can scarcely take it in, yet, forever and forever, in ascending vision, we shall still find thee out, and forever there shall be more to be known than has been compassed. Thou art infinite; and in our immortality we shall not exhaust thee. And we rejoice that we may call ourselves the sons of such a God; and that we may, with humble boldness, draw near to obtain mercy and help in every time of need. And we come, this morning, because there is no hour and there is no moment that has not its need. We need thee for sanctification. We need thee to instruct us and to warn us. We need thee to rebuke us and to chastise us. We need thee in thy providences, in our own volitions, in every home experience, in all our work and way of life. And we rejoice in that fullness of providence, and in that divinity of providence, by which we are still with God.

We pray, this morning, that in every heart there may arise gratitude and thanksgiving for all the mercies of the past. And may every heart lift up a consecrating fervor to-day for the future. May we desire to be more truly thine than we have ever been; and may we lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our faith. May we behold him in all things, and always behold him, and live in him, so that there shall be but one life—thine in us, and ours in thee.

Wilt thou bless this congregation, and look upon all that are gathered here from diverse ways, but that have one nature, pointing in one direction —toward the great future. We all march together. Grant that it may be under one banner, and to the sound of one voice. And we pray that we may be united in fervent faith. And grant that in the great union of hearts in the love of God, and in the hope of immortality, we may stand more to rejoice in this unity than to look upon the things which dissever us out-

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wardly. Oh! may we be ashamed, as a part of the universal church, that we suffer the figments of our own imagination, the inventions of our own hearts, to dissever the body of Christ. May we look upon God; and knowing that love is greater than all other things, and that all thy people are united in love to God and in love to man, may we refuse to thrust away our brethren, or to be separated from them. And still, though in outward life walls and partitions are built up, grant that there may be that fervor of love which shall fly over every wall. And as birds find each other in the upper air, loosed from the entangling thicket, so may thy people of every name fly high enough to reach each other when they reach their God. And so may there be spreading upon the earth the one living, blessed church of God, and the union of all true hearts.

We pray that thou wilt bless thy cause in every form. Wilt thou advance civilization throughout the globe. Wilt thou lift up the poor, the naked and the needy, from the outskirts of creation. Grant, we pray thee, that barbarism may cease, and that civilization may take its place, and that superstition may pass away, and that a true religion of love may be breathed upon all hearts. May wars cease, and therefore the provocations of war. May oppression pass away, and may the glory of the Lord arise and shine in all the earth.

We thank thee for the great things that thou hast done in our day and generation, for the regeneration of this nation. We had not hoped to live to see the day of emancipation. We had not expected to behold that wondrous work which thou hast done, and by which thy name shall be glorified for ever and for ever.

We thank thee for the mercies which thou hast granted to this nation, and that after so great and cruel a war such peace hath come, in such measure, upon the land; and that the channels of industry are filled again; and that prosperity comes with the seasons over the continent. Still be our God, as thou wast our fathers'. Let us not provoke thee by our sins. May we humble ourselves, and cleanse our hands, and learn to do justly, and to live rightly. And so we pray that we may have peace in our time.

Bless, we pray thee, all the nations which struggle for their liberties. Strike on the side of the weak that are right, against the strong that are wrong. And we pray that thou wilt overturn in all the earth till He whose right it is shall come and reign. And to the Father, the Son and the Spirit, shall be praises everlasting. *Amen.*

PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our heavenly Father, we pray that thou wilt bless us. Out of the wealth of thine own nature, pour upon the poverty of ours. For we are the sand that has nothing, and thou art the cloud that is full and waiting to drop down fatness. Grant, we pray thee, to all that are whelmed by influences which are greater than their own resolution, the mighty strivings of thy spirit. May none grieve the Spirit of God by which he is filled. May every one hear God calling him to holiness, to glory, to immortality. And grant, we pray thee, that there may be many who, instead of being enemies, may be sons, rejoicing in the Lord, and in the full liberty of the household of faith. Wilt thou bless us while we sing again. Go home with us. And when life is over, bring us home with thee. Which we ask for Christ's sake. *Amen.*

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"MY YOKE IS EASY."

"And his commandments are not grievous."—1 JNO., V. 3.

The whole passage is this:

"For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous."

This is contrary to the popular impression. If by *keeping his commandments* is meant the leading of a religious life, then it countervails a very widely prevalent feeling, that though a religious life may be more honorable, and more safe, and ultimately more profitable, and by-and-by, in its own way, more joyful, yet, in its inception, for the most part, in this world, it is grievous, and that it is fitly said to be a yoke, to be a restraint of liberty. And as "religion" means binding, restraining, tying up, so men are apt to feel, not perhaps with any etymological information on that subject, but from other sources which I shall mention, that a religious life is not an easy one, and is not, on the whole, to be compared, for freedom or joyousness, with a natural life, provided that that natural life is pleasurable, and is conducted with a reasonable degree of consideration and moderation.

But here we have an appeal substantially made to our reason, in this matter. The declaration that the commandments of God on which we are to stand are not grievous, is substantially an argument propounded; and we are at liberty to reason it.

I remark, then, in the first place, that a religious life—by which we mean a life based upon the supreme commands of God, as they are revealed in Scripture—is not grievous, in that it does not require of man artificial duties, but is, in the highest and best sense of the term, the requirement of that which is natural.

We are not required either to do or to forbear things which are not in accordance with our organization—our physical, social and moral organization. We are not put to do things which are difficult as requiring us to turn aside any of our faculties, or to task them unduly, according to their nature.

On the other hand, we are not required to fulfill artificial obligations and duties. This was not always so. It could scarcely have

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been said under the Mosaic economy, "His commandments are not grievous,"—are not burdensome; because the worship which was ordained by Moses for the people of Israel was a burdensome worship. Experience shows that in time it became too burdensome; and not only that, but that it could not be carried on without so distracting men from the natural to the artificial that they would go to the artificial in distinction from the natural—the *true* natural.

Now, as interpreted by Christ, religion does not stand in any forms whatever, nor in any special philosophical faiths. It certainly requires our belief in the existence of a God. It requires that we should believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. It requires faith and trust and obedience. But it does not require that we should believe in one church or another church. It does not require that we should believe in the creed of one church as distinguished from the creed of another church. And still less does it impose upon us onerous fasts. Nor does it require of us the observance of multiplied days. It has absolutely nothing to do with methods. It leaves those to a man's own discrimination. Religion requires simply this: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, mind, soul, strength, and thy neighbor as thyself.* Devout love and disinterested benevolence—these are what religion requires of every man. And how he shall come to these; how each man in his particular circumstances shall practice them—that is left for the co-ordinated wisdom of men to find out.

The command is not grievous in this, that it says, "So many days; so many readings of the Bible; so many prayers; so many fasts; so many confessions; so many duties of this or that kind, either of avoidance or performance. There is nothing of that. All artificial elements are swept out of the Word of God; and the command stands simply in respect to the great essential naturals. We are to have a "conscience void of offence." We are to have a reason that shall be parallel with the great truths which God has revealed in his Word, and is revealing in his providence. We are to have a heart that shall be sensitive. We are to live with a love that shall be supreme toward God, and unselfish toward men.

These are the commands of God, and these are commands of things that are natural, and not artificial. The external forms of religion may have an importance; but still they are not of such importance that if one take them or reject them it will make any difference in the sight of God.

A man may sit with the quiet Quaker, and absolutely refuse all physical exposition and form; or he may sit with the sonorous Methodist, and demand that there shall be the utmost latitude of expression, but of nothing more; or he may sit with the High Churchman, and re-

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quire that every single thing in religion shall have a symbolism, and that men shall go through processions, and observe days, and wear garments, and have all manner of liturgical forms. That is your liberty —not your necessity. Any man can do it that wants to, and that profits by it; and no man need do it who does not want to. That will make no difference, so that a man shall land in Jerusalem. He may go to it from the north, or he may go to it from Joppa, on the west, or he may go to it from Syria, on the east. He may take whatever road he pleases. Some roads are much more pleasant than others; but he may go over the mountain, or through the gorge; he may go upon the traveled way or across the wilderness; he may act his own pleasure about how he goes; only let his feet at last stand in Zion, and before God.

The commands of God are, not that we shall do so many things, and do them so often, and observe such days, and have such a form of belief, and such church ordinances. A great many men think so. A great many men think that when they are attempting to be religious there is but one way, and that that way is to join the church, and ask the church what it says; and they think that the church stands in the place of God, and that they are to listen to its voice, and that they are religious when they obey it. No; the commandments respect the great fundamental original faculties of our nature; and we are commanded simply to carry them up and out in obedience to God. That is our duty. How we are to fulfill these commandments is a matter of indifference, so that we come to the right results—the fruits of love.

Now, it is not grievous to ask men to conform to their own nature. It is not grievous—it is rational; it is right—to demand that an eagle shall fulfill the duties of the organization which God gave it. It is right that the dove should be a dove, and come up to its nature. It is right that the ox should fulfill the ox's nature. It is right that the little singing bird should fulfill its nature. It is right that men should fill out and have the full exercise of their nature. This is the characteristic element of manhood. The moral development of man is manhood; and all below that is animalhood, which we have in common with the brute creation.

All our duties, then, are in accordance with our nature. They are in accordance, not, perhaps, with what men have been accustomed to call *nature;* because mostly men have given that name to their lower or passional nature. We therefore are said to have a lost or fallen nature—a corrupt nature; and we are cautioned against trusting it. And in that sense this artificial nature—that which has come to be our nature more properly—we ought not to esteem. We ought not to trust it. Our character is deplorable as measured by the divine law.

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But our natural endowments—that is to say, those more elemental faculties which God gave us—stand. And the duty of religion is simply that we shall find out what faculties these are, and go back to them, and live in accordance with the original indications of the divine law in the creation of man. And no man can, on philosophical grounds, say that it is a grievous command that a man should be true to himself, true to the best part of himself—in other words, that he should subordinate his lowest self to his higher and nobler self.

Nor are we put under any commandments for the sake of another's benefit, but really and truly for our own. It is true that we owe obligation to God. It is true that we are in that sense indebted. It is true that we, as his creatures, and tied to him by innumerable benefits, ought, for His sake, to love and to obey. Yet it is really for our own sakes that He commands love and obedience. "All things," says the apostle, "are for your sakes." And God commands us to love one another for our own sakes. There are many governments that are very hard to bear, that are operose and burdensome, partly because they command things which are for the benefit of the government, but not for the benefit of the governed. The Turkish government over its subjected Greek provinces is a most burdensome government. The Roman government was a most exacting and a most hard-hearted and hard-handed government. The old Roman spirit was not simply bellicose, but it was despotic in all the after administrations in its provinces. And men were required to do things, not that would make themselves richer and happier and better. The idea of making a State strong by making each individual citizen more prosperous, had not then entered into the conception of legislators, or of governors themselves. The idea was to make the governing hand omnipotent; to make the imperial government rich and strong. It was to give the ruling authority absolute control over all provinces. Therefore taxes were levied, services were required, punishments were threatened and executed, lawless administrations were established throughout all the Roman dynasty, that were not for the benefit of the governed, but were only for the benefit of the governors.

There is absolutely nothing of this in the divine administration. That is paternal. Neither is there in it any of that lingering selfishness which belongs to all earthly paternal government. It is disinterested, it is more than disinterested, it is self-sacrificing paternity. For God is He who so loved the world, gross, sunk in sin and in barbarity, that He gave His own second self—His own Son—to die for us, while yet we were his enemies.

It is not therefore the requisition of an exacting paternity; it is the government of love—of household love—of love whose central philos-

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ophy is the philosophy of domesticity. It is that government which is imposed upon us for our sakes, to make us wiser, and nobler, and freer, and stronger. And we shall find almost transports of exclamation in various parts of the apostolic teaching, particularly of Paul's.

I do not wonder when I consider what the Pharisee had to go through, how he was tied up, what notions he had of the narrow bounds that he walked in, that when those bounds were enlarged his religion was not destroyed, but he had more a God than he had before, and a more impressive sense of obligation than he had before, and such a freedom as he had never had before, and such joyousness and enthusiasm as he never had before, as was the case with Paul when he was converted—I do not wonder, when I consider these things, that the apostle spoke of himself as having come out of bondage into liberty. I do not wonder that he triumphed, in writing to the Galatians, saying that they had become free men. I marvel not at these things, because there is nothing in the world so free as love. That levels all distinctions. That makes all duties choices. That makes bitter things sweet, and turns all juices to sugar. That takes all heat from the sun in overmeasure. That makes all ways flowery ways. Love enough, and there springs summer out of the very bosom of winter. Love enough, and all things become easy.

Now, the divine government is this: "Thou shalt love." If there is anything more, it is, "Thou shalt love with all thy heart." If there is anything more, it is, "Thou shalt love with all thy mind and strength." First, and second and third, and last, it is, "Thou shalt love." And of all experiences, none is more blessed, none is freer, none is more exhilarating, than this divinest experience of love.

And if it be so when the taper is lit in the lower affections, and as between unworthy natures, so little susceptible of creating any deep affection or any great admiration one for the other, what should be the magic throb of that love kindled in our bosom, when it is the mighty God that stands over against us, and offers himself with impunity, and is our very Suitor, giving his power of heart to the wilderness and barrenness of our hearts! I marvel not that He says, "Thou shalt love me with all thy heart, and soul, and mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." And such a commandment is not grievous: it is very joyous.

These commandments, I remark once more, are the only roads to full, comprehensive and enduring happiness. We have wandered out of the way. We have, in ignorance partly, and in wilfulness partly, formed habits of living contrary to our best nature. And every man feels the discord. For though men may dispute about theology, they seldom dispute about experience. If you ask

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men, "Is there never a turbulent irruption of your passions into your affections? Do they never soil you? Is there never rebellion in your case, so that your reason stands on one side, and your disobedient affections and passions on the other? Are not all your expectations of what is right and good one way, and your will the other? Is not your life spent mostly in breaking what you know to be right commandments, and the little that remains of it in a pitiful sorrowing which does not work repentance, nor much change? Are you not yourself satisfied that you are perpetually violating your best ideals of life and of duty?" It will not do for a man to look at himself too much. A journalizing of every man's experience from day-to-day, and a contrasting it with the true ideal of a manly life, would strike despair through any soul. It is only by hiding and forgetting it that men can rise above despondency into true enjoyment.

Men are living so as to abate happiness. Not that sinful men may not be happy. That I do not doubt. Not that there is not enjoyment in things that are wrong. There is enjoyment in things that are wrong. Not that sin does not pay. It does pay. But it is a poor price that it pays, and a price that is delusive at last. It pays wages that are very quickly squandered. It pays, to be sure; but it wears out the man who takes the pay. The wages of sin are death, in the end. In the first place, the wages of sin are what buds are, that promise blossoms. They delight for the instant by their sweetness. They are like the book that the Revelator saw, which was sweet in his mouth, and bitter in his belly. Sin is sweet in the mouth, and bitter in digestion. It lies hard on the stomach. Sin has present remuneration. And nothing can be more foolish than to tell children and men that there is no pleasure in sin. Do you suppose that the world would ever have gone agog after sinful things if there had been no pleasure in them. There is pleasure in them.

The thief has a pleasure of excitement in stealing. Even the robber has some sort of pleasure in striking down his victim. The miser has his curmudgeonish pleasure. There is pleasure in the cup, in the song, and in the dance. All these things have their pleasure; but they are consuming the susceptibility of pleasure from other sources, by their concentration of intense excitements. Coarse pleasures have a brief period, and then they leave the soul in a wilderness. There is nothing remaining to it.

A great place, the soul is. Ample provision is made in it for enjoyment. But he who lives for the senses takes only one single kind of enjoyment, and so employs that that it destroys all the rest.

Now the duty imposed upon us by God, is, that we shall use ourselves according to our nature, and according to God's command-

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ments, which are based on his own everlasting, immutable nature, so that every part of us shall be concordant with itself, concordant with natural law, and concordant with moral law. And so every part of the soul becomes vocal with joy. And it is a joy that has this peculiarity, that it is lowest and least in the beginning; that it quietly increases in volume; that it is more and more vocal at times when all ordinary joys begin to shrink and are silent; that it waxes amain when other powers and faculties cease to go; that it triumphs in that hour when heart and flesh fail; and that when death annihilates the common joys of men, it is but an emancipator of the joys which we have when we serve God according to his commandments.

Why, then, is it, that men think that religion is a grievous thing; that it is gloomy and hard? If, in this brief exposition of the essential nature of religion, we see that it conforms to our organization, conforms to the world in which we dwell, conforms to our present needs, and augments as we go on in life, preparing us for the life which is to come, why should men have derived so very different an idea of it? Because men have very largely had presented to them the machinery of religion, instead of religion. It has been as if a farmer should present to you plows, crowbars, harrows, carts, wagons, spades, shovels, rakes, all manner of utensils, and they should produce the impression on you that those were the only apples and pears that there were on the farm. Men look at Sunday. That is a tool or instrument. They look at the church. That is nothing but a machine-shop. The church is a mere mechanical arrangement by which men may be educated in knowledge, and receive an impulse in the right direction. But it is not religion.

Why, is the old mill, that goes clattering night and day on the stream, bread? Would you gnaw a millstone? or, would you marvel, if you did, that you still hungered? Men have had presented Sundays, and churches, and all manner of church economies, which I honor, and some parts of which I observe, and which I certainly do not dissuade you from observing; but I want you to understand that they are all of them man-made, and all of them mere conveniences, simple methods by which we help ourselves to get that which is behind them, and is different from them, and is not produced by them—namely, the religious element.

But where men have heard churches disputing—this church up, and that down; this church broad, and that narrow; this church high, and that low; where men have gone about and seen churches, some with steeples towering above others; some with this church economy, and some with that; some with this platform, and some with that, they have become bewildered, and have said, "If that is religion, I do not know

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but I am about as well off without it as I would be with it, ordinarily." And when men look at the church, and see what they do see; when they see the disagreement which there is between the members of churches themselves; when they see all sorts of worldlings and disreputable men calling themselves Christians, they get a very vague idea of what religion really is. And looking at the mass of those who pass as religious, it is not marvellous to me that men should say, "This is grievous business. I may come to it yet; I do not want to be lost; I will take any medicine rather than be lost; but it is a hard dose." I should feel very much as they do under the same circumstances. If religion were presented to me as that mere externality which many men are impressed that it is; if those things which are called religion were presented to me, and I were told that they were all that there was of religion, I would reject them. I would not take them. They are not soul-feeding. And I do not wonder that people think that religion is grievous—and all the more because with this an ascetic element has been introduced—by good men, too.

Where men lived in times that were exceedingly lax; where they saw all the power of the land arrayed on the side of license and licentiousness; where they saw wealth devoted to the lowest uses; where they saw pleasure made only a snare and a delusion; where they saw all forms of conviviality still leading men down, down, I do not wonder that large numbers of them sprung up with such zeal for purity and integrity as carried them to the opposite extreme, and led them to reject flowers and music, and to become ascetics. Ascetics are the products of ages of utter and abandoned license.

But though the age and the necessity are gone, there are men who are still ascetic hereditarily. They have ceased to discriminate. They feel that if you are going to be religious, you must make up your mind to give up almost everything in this world.

When I preach that a true Christian has all the good that there is in the world, as well as the promise of after life, men say, "What do you make out of the example of Christ?" Well, I make out of Christ's example, this: that for about thirty years he lived at home, and worked at his trade, a simple peasant and carpenter, like any other mechanic. There was nothing special about him—nothing that attracted the least attention. He was not distinguished from any citizen. And when he began his ministration he was not ascetic. While John was thundering as an ascetic reformer in the lower parts of Palestine, Jesus was at Cana of Galilee, for seven days, at a marriage feast, and created not less than from fifty to a hundred gallons of wine, according to the Gospel, that he might assist in the festivities, with a decorous sobriety sympathizing with them. Jesus was a most loveable man; he was

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a most genial man; he was a most conversable man. He went to the feasts of rich men, and sat at their tables. Some of his most striking discourses were those which he delivered at feasts in the houses of rich men. He sat with the poor man, with the lawyer, with the publican, with the soldier. Wherever a man met him, there was that genial sympathy manifested toward him. I can take no other instance more forcible than that of the life of the Lord Jesus Christ, to show that religion should make a man cheerful, genial, conversable, enjoying and enjoyable. That was his example. And though at the end of his life, when he laid it down as a sacrifice for the world, he was a sufferer; yet that was but a single phase, a solitary aspect, of his history; and the ministerial life, as well as that life which anteceded it, of the Lord Jesus Christ, was full of society, full of enjoyment, full of pleasure.

Therefore, when men say, "What do you do with the life of Christ?" I take it up, and say, Live just as purely, and with such a noble, genial, cheerful life, as he did. He never girded himself with sackcloth. And when they reproached him because he would not fast, he said, "The days will come when my disciples will fast; but not now. I am with them"—as much as to say, "So long as I am with them they cannot help being happy." They could not be made to fast while he was with them.

Now, where a rigorous view of religion is presented; where men are told that no matter what one is doing, the instant the clock strikes twelve, the needle must be dropped, there comes that intolerable superstitious notion that there is such a thing as holy time. Why, do you suppose that we are living in the time of Moses? Are days consecrated? Is the ground consecrated? Is there consecration in a stone or in a brick? Is there consecration in one chronological period in contrast within another?

"What do you mean"? it is asked, "That we shall not observe the Sabbath"? I mean that you *shall* observe it; but that you shall observe it as free men, and not as men in bondage; not as under taskmasters, but with a rational perception that there is benefit in it; of your own sweet willingness, and not because you are afraid that God stands with a whip which he will bring down on your back, or with a pencil with which he will mark down your delinquencies against your name. And yet men will draw the belt up until there is no breath left in the body. And people living on this rigor of religious life say, "It is said not to be grievous; but I think it *is* grievous."

Then there is another reason why people think it is grievous. As a general thing, men who profess to be Christians, and who are in a measure leavened with Christianity, are so far from having developed

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the true Christian type of character, that they present rather the appearance of men under great difficulties than the appearance of very lovely men having had conquests. If the fruit of the spirit is love, joy in the Holy Ghost, peace, faith, patience, temperance, and such qualities as these, why, then, all I have to say, is, that the fruit does not get ripe on most boughs. Men see what are called Christians, and they see what are called Christian experiences, and they reach up and take one, and bite it, and it is not to be desired again.

Are Christians of such a disposition that you mark them sure? I never make a mistake in judging of flowers. I never smell of a nettle or a thistle thinking it is a honeysuckle. My honeysuckle tells me by night and by day when it blossoms. I never go astray in autumn in regard to my grape vine. I know where the grapes are both by the smell, and by the touch, and by sight. I cannot make any mistake here.

But if we bring forth Christian fruit that hangs on our boughs—joy, peace, faith, gentleness, humility, holiness, long suffering, hope—so that the whole tree-top of our life is full of these in abundant clusters, and so that the fragrance of them is all about us, do you suppose that any one would need an argument in favor of Christianity, an apology for it, or a defence of its doctrine? I will venture to say that if such a life as this existed in the Church, if that church was an orchard, and every tree was hanging to the ground with such fruit on its boughs, it would make almost no difference in the world what the creed was. Men would swallow any creed for the sake of going into a church where the members brought forth such fruits as these. And one reason why men do not believe that there is much in religion, is, that there is not much in it as they see it exemplified.

Yet, I would say, on the other side, in the case of many of those men who are derided and set aside, and said to be insincere, that the work has just begun, and only just begun; that it is convalescence, but not health. Men have started, and taken a few steps; but they have not developed largely the truth of Christ in them. And so, when to rigorous machinery, and to a very severe presentation of doctrines, you add a comparatively unlovely Christian life,—as the life of men in hospitals,—or the life of men who have been grievously perverted, but who are striving to get back again to their normal condition, then all these elements, all these things which men see, fail to make a favorable impression upon those who look upon them.

On the other hand, wherever there is a true Christian, there you are sure to find men won toward religion. If there is in any neighborhood a person whose influence is always sought; who is always considerate of others; who is always full of sympathy; if there is any one in a

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neighborhood, when a man is in trouble, whom all think of at once as that man or woman counsellor, faithful, full of kindness, who, day and night, would, if an opportunity were presented, serve disinterestedly their necessity, point out that person and ask, "Is religion a grievous thing?" Everybody—the rudest, the coarsest, the most belluine nature—bows down before that example, and feels that it is a beautiful thing.

There is something awful in true holiness. There is something impressive, even to the rudest natures, where they actually see the beauty and the power of the Christian disposition under wise control, until they learn to trust it, knowing that it is not a vain show, nor a pretence, nor a counterfeit; where they see that it is real, and that it preaches to them "the beauty of holiness." And in "the beauty of holiness" they believe that religion is not grievous. The commandments of God, if so exemplified, become most beautiful. They are holy, and just, and good as well.

But there is another reason why men feel that religion is grievous. It is because of their own experience. It is because they have attempted to live a religious life, and have never given their whole will and their whole heart to it. Men want to build themselves as carpenters build bureaus, using pine for the whole substance of it, and a little thin veneering for a finish, to make it look beautiful. Men want to build themselves up in all manner of gross, worldly forces, and have a thin veneering of righteousness or religion over that, just to cover down these other things, and make them beautiful, and make them sell well. And where men just surface themselves with religion, where men just polish off with religion, it is simply an irritant. It acts simply as a provocative. It keeps up before them a rule, or a conception, or an ideal, which they do not at all either accomplish or strive to accomplish. Half-way measures that are allowed to men are always disturbances to them. A man who is half-way between being sick and being well is never a very happy man, and is never a very profitable man to look at. A man who is half sea-sick does not enjoy voyages. A man who has had his leg broken and half cured, is not in a particularly comfortable condition. And just like these men are they who are attempting to be religious. They are just far enough advanced from their worldly courses to be all the time vexing and harrassing themselves with these moral obligations, which sometimes they meet and obey, and which sometimes they evade. All manner of irregularities, resistances and abnormal feelings spring up. And men are not happy under such circumstances. He is happy who gives himself up unreservedly to any course of religious life, and makes everything else consistent with that. Some become much happier than others, according to the system which they follow; but there is a cer-

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tain sort of harmony which brings peace where a man surrenders himself wholly; where a man gives himself entirely to Christ. As soon as the battle is fought in a man, and all the great central impulses of his being are brought under the supreme control of the Divine Spirit, he finds satisfaction. But how few there are of such! How many men there are who are just a little religious—who have become a little healed, but who are for the most part afflicted with murmuring and complaining sickness.

As for those who have not begun a religious life, oftentimes they make essays, tentative endeavors; and they may be said to have approached it. Men have sometimes, as it were, *tried on* religion. They are most apt to do this when they have gone wrong. There is nothing which makes a man so quake as to have gone wrong, and to be afraid of detection. Oh! how he fears and sweats and wants to get back to something that shall reconcile him to himself, and make him happier! I have known men, under such circumstances, to go to church, oh! how fierce! and say prayers, oh! how regularly! and read the longest and toughest chapters, oh! with what pertinacity! and do a great many things,—until the scare had a little worn off, they gradually got over it, and, as it were, got out again, and fell once more into their old ways. And then, if you talk with them, they say, "I know about religion now. I have tried it. Why, I have been religious for a week together. I tell you it may be necessary, by-and-by; but it is a hard road to travel."

What would you think of a man, city-bred, lily-fingered, soft-jointed, and soft-muscled, who should say, "They tell me that there is great pleasure in living in the saddle, but I believe it is a lie; for I tried it one morning. I got a hard trotting horse, and rode several hours; and I was sore for days afterwards. I do not believe a word of what they say of horse-back riding."

And yet here are men who put themselves on the most unaccustomed exercises, and in their most external form and lowest ways; and they are so conceited as to suppose that they have had a taste, an experience, of religion. And when you talk to such men, what is their idea of religion? It is this: "I must leave off my old companions. I must go in among the old owls. When I get up Sunday morning, I cannot ride out; I cannot write letters; I cannot have a good time; I cannot meet my drinking companions and tell stories." They have lots of stories that must go on the shelf. There are ever so many things that they cannot do. And their idea of religion is, simply that it is a state in which they cannot do what they have been doing. There is no positiveness, no upward springing, no new life, no new power, in their impression concerning it. To their thought it is merely breaking off

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from sin. And to such men religion must have a very gloomy aspect.

Ah! how different it is in reality! How hard it is for a man to drop off all his old relishes! While yet they are strong in him, and he has no other relishes, how he clings to them! A man who by famine has been driven to a mouldy loaf of bread, munches it in his hovel with avidity; and there comes a friend to him, and says, "Let me take you out of your misery. Throw away your loaf, and come with me." "Throw away my loaf?" says he. "I cannot spare this." But once set before him a wheaten loaf; once bring in the food smoking from the range, and set it before him, and how quick will he throw away his garbage!

Once bring the true relishes of holiness into a man's soul; once let the real life of Christ spring up in him; once let a man know what joy there is in disinterested kindness; once let a man follow Christ in suffering for another; let a man deny himself; let him and his wife and children—his whole household—deprive themselves of real comforts of life, in order to carry light and balm into a distressed household over the way; and let them talk it over together at night, and speak of the gratitude of those who have been relieved, and of the wondrous thanks of the little children—and how much nobler they feel! What a dignity they have! What a sense of manhood and womanhood they have! Instead of gobbling up their beneficence, and giving nothing to other people, they take their abundance, and share it with that household. And if need be, they take upon themselves more work, heavier tasks, that they may thus serve others. And they are amply repaid by the gratitude which is called forth by their benefactions, to say nothing of the consciousness which they have of acting from their higher impulses.

When a man gets a taste of self-denial, of disinterested kindness for others, the Gospel is preached to him. He receives tidings, good news, which he never could have had except by practical works of benevolence. Once let a man have a taste for true religion; once let a man feel the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and experience the aspiration of the soul for purity; once let a man have a sense of the divine love and real hungering and thirsting after righteousness—once let a man begin to taste these verities, and all other pleasures, in comparison with them, pale and lose their power.

No man is fit to judge of what religion is—as to whether it is beautiful and joyous, and free, and most to be desired—until he has had some actual experience of it. And then, when one has once tasted it, he will say, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee." This is the testimony of an over-crowning and all-conquering love. Though there be angels and

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arch-angels in heaven; though all one's children have gone before him, and are there; though the dearest companion of his early affections, and the mother that bore him, are there; though sainted names in multitudes are there, the heart once taught to love, looking up, always says, "There is but one thing in the world, and that is what we love most and strongest. Whom have I in heaven but thee? Heaven would be empty if thou wert not there; and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee."

To those that are called of God, and that have a willing soul, the way to Christ is a very easy way. It is the way toward yourself, too. It is the way in which, when once you begin fairly to walk in it, you shall have the advantage of your reason, of your restored moral powers, and of all your affections, in their best estate. You shall have every advantage that can come from your harmonization with the great laws outside of you—the best laws of nature. You shall have all the help which comes from the Spirit of the living God, who watches, and in all the earth sees nothing that draws his heart quicker than a soul that desires to repent and return from the evil way. Oh! how God longs to have souls come to him!

A child, disobedient, has gone out, as it was forbidden to do; and has wandered from the house into the thicket; and from the thicket into the forest; and, bewildered and lost and scared, it rushes hither and thither, until night descends, and darkness wraps it in, and it lays itself down under some sheltering rock, or by the side of some huge log, sobbing itself to sleep; and, between dreams and wakings, both hideous, moans, and calls for father and mother, and more than all for *mother*, and thinks that there is no heart that is so saving as the heart of mother. But what does that child suffer compared with the distracted mother, who, missing it, calls out; who, receiving no answer, runs out after it, and searches right and left, in fearful places—down in the well and in the cistern; who looks every whither, thinking of Gipsies, and wild beasts, and a hundred other things; who alarms the neighborhood, and sends out men searching in the fields and woods, and filling the air all night with racket and outcry, none calling more than herself; and who, when the grey dawn comes, and the men, wearied, go home, will not go, but still holds on, until, by-and-by, in her almost distraction, her ear, sharpened beyond the ear of any other, hears some sound, and stands still as silence itself, and hears it again—the moan of a child—and, quicker than ever eagle sped for its prey, urged by love, speeds to it, and finds her lost darling. And tell me, as she takes that spent child up into her bosom, is there any other rapture like that of a mother? Oh yes. God says, "A mother may forget her sucking child; yet will not I forget thee."

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God's love for those who are scattered and lost is intenser and deeper than the love even of a mother; and if there be in this congregation any one who is conscious of guilt, and who wants to come back to innocency; if there be one who is lost in the woods, and does not know how to find his way out, God longs to bring you home more than you long to get there. He has been calling, calling, calling, and listening for your answer. And when you are found, and you lay your head on the bosom of Jesus, and you are at rest, you will not be so glad as He will be who declared that, like a shepherd, he had *joy over one sinner that repented more than over ninety and nine just persons that needed no repentance.*

And so, I call you to yourselves. I call you back to your own nature. I call you to your better selves. I call to that God from whom you sprang, and to whom you go again. I call you to the life of duty, the life of liberty, the life of purity, the life of joy, and the life of immortality.

PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We rejoice, our Father, that thou hast made it possible for us to commune with thee; that thou dost reach down thy thoughts unto ours, which could not rise unto thee. Thou art so much above us, thou art so lifted up into an air where we cannot dwell except when thou dost give us thine own life, and quicken ours, that we never should find our way home, and never should know our Father, and never should have that great love by which we shall overcome life and death, and conquer immortality, but for the graciousness of thy condescension. We thank thee that thou hast permitted us so many times to come, and made the way now a way of flowers. We have gone through the wilderness to thee; but coming back it was a paradise. We have gone bearing burdens, and knew not what became of them. Thy very look had turned them all to lightness. We have gone with disappointments, only to have them interpreted into mercies. We have gone with sorrow and confusion; but behold, while yet we were confessing, the greatness of thy forgiving love broke out upon us, as the sun breaks through the storm-clouds, and all the terror was gone. We have come to thee often and often, weary and heavy-laden, and we have taken thy yoke, and it was no yoke; and thy burden, and it was not burdensome. O Lord our God, we thank thee for the past experience, and that out of it we derive all argument of hope. Not because of what thy word hath said, but because of what thou hast said in us, and a hundred times fulfiled, we believe in thee. And we rejoice that we may thus increase our faith from day to day. And as we go onward; as we draw near to thee; as we become riper for the heavenly land; as we have the intimations of truth; as we work out the spirit of love more and more perfectly, we hope yet to be in that state by which it will be possible for us to discern the invisible, and to live as seeing Him who is invisible.

We pray that thou wilt, to-night, forgive us our sins. Wash out, we beseech of thee, every stain and spot, that we may be white as snow. Not only

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grant to us the forgiveness of our sins, but heal us in those fountains which sin brings. Purify our motives, and search our hiddenmost life. By thy Spirit, as with a glowing light, illumine, and, as with a living fire cleanse us, that all dross may be taken away. And we pray that thou wilt prepare us for all the duties of life. Prepare us for its disappointments; for its sorrows; for whatever is in reserve for us. And may we not shrink who are the followers of the Sufferer. Grant that we may be willing to bear our cross, as thou didst bear thine. We that are sin-laden—should we not suffer, when thou the sinless One made an offering for our sins? May we not count ourselves better than the Master; and may we rejoice from day-to-day that we are permitted to suffer for Christ's sake, and be only anxious that suffering shall do its perfect work, and make us patient and gentle, and make us more and more reverential, and truthful, and hopeful, that the work of God may be perfectly done in us. And as we do not doubt our friends who are kind to us, so may we never doubt thee, the best of all friends. Grant that our trust in thee may be more confiding, and that it may have more comfort in it. And in dark hours, and days of discouragement, whatever else fails us, oh! let not the sweet face of Jesus, looking upon us, full of forgiveness, and love, and mercy, fail us. And may thy countenance, by night and by day, at home and abroad, and everywhere, be our Comfort and our Guiding Star.

We pray that thou wilt grant thy blessing to rest upon us now assembled, pastor and people, for the last time for the space of weeks—it may be for the last time. Grant, we pray thee, that we may separate, commending each other to God. Grant that in a holy hope, and in the firm faith of thy truth, we may go on our several ways. In trouble, when anxious with forebodings, grant that we may leave everything in thine hands. Thou wilt do better for us than we can do for ourselves. Living or dying may we be the Lord's. And whether or not we see each other again in the flesh, grant that that we may have the hope burning brighter as the days grow darker, that we shall meet in heaven. We pray that none of us may be wrecked by the way; that all of us may be saved, and that we may all meet together a rejoicing household to be forever in the presence of our Father.

And to thy name shall be the praise, Father, Son and Spirit. *Amen.*

PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our Father, we beseech of thee that thou wilt bless the word of truth spoken, and grant that it may do good to every one. May it remove impressions and mistakes that are hindering any. May it quicken some that need quickening. May it encourage some who are on the way toward thee. Stretch out thine hands again to those who have refused thy message to come. Call again to those who have refused to hear. O Lord Jesus! bring back the wandering, and forgive them all their sins, and all their mistakes. Overlook them, and sanctify them, and save them with an everlasting salvation.

And to thy name shall be the praise, Father, Son and Spirit. *Amen.*

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TESTIMONY AGAINST EVIL.

"Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good."—Rom. XII., 9.

There is a coördination here. We are neither to be satisfied with hating evil, nor with loving that which is good. We are to do both. They stand in this intimate relation with each other, and are tests each of the other's genuineness, in that each begets the other. If a man hates evil, and it is a genuine moral revulsion, it will show itself to be genuine, among other ways, by this, that it will be accompanied by, or will have as its alternative, a strong attraction toward that which is good. On the other hand, if a man supposes that he loves that which is good, and springs to it with appetite and desire, he may test the reality and genuineness of that loving by the corresponding emotion —the abhorrence of its opposite.

It seems impossible that the soul should not act in this way. If it love concord, it must revolt at discord. So that these two phases are counterparts. One is the fulfillment of the other. A man who loves the truth must hate lies. A man who is sensitive to honor, must have great revulsion from everything that is dishonorable. A man that really loves purity, must really abhor impurity. If a man's heart goes out toward fidelity, he must have a great hatred of treachery. It seems impossible that the mind should act in any other way.

This is very strong language. *Abhor*—there is no stronger word than that in our tongue; and it does not strain the original at all. It is justified. And, on the other hand, *cleave* is an equally strong word. As a mother puts her arms around about the child in the moment of love, in the gush of affection, and holds it fast, so that nothing can get it away, and her clasp is a clasp of retention, so when we are commanded to "cleave to that which is good," it is as if it were said, "Love that which is good; hold it fast in your arms; do not let it be taken away from you. Both of these are pretty strong expressions, because the things that they mean are pretty strong, too: for intensiveness is the typical idea of Christian experience. Because there are in the New Testament such words as *mildness*, and *gentle-*

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ness, and *meekness*, a great many persons think that Christian character means a sort of pale, pulseless state of mind—a transparent nothingness—a bland emotion—a state that is like glass, which has no particular quality of its own—something that you can look through. But no; the typical idea of Christian experience is that of depth of power, preëminently. We are to love the Lord our God with all our heart, and mind, and soul, and strength, and our neighbor,—not with a little gentle well-wishing, not with a little superfluous generosity after we have taken care of ourselves,—but *as* ourselves. It is a Lordly conception that comes into the idea of duty in the Christian life—something of largeness, and of power; so that when we love that which is good, we love it with vigor; and when we hate that which is evil, we hate it with thunder and lightning!

To be sure, we make allowance for men who cannot rise up to that; but we do not take them for our models. A man may be a Christian without any great power of hating; without any great power of loving; without any great power in his being, at any rate. But he is a babe; he is a child; and that is not the typical idea. We take the Bible notion of Christians. It is a thing of proportion. As we have power of excitability, and power of intense emotions, one way or another; as we have fervidness; or the power of burning, in our feelings, we are thereby brought into line with the typical Christian. So that we are to have the most vigorous likes and dislikes. *Likes* are not strong enough. We are to have the most vigorous *loves* and *hatreds* for things moral or immoral, as the case may be.

We are not, though, to suppose that this exhortation gives us the liberty to hate evil men. We are to hate *evil*. We are to abhor it. We read in the Scriptures, *Ye that love the Lord hate evil;* but nowhere, from the beginning to the end of the Bible is there an exhortation to hate wicked men. On the other hand, God, that is *of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;* whose fury against wickedness *burns to the lowest hell*, so far from hating men, loves them with an unutterable love—loves them with a love which could have been signified by nothing less than the death of Christ—the most stupendous exhibition of sacrifice and witness of affection that could be raised up in the circle of human experience and knowledge. And we are not to suppose, because we are commanded to abhor evil, that therefore we have a right to curse and swear at all wicked men, and hurl our denunciations at them. Far from it. Hate evil; but it is quite possible for a man at the same time to be full of sympathy and yearning toward men who are committing evil. There are none who know how to hate evil so much as those who love good. The largest love takes everything unto itself; it has pride in the object loved, and is made happy by

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seeing the object of love beautiful, noble, excellent; and it is wounded by seeing the opposite qualities. There is nothing so sensitive to blemish, to disfigurement, to unsymmetry, as the truest love. A mother who loves the child may mask his faults, and may soften them, from the very pain that the recognition of them gives; but when she does discern a sin, a wasting and withering wickedness in the child, there is no one who abhors that evil so much as she. A mother's abhorrence of evil in her child is in the proportion of her love for that child.

Do you suppose there is any human being who hates drunkenness as much as the wife does, who cannot give up the husband of her youth. All her being is centered in him. All her early hope, all her love, went out unto him. She holds him with cords that neither life nor death can break. And yet, he is a drunkard. And if there is anything in this world that typifies hell, it is a pure and noble woman sleeping in the arms of a drunken husband. Is there anyone who does so abhor the passion and the evil as she who would lay her life down, if she could redeem him from it?

We are not, therefore, to suppose that because we are commanded to abhor evil, we are commanded to hate bad men, or to abhor them.

Men should have a clear and positive revulsion from evil for their own protection. It is not safe, considering what the nature of evil is, how it is graded, how it springs out of things that are not evil, or how it becomes so by circumstances, to look upon it with allowance. The power that evil has of masking itself, the power that it has of becoming beautiful, renders it the more dangerous. The fact that much in this life is an amalgam, made up of gold and base metal together; that good and evil are twined and plied together so that we are constantly in danger of taking the one for the sake of the other—these things require that a man who means to live a truly manly Christian life—a life of manhood in Christ Jesus being the highest type or conception of manhood—must train himself to abhor what is evil, or he will, in the adulterations of things, find himself drawn insensibly along, little by little, little by little. Plausible lies, and oblique deceits, and reflected dishonesties, and semi-transparent wickednesses—the thousand gradations on the scale—will lead him step by step, so that, if he have not a sovereign revulsion from wickedness, before he is aware he will have become an apologist for it, if not a partaker of it.

Such is the nature of the stomach that whatever things are revolting to it, it rejects. It throws them off spontaneously, and so saves itself. Yet it is quite possible for one, by minute tastes, to accustom himself to take arsenic, tartar-emetic, things the most destructive to the animal tissue and to all the functions of the prime organs; it is

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quite possible for one, little by little, to keep on in such a course until he has medicated himself into a certain tolerance of things that are fundamentally injurious to his health and to his life. And as it is in physical things, so is it in moral. One may, by gradations of wickedness, by not looking at it with horror in its initial forms, in its slightest developments, as it were tone down his conscience, and bring it more and more to the level of wickedness, until it shall lose its sensibility and its power of discerning.

A great many men are wicked because they have not the sensibility that interprets to them what is the better; and a great many men are untrue and false because they have a blunt conscience, that does not discern that which is bad.

That power by which we quickly scent wickedness; by which we reject it, and lift ourselves above all its entanglements, and its fine threads, is this hating it—this abhorrence of it.

A good practical musician may stand in the midst of five hundred singers, and if there is one false voice in the whole five hundred, his ear hates discord so that he knows it. There may not be anyone else in the house who knows that there is a single voice below the pitch, or above the pitch, and he, perhaps, cannot tell where the trouble is, or just what it is; but he feels it.

It might be so with a man's conscience. He ought, as it were, to feel a discord in the chorus, a lowering of the tone, somewhere, which shall indicate at once that there is something wrong, even when it requires thought and analysis to detect what the wrong is. This refinement ought a Christian to reach for his own sake. Still more ought he to do it for the sake of the witness which every one owes to goodness, and against evil. For, we are "the light of the world" in proportion as we are enlightened by Christ. Good men are "the salt of the earth." Society defends itself by its hating power; and society is to be taught how discreetly to hate evil by the witness and testimony of Christian men.

There is a public sentiment in ordinary communities which sends crimes and vices into the shadow, so that wickedness of certain grades has to skulk. It is a sorrowful thing when crimes become tolerable, and when vices become respectable. The average conscience of any community must be deteriorated very much before men who are notorious for their various wickednesses can walk in the high places, and can be regarded as "hail fellows well met," and be permitted to hold the principal offices of trust and profit, and be honored and smiled upon, and everywhere greeted and recognized. A scoundrel, if he be clothed with king's robes, ought to be treated by every good man as if he were a scoundrel, so far as that is his typical character, and so far

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as he puts that character out. You may pity him; you may labor for his reclamation; but if he is placed in such circumstances that he is represented by wicked conduct or by wicked actions, somewhere there must be a testimony of such horror and hatred of his wickedness that he shall be made to feel how hateful wickedness is. And the public sentiment of society ought to be made to feel how hateful wickedness is. If there is no reprobation of counterfeiting; if honest men, who never would counterfeit, still are charitable to take counterfeit money; if though they think it bad, and say that they would not take it if they could very well help it, they yet, when they have it in their hands will pass it along—then it will be sure to thrive. If men who are known to be genial, good fellows, and who are respected in the community, should say of counterfeiting, "It is bad, but there are worse things than that in society," what would become of our trust and security in regard to any circulating medium? But honest men hate counterfeiting. They frown upon all the spurious money which comes under their notice; and the result is that it has to sneak and go through society in the lowest channels, and the best way it can. But if there were no public sentiment, if there were no indignation of honesty, if there were no real honor that met this thing and frowned upon it, it would rise up at once. Wickedness in society is all the time seeking to gain ascendancy; and there is nothing to keep it down but that hatred of it which the educated conscience of society gives. How far up the common sewers of society shall rise, and how fast they shall send out their miasma, depends upon the education of the conscience of the Christian community. And a community that has been brought up to be tolerant of wickedness, or to find excuses for it, or to be indifferent to it, or to be good-natured over it, becomes a patron of wickedness, and demoralizes and weighs down that which God sent the Church and the Christian community to enlighten and to lift up.

I say that we are to abhor, and that our abhorrence is to be a very strong feeling. Some may be led to infer from this that when a man abhors evil he is to be harsh with it; that he is to talk loud against it; that he is to use violent language toward it; that he is to be intensely severe and unmeasured in dealing with it; that he is to tread it down ruthlessly. But that does not follow. A man may abhor evil and be very mild. A man may abhor evil and be silent. A man may abhor evil and be perfectly self-possessed and serene.

The single look of grief and surprise with which a pure and noble woman meets some unexpected trait of wickedness in her husband, is to him like Mount Sinai, and all its thunders. It is often said that the woman is the man's conscience. A great nature is often the conscience of a smaller nature. Where two natures are at all equally mated and

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paired, they are a conscience to each other, reciprocal and interspheering. But how often has a man in the presence of a virtuous wife or of a pure and noble mother, been struck through with a sense of wickedness by a single expression from her in respect to certain unlawful courses of his! There is nothing which makes wickedness seem so wicked as to bring it into the presence of its opposite, as embodied in a great nature. A person may abhor wickedness, and be very gentle, very mild, very sweet-spoken. One may have an abhorrence of wickedness that shall be like a spear perpetually, and yet be full of love, full of sympathy, full of goodness. It is not so much the rash, harsh, violent expression, that is called for, as it is that deep loathing, that settled aversion of the soul to all that is known and recognized to be evil. What is wanted, therefore, is positiveness of the whole strength of feeling—not violence of expression.

In this way, by the expression of its hatred, of its abhorrence, the Christian Church educates the community, cleanses its opinions, elevates its judgments, and redeems it from the perils which always are burrowing at the bottom of human life. But in order to do this, one must have a discriminating judgment and an educated conscience.

If a man should carry this idea of abhorring evil into all the little mistakes in life, he could commit no greater error. One of the great mistakes of Christendom is that it recognizes so many sins that are purely artificial, conventional, such as a man may commit without affecting his spiritual nature; and that it prescribes so many observances which, so far as a man's spiritual nature is concerned, it makes no difference whether he keeps or not. As matters of agreement between man and man, they may have some value; but further than that they are not essential. And yet, there are some persons who will visit with frowns and indignations a man who breaks a saint's day; while if he equivocates, as society allows persons to equivocate, dextrously and adroitly, they do not so much as rebuke him. We all of us think that a ragged beggar's lie is a grossly wicked lie; but a lie clothed in king's garments, a lie that shines, a lie that is witty, a lie that sparkles with intellection, men do not think is so very bad. They would burn a man who did not keep Sunday, and yet, they will not touch a man when he tells a smart lie. But the truth, which is the basis of confidence and trust between man and man, should be as pure as crystal. A man may be given over to his passions and appetites, he may be avaricious, he may be selfish, he may have the cruelty of pride, and still not be severely judged by his fellows. Men seldom visit things with the same condemnation that they do the violation of the conventional laws and rules and regulations of society—which are not without their value, which I do not deprecate nor depreciate, but which are not essential.

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Now, I say, that if we are going to abhor evil, we must separate evil from mere conventional sins, and discriminate between them. Those things must be looked upon and treated as evil which the universal conscience recognizes as being wicked. On them must be put the signet of reprobation. While we are not blind to all milder evils, we cannot afford to lose the emphasis of our abhorrence by distributing it to everything alike. As if a man that has a dirty collar must be treated as if he had a dirty character! As if a man whose hands are unclean, and whose nails are unshorn, must be treated as if his heart were black with lecherous thoughts! As if a man that is coarse in his manners, must be treated as if he were coarse in his morals! It is the beast that is in men; it is the belluine appetites; it is the passions which are destructive to peace and happiness—it is these that we must intensify our abhorrence of. We cannot, therefore, afford to spread out our horror over all the little pecadillos and infirmities and nibbles and bites which come up in ecclesiastical orderings. It is the antagonist of love—it is selfishness, in all its moods and broods—that we must abhor.

There are certain things in which this may receive a closer application, and in which an application is very much needed.

In the first place, Christians—Christian men and Christian women; young men and maidens; all—ought to feel that they are called to witness their abhorrence in all the evil processes of society. There is a great deal that is allowed in society, that is tolerated there, although everybody admits that it is wicked. Society is full of permissions. It nests and burrows envies, and jealousies, and hatreds, and slanders; malignant, various and most excoriating vices of the passions, there are in society. And it is the duty of every man and every woman to set their faces against these things, wherever they happen to be—no matter if they *are* in respectable circles. You are a servant of the Lord, and you are all to be tuned by His grace, and not by the tuning-fork of custom or fashion. Wherever you go, whatever thing is to your judgment and conscience abhorrent you are to frown upon. I do not say that at all times and under all circumstances you are to speak of all the evil that you see; but you are never to allow yourself for one single moment to be on its side. Somehow or other every person in life ought to make his mark so that everybody shall know where he stands on the subject of tattling; of backbiting; of slandering; of tale-bearing; of eating and drinking his fellow-men. Society is full of cruelty. Doré's hideous pictures from Dante in which men are represented as gnawing skull bones in the infernal regions; in which men are represented as feeding off from their victims—these are enough to shock us, and drive us from all pictorial illustrations of that kind; but, after

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all, we see these things in life. There is cannibalism around about us all the time and everywhere. Not a bird's leg is taken up and counted a more delicious morsel, and is more deliberately picked and chewed and relished in all its juices, than a person's reputation is taken up, and cut, and bitten, and sucked dry, and cast out. It is wicked; it is damnable; it is treason to man and treason to God; and yet such things are common. Why! men will not carry vermin on their heads nor on their bodies. Perfumed society—it would reject a poor miserable wretch that came into it! Yet men carry vermin in their souls, crawling and creeping all over them. But because they wear fine clothes and are very wealthy, or are in official positions, they are tolerated. And it is high time that men should learn to discriminate and hate these feculent vices of detraction, and bitterness, and envy, and jealousy—all those elements which spring from the lower regions, and which are of the evil spirit, can be made sacred in your eyes by the fact that they are permitted! But God ought to be greater than man; and the absolute truth of God ought to be more than the permissions of human society or the legislation of public sentiment.

That which is true in society ought also to be true in pleasure. What we need now in life, above everything else, is Christian men who take the lead in manly pleasures, and make them honorable and noble. Pleasure is of God. So is suffering. Joy and sorrow are both of them born of God. There is a manly way of enjoying one's self which is not only permissible, but most wholesome, and, in moral things, most beneficial. Let men be free to take all rational amusement, free to take joy, and that abundantly; and yet the moment pleasure, and its permissions, become soiled or even sullied, let men turn away from them, and scorn them, and loathe them, so that the world, looking on them, shall see that they are "men of pleasure," not in the sense that they are men of no conscience, but in the sense that they are men of eminent conscience.

All through society, the moment anything becomes pleasant, wicked men seem to gain ascendancy in it. Is it a joyous thing for men to sail their yachts? Speedily yachting falls into the hands of men who make it a round of dissipation. A yacht life is a life of Sodom, often. And it is a shame! Are athletic and exciting games wholesome and enjoyable? Speedily they fall into the hands of men who make them instruments of betting and cheating and stealing—for men that bet and cheat are gamblers, for the most part; and a gambler will steal if he has a chance, the world over, if you give him impunity and temptation enough. And so they are to be disallowed. Ten-pins and billiards—athletic games full of stimulus, and pleasure, and health—how quick they slip out of the hands of pure men into the hands of men that are

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corrupt! What we need in society is men who shall assert the importance of exercise, and the law of manly pleasure—men that shall be free and bold, and that shall at the same time have eyes of flame, and hearts of purity, and shall drive away from the realm of pleasure all that is unmanly and unclean, and keep it away.

We need, also, in business, men of the same stamp; for business, while it is essentially founded on equity, while nothing is more equitable than its law of commerce or exchange, has in its actual conduct ten thousand pressures and influences which are evil in their tendency. Business is full of allowed wickedness. And there be many weak souls that, coming down into business, first stand silent, and then gradually lose susceptibility to things that are wrong, and finally begin to indulge in them a little in a cowardly way, and at last lose all conscience, and all faith in goodness in those directions, and plunge in boldly. And one upright, sagacious, successful man, that is all the time bearing witness to truth, to fidelity, to honor; one man standing up immaculate in the midst of men all around about him, and representing the superiority of virtue over vice, is a missionary. I think there are single men in Wall-street who do a thousand times more to create an abhorrence of evil than a hundred pulpits. And wherever a man feels himself to be a Christian, it is his business to carry this sense of honor—this discrimination between things right and wrong—and be ready to refuse peremptorily whatever violates his principles, and stand up for that which is true and right and pure, though he stands alone. And he need not blush because he is in the minority; for God stands behind any man who is standing up for a principle, or for a truth.

We need also to have testimony more and more as against gilded wickedness. And here I can give no better illustrations than those found in the realm of literature; although, in saloons, and in the various circles of higher life, there is much of wickedness gilded by genius. There is a popular impression that if a man has genius, it sanctifies anything that he may do—that is to say, if God gives a man ten talents, though he violate every one of them, he is not thought to be so wicked a man as a man who, having but one, violates that. Public sentiment exactly reverses the law of accountability as laid down in the New Testament. I hold that the man who is the most highly endowed has the most responsibility. God demands more, and society ought to demand more of him than of persons who are less highly endowed. Higher standards of conduct should be set up, and a purer life required, in proportion as men go up. There are no criminals like the unvulgar. There are no criminals like the men who think the furthest and the most brilliantly. And those men whom God has endowed with genius,

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and who fill literature with salacious images and with music, so that the corruptest sentiments take on the choicest language and move in the most beauteous numbers, are satanic men, who put wreaths about their head; but every leaf will distil damnation, when God shall call them into judgment. There is no wickedness like that which is committed by genius, and committed in such a way that men are caught through their taste, through their intellect, through their appetites, through their nobler sentiments, and carried down to degradation, and to lust, and to destruction.

That is the peculiar trouble with the whole French school of reformatory novels. I am sorry to see, in places where I should not have expected to find it, approbation of George Sand's works, and a beginning to publish them in our language. Here is a woman of genius ridiculing in her works the sacredness of the marriage relation, in favor of a sort of ideal marriage relation which she thinks is still higher. Endowed with a marvelous power in literature, her whole temper and personal magnetism is in favor of unvirtue. But we do not need French morality in Anglo Saxon communities. It may be good reformation in Paris, but it is poor reformation here. There is Eugene Sue, and Dumas, and Victor Hugo, and a host of names with which, fortunately, I am not enough familiar to call off at hap-hazard, whose works, it seems to me, can only be read by morbid anatomists of literature. They are bad for the young, and there ought to be an emphasis against them in society, and in Christian families. Christian writers and teachers ought to denounce them, and bear testimony against them, such as to prevent their currency. It is said, "It will make people read them more." Yes; but it will make them read as criminals, and not as respectable men. The moment a man puts a book in his pocket, and reads it by stealth, it has gone out of the range in which it is liable to do much harm. The moment a book is made disreputable, so that persons who read it have to do it by stealth in order to keep respectable, they have lost much of their power for evil. Common literature is becoming more mighty than any other; more mighty than the sword or the purse; and the world is coming more and more under the dominion of it. And there need to be Christian legislation, a Christian public sentiment, and Christian canons of judgment; and nowhere more than just there is it necessary that men should be trained to abhor evil, no matter how gilded or beautiful, or musical. It is all the worse if it is beautiful. Poison disguised is no less poison, but it is more likely to be taken.

And lastly, men must bear a testimony, in such a nation as this, that shall be felt perpetually on the subject of political wickedness. Men who are in high places form a kind of public sentiment; they

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separate themselves from the mass of men for the time being, and so, too often, they lose sensibility to the general public sentiment. We do wrong to ourselves, to our children, and to the commonwealth, when we permit wickedness in high places to go unrebuked. It ought to be rebuked in the pulpit, in the street, on the exchange, everywhere. When men have done wickedly; when they have done those things which touch the foundation of morality, unless they repent and turn away from their wrong courses, they ought not to be encouraged by even your social recognition. I know of men that I would not accept an introduction to. I could not consent to put myself on terms of equality with them. I would go to them as I would go to a man under sentence of death, to win him to repentence; I would go to them as a minister, and a missionary; I would go to them, if peradventure I might pluck them *as brands from the burning;* but where it is a question of social equality, I could not consent to stand side by side with them, and have it supposed that I regarded them on a level with a Christian man and gentleman. Such things are guarded in some nations where there are ranks and orders of nobility, but there is no such thing as that with us. There is in a democracy but one thing that can save us, and that is the aristocracy of Christian virtue. And the light of the heart of Jesus shining on things permitted, and on things not permitted, is to be our guide. And the business of the Church is to raise up a testimony that shall make itself felt, and that shall keep up the distinction between good and evil, right and wrong, selfishness and benevolence, so that no man can go to the one side or to the other without knowing it. That is what is meant by being "the light of the world." It is not that we are to preach doctrine—though that comes in incidentally; but that we are to make the lines and land-marks so clear that they cannot be removed by mistake, but only by malice prepense. So the Church will become more and more an ensample and witness, and more and more an encourager. And it will require some courage, especially for the young, and, for that matter, for the old; it will require some courage for men who have not been very positive and decided, and for men whose interests frequently lead them to wink at things which are wrong—it will require some courage for them to become witnesses against evil. But what is your faith in Christ worth, what is your hope in Jesus worth, what is your belief in the life everlasting worth, what is your confidence in purity and in the sweetness of the heart of Christ borne into your heart worth, if they do not strengthen you to bear testimony to the right and against the wrong wherever you go. Wherever there is wickedness, somebody must abhor it; not clamorously; not vindictively; not harshly; but firmly. You must set over against the wickedness of this world its opposite—

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purity and virtue; and with such emphasis that men shall see how lovely the one is, and how hateful the other is.

So, then, without urging you to become malignant reformers, or, still less, denouncers and destroyers, I would say, *Abhor, in all things, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good.* And the harvest and fruitfulness and beauty of that good to which you cleave, and which you caress—that it is which shall make your testimony against evil medicinal, remedial, not poisonous.

May God grant that in that great conflict, whether silent or clamorous, which is going on between the power of light and the power of darkness, between purity and impurity, between selfishness and unselfishness, between divine virtue and infernal malignity, every one of us may bear the name of Christ, and may be found on the side of truth and of virtue and of piety, *abhorring that which is evil, and cleaving to that which is good*

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PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We draw near to thee, our Heavenly Father, led by thy hand; for Jesus is our Elder Brother. We know him; and in him we know thee. Yet, not as a stranger do we draw near to thee. We have come so often, thou hast made thyself through infinite condescension so gentle unto us, and so familiar, that we are as children coming home. We have brought so many wants in time of trouble; we have come weighed down with so many burdens, pierced with so many experiences, and tried by so many temptations, that we come with confidence. We have put thee to proof, and found thee doing exceeding abundantly more than we asked or thought; so that we come familiarly, most boldly, to the throne of grace, to obtain mercy and help in time of need.

We thank thee that thou hast made this way so glorious to us that not men who love most, nor those who are strongest, are so much to us as thou art, that dwellest in silence. There is a strength of succor above the sight, and beyond our reach. All things and all men that work for us in this sphere below are influenced by thy gracious Spirit to do it. Thou art the Fountain and the source of all help. Our life is in thee. We live upon thy laws. We live in the secret searching providence which constantly liminates evil, and brings in good. We live by those powers in ourselves which burn only as thou pourest fuel upon them. All that we have had, we have bad from thee. All that by which we are sustained is of thee. All the ends towards which we are pressing forward are marked out by thee. And we rejoice that when we sin, and fall into suffering, and into disgrace, it is of thee that we are restored. It is not what thou hast done, but what thou art that gives us hope. For thou hast disclosed the ineffable love of thy paternal heart to us. It is thy nature to forgive. It is thy heart's desire to cleanse. It is the peculiarity of thy holiness to nurse and patiently bring up holiness in others. And thou hast made it manifest in thy Son, and in his sacrifice, that sin is pardonable. And in him we have confidence as interpreting to us the whole glorious nature of a God who is willing to suffer rather than that we should suffer; of a God who would rather restore than punish; of a God who desires a remedy for sin, more than to crush it and make it final.

Thou, O Lord our God! dost behold the ineffable sinfulness of sin; and we are glad that it does not drive forth from thy heart flames that shall consume and devour the sinner; but that from thy heart come forth all the remedial tides of mercy and of love, that men may live, and be restored, and become trophies of thy redeeming grace.

And grant that our hearts may become like thine, that we too, may have great hatred for things uniquitous; that we may abhor evil; that we may cleave to that which is good; and that we may be able to redeem men from evil, and, in a spirit of kindness, restore such as have gone astray.

And we pray thee that thou wilt grant thy blessing to rest upon all those who are laboring for the reclamation of men from evil; for the restoration of society to virtue and to purity; for the establishment of good morals; and for the inculcation of true piety. May they never grow weary or faint. Multiply the number of those that shall go forth as heralds of Christ to preach the Gospel, and the unsearchable riches thereof. We pray that thy kingdom may come everywhere, and that wickedness may flee away; and that all darkness, and selfishness, and cruelty, and ignorance, and superstition, and tyranny, may henceforth be cleansed, and that that joyful day of deliverance may come which is shouted alike by angels in heaven and saints upon earth.

And to thy name shall be the glory of this triumph, Father, Son and Spirit. *Amen.*

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PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our Father, we beseech of thee that thou wouldst bless the word of admonition. Grant that by the light of the Holy Spirit it may take possession of our understandings; and not only of our understandings, but of our will; and that it may come down into our life. So sanctify us and fill us with all goodness, that everywhere we go, even by our silent example, we shall be witnesses against evil. We pray for more and more power on the side of goodness. Behold thy cause. How it struggles, often overborne! How yet the prince of the power of the air carries with him fashion, and beauty, and all things that fascinate the fancy and the imagination. Lord God, we pray for the purification of life. We pray for the ennobling of men. We pray for the weakening of those that destroy, and of the strengthening of those that would build up. Let thy kingdom come, and thy will be done on the earth as it is in heaven. And to thy name shall be the praise, Father, Son and Spirit. *Amen.*

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THE DANGER

OF

TAMPERING WITH SIN.

I shall call your attention to the history which is contained in the 8th chapter of the 2nd Kings, from the 7th verse to the 15th inclusive.

"And Elisha came to Damascus."

Elisha and Elijah were two eminent prophets. Elijah had, not a great while before, disappeared. He was an extraordinary man, stern, imperious, dramatic to the last degree. Elisha was a milder, a far more gentle man; and in his life you will find less rebuke of wrong, less war against evil, and more works and miracles of mercy and of kindness. Nevertheless, a venerable figure he was, standing out and apart upon the background of that dark day in an eminent manner. These old prophets had no prescribed bounds. They roamed to and fro as the spirit carried them. They appeared sometimes in one part of the kingdom and sometimes in another. Occasionally, they had their regular circuits. Samuel did; but he combined with the functions of the prophet's office the judicial functions. Elijah did not. He sometimes watched the imperial power, to judge and to condemn and to execute. Elisha seems almost never to have gone to any such extremes as that; but he had rather a wandering nature—a habit of life impossible to such a state of society as ours, but peculiarly congenial to the condition of things in that nation, and in Oriental nations generally. And at that time he had, for some reason (it is not stated what), gone to Damascus, which lies at the northeast of Palestine.

While there, one day it was told him that the whole street was filling up; that there was a great company of men and a great company of camels. Some one counted the camels. There were forty of them. And the attendants were numerous. They wore the king's livery. And there were distinguished officers among them.

"Benhadad, the King of Syria, was sick; and it was told him, saying, The man of God has come hither."

A most excellent name for an old public servant to honor. Pro-

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phets did sometimes honor it. But there have been public servants who have lived long lives, and whom nobody thought of calling *men of God.* But this man, who had been, it might almost be said, in supreme influence, during his time, in his nation, was known even in foreign courts as "the Man of God."

The officer was brought into the prophet's presence. His name was Hazael. He came from the king; and this is the reason of his coming:

"The king said unto Hazael, Take a present in thine hand, and go, meet the man of God, and inquire of the Lord by him, saying, Shall I recover of this disease? So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and stood before him and said, Thy son, Benhadad, King of Syria, hath sent to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?"

When kings, when great men are well and are in their royal clothes, they are a great deal better than common folks—at any rate they think so. And common folks are apt to think so too. There is a great deal of worshipping of great men; but there are no men so great that when they are sick they are not just as childish, and just as weak and feeble as anybody else. When a fever takes hold of a man, it never asks "Who is he?" And when a man lies unnerved, unstrung, with all the world apparently passing away from him, his head racked with shooting and fiery pains, and every bone in his body as it were disjointing itself; when a man lies thus a prey to sickness, what is his crown to him? What is his sceptre to him then? What are his treasures to him then? What to him, then, are all the things which he has done in the past? When men lie sick, there is no difference between one and another. And this old Oriental king, who, when he was well, was so proud and haughty, when he was sick sent his chief servant Hazael to "a man of God," saying, "Shall I recover of this disease?" For, as the sequel shows, he was very weak indeed—so weak that he could not lift a cloth. The prophet answers:

"Go say unto him, Thou mayest certainly recover; howbeit, the Lord hath showed me that he shall surely die" [that is to say, there is nothing in his disease to carry him off; and yet he is going to die.]

And then, as the man stood before him, the prophet, lowering his face, gazed full into his eye. He spoke nothing, but looked him through and through, till Hazael could not stand the gaze any longer. He was utterly confused by it. This is the language:

"He settled his countenance steadfastly, until he was ashamed; and the man of God wept."

In other words, he brought his face down, and looked steadily and sternly into Hazael's face, and Hazael was ashamed. He was confused, and he lost countenance before the prophet; and at that the prophet burst into tears.

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"And Hazael said, Why weepeth my Lord? And he answered, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strongholds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children and rip up their women with child."

This declaration shot unaffected horror through the mind of Hazael. He was not a man prepared for the allegation of such cruelties. I have no doubt that his horror was genuine; that it was not dramatic nor excusatory, but real.

"And Hazael said, But what! is thy servant a dog that he should do this great [this abominable] thing? And Elisha answered, The Lord hath showed me that thou shalt be king over Syria."

From that moment, the idea began to take on an active form in his mind-work. And he went back and began his career by telling an out and out lie.

"What said Elisha to thee? [said Benhadad] and he answered, He told me that thou shouldst surely recover. And it came to pass on the morrow that he took a thick cloth and dipped it in water and spread it on his face, so that he died. And Hazael reigned in his stead."

A man extremely reduced by sickness and enfeebled, with a thick cloth thus laid and held over his face, would suffocate speedily; and Hazael took this method, doubtless, that there might be no inquiry; that it might seem that the king had died a natural death. Having put all the men out of the palace, as we may suppose he did, he resorted to this cunning expedient. It may be that he would have experienced a horror at the idea of spilling blood; but then, to take a man's breath away by a clean method, in a skillful manner, was very different, he reasoned, from spilling his blood. He would not do such a thing as shed a man's blood; but he would take a cloth and spread it over his face. And he did not kill the king. It was not he! But the king was dead. And so, as the next step, the army being in his hands already and there being no contestant, he took the crown and sceptre, and was on the throne.

Now the first question which arises here is, was it right for the prophet to put this thing in Hazael's mind? Ought the prophet to have stirred up in him this ambition? Was it right for him to give him encouragement, or even suggestion of the possibility of his reigning in the stead of Benhadad? There is no evidence that the prophet did first put it into his mind, and much evidence that he did not. It is very certain that he did not put into his mind any suggestion of the steps by which he was to become king. It might have been by succession; it might have been years afterwards and in some regular order. There is not a word in the prophet's history which shows that he suggested to Hazael the road by which he was to come to this power, or the method by which he was to attain it. That was Hazael's own work. All he could say was, "The prophet has shown me that

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at some time and in some way, I am to be king;" and he found out the time and the way himself.

It is evident, too, that it was only a spark that fell on tinder that was already there. No man can be tempted suddenly to great crime. It is contrary to the nature of the soul. There is to be a preparation for all great wrongs in the foregoing tendencies of the person that commits them. No man becomes a tyrant in a day. No man becomes a miser in a day. No man becomes a drunkard in a day. No person becomes a termagant in a day. No person falls into any great extreme suddenly, as down a precipice. Men come to these things little by little. And if Hazael deliberately committed murder, he had thought about murder before. One man might kill another in a passion without having pondered the matter; but no man ever deliberately killed another man who had not thought about it before. No man ever committed an illustrious wickedness without having pondered, if not the thing itself, yet the possibilities of it. Men think, oftentimes, "I would not kill that man—of course I would not; but then, what if he were killed? What would happen?" And then they detail to themselves all the blessings which would come from it. "With this obstacle out of my path," they say, "there would be this benefit to me; this augmentation of my estate; this increase of my power." And so men build castles in the air, and brood upon wrong and crime, and prepare themselves by brooding, for giving away under temptation.

Now, do you suppose Hazael had never had in his mind the thought, "Why should not I be king?" He had administered the king's whole power. He had tasted the sweets of power. He had known all the machinery of government. And he had said often to himself, "The sword fits my hand, as well as my organization; and why would not the sceptre too?" He had pondered this question; and doubtless he meant at some time or other to take advantage of his position and sit upon the throne. And when the prophet said to him, "God has revealed to me that thou shalt be king," it did not teach him anything that he had not thought of before. It was just what he had thought about. And he turned his face and said, "Is it not time for me to be king? And what is in the way? What is easier than to put this old sick, weak king out of the way? I will do it." And he did do it. And it was his fault.

Then what of that exclamation of horror—"Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" This was not uttered in reference to the fact that he was to be king, but in reference to the declaration that when king he would be a cruel king, and that he would seek the destruction of Israel, and murder women and children, and

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exercise power in the most tyrannical and oppressive manner. It was at this that Hazael revolted. And yet, it came to pass that he reigned for about forty years in Damascus; and during that time he wrested away from Israel all their possessions east of the river Jordan (they were extensive and valuable possessions) and drove them through the land even into Philistia. And he laid siege to Jerusalem. And after destroying the land, he was bribed from taking the city of Jerusalem only by receiving all the treasures of the temple. And in his military career he did inflict all the miseries that had been foreshadowed by the prophet, and more.

From this history some points of instruction may be derived.

You cannot predict, from a man's early natural disposition, what he will be capable of. There is a gradual unfolding which takes place both in good and in bad. And though it is true that a naturally good disposition is a very great advantage, and creates some presumptions in favor of a man, yet natural dispositions are not enough. Men need something more than that which simply makes them appear amiable and lovely in the beginning. For, if a man has ever so amiable and kind a disposition, it is possible for him to lapse from one step to another, and from that to another, and from that to yet another, until by-and-by he is far down below that disposition. Nothing can save a man but firm habits, steadfast principles, and the grace of God in confirmation of them. No natural endowment of amiableness can keep a man from being spoiled; for although a man may not, with such a disposition as this, rush into every sin, yet every man will be tempted according to the disposition that is in him. And though he may not be accessible to all kinds of sin and temptation, yet there is some one line in which he is accessible. Every man may be so tempted that, although in his youth everything was fair, in his old age everything turns out blighted.

If you could, by some power from on high, go back and read the early history of men who have made shipwreck of life; if you could look upon the faces which they bore when they were beautiful, amiable, sweet children, beloved of father and mother, and around whom all hopes clustered; and if you could see how promising was their early manhood; and then contrast this with their old age, when they are blighted, scarred with passions, disgraced by crime, utterly wrecked morally, you would be amazed at their rapid and complete deterioration. There has been many a man who has swung on the gallows, and many another who ought to; there has been many a man who has lain in prison, and many another who ought to have been his companion; there has been many a man who has been marked by public reprobation; there has been many a man that has been swept by

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bankruptcy and disgrace, who in the beginning of life had just the same chance of being honored and beloved while living, and lamented when dead, which those men had who have reached saintship. You cannot tell by the way a man feels to-day how he will feel a year hence, or six years hence.

It is not enough, then, that a man should have simply good dispositions or good intents. When Hazael received the declaration that he should become a monster of cruelty there can be no question but that it affected him with horror. He did not believe it then. And yet, the seed and root were in him, and it required but the appropriate circumstances and temptations to bring them out.

This leads me to say that men are capable of a course at which their whole nature revolts. But it must be through a gradual reduction to a lower condition. Each step toward it will be slight. There will be few plunges in the early periods of decadence. Men do at first things that are right in themselves. Then they go still further along through things that are not wrong in themselves.. Then they go still further along in things that, if they are equivocal, can scarcely be called positively pernicious. I think that men in evil courses are like persons who go down winding stairs. The upper stairs hide the lower ones, so that they can see only three or four steps before them. Men go down courses of pleasure and vice and crime, seeing only one or two steps in a whole career. And so each step is a slight one. Although the whole of their career may be monstrous, there is no one single point of it, clear down to its very last stages, that taxes very much their fear or their conscience. Men seldom, until they become hardened, do wholesale wickedness. That is the last part. That takes place when men are given once to do iniquity. But in all the early stages, in all those periods in which men think they are perfectly safe, the peculiarity is that they take short steps, and but few of them, adding a little more to-day, and a little more to-morrow, and a little more next week, and a llttle more next month, and a little more next year, and a little from year to year. And so they are gradually demoralized and carried down, until at last they are destroyed. That which there was no power to do suddenly, in time they have done themselves. There are persons, some forty-five and some fifty years old, some younger and some older, of whom people, looking on them, would say, "What monster is that?" And yet they are persons who came to their degradation without a shock, little by little, little by little.

This is the reason and philosophy of keeping aloof from courses which lower the moral tone of the mind. There are very many courses in life which are wrong, not because the things themselves are wrong, not because the immediate consequences are mischievous, but because

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they have an effect upon the mind to lower its moral tone. A man, for instance, may begin in things that at first do not particularly violate honor. He may be sensitive and high-minded. And yet these things may have a tendency to depress the tone of honor. And they may be repeated until by-and-by that man's feeling on the subject of honor and his power of resistance to dishonor, is so dull and feeble that when there comes, at length, after this discipline and gradual change, the appropriate temptation, he will do that which is dishonorable and scarcely feel it. It is the early steps that lead a man to wrong under such circumstances. They gradually bring him into a condition in which he is predisposed to wrong.

Men are seldom stricken down with malaria when they first go into malarial regions. Frequently the disease does not show itself until the second or third year. And persons living in new countries often rejoice in their immunity. I have lived where chills and fever was prevalent, and heard a great deal about it, and seen other people have it; and I noticed that often they escaped until the second year; but during the first year they were breathing the malarial atmosphere, and a gradual process of poisoning was going on in them which had not disclosed itself. But the moment it did disclose itself they broke down under the disease. I feared that I should have it; but I was not susceptible to such things. I seemed to have a peculiar temperament in that respect. The facts, therefore, showed that a man in one state being attacked by disease would take it, whereas a man in another state would not. If a man has vigor and resiliency of nerve; if there is that in him which, when he comes into the atmosphere of contagious diseases fights them and throws them off, then he can walk in the midst of dangers and be safe. But if there is a certain lack of tone and resisting power in his system, he breaks down.

It is precisely that state which is the most dangerous in the early life of young men and maidens. It is that moral condition in which there is a want of tone and resisting power, so that when sudden temptation comes upon them their system breaks down under it. It is not alone necessary that a man should not do technically wrong. You are not safe when you simply keep your feet from known sins. No man is safe who does not keep his heart as in the fear of God. A man must *abhor* wickedness. He must *love* that which is right. In this temperament, if I may so say, of the soul there is safety; but there are ten thousand flitting pleasures, ten thousand associations, ten thousand acts in the life of young men and maidens, which, though they are not wrong in themselves, have a tendency to drag men down lower and lower, and more and more weaken their resisting power and prepare them for the attack of evil when it comes by-and-by. And one

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reason why so many fall so quickly and so completely when the stress of temptation overtakes them, is that they have been gradually and imperceptibly brought into a condition in which they were predisposed to corruption under evil influences. Their final destruction is the legitimate result of the way in which they have been tampering with themselves.

People say, "Is it wrong for a man to read any books he chooses, if he never allows himself to go wrong? There are books, of course, that I should not want to read in my family, nor in the presence of ladies; but they are extremely entertaining and I read them; and I do not think that there is any danger in it for me. Why not read all books and see all sorts of pictures and places?" Because no man can render himself familiar with such things, even out of curiosity, without marring his purity, without dulling his sensibility, without lowering the tone of his resisting power, in which is his safety. I do not care who you are, if you acquaint yourself with evil from no other motive than curiosity, you are not safe. A man who, as a teacher, or a censor in literature, has the unpleasant duty imposed upon him of probing and exposing wickedness, may fulfill that duty and not be harmed, for the reason that he is acting with his mind under the predominant influence of benevolence and obligation; but when a man, merely for the sake of gratifying his curiosity, goes into the midst of things that are perverting in their tendency, he is taking out of his nerve that which gives his nerve the whole of its preservative power. I regard, therefore, as most pernicious, the familiarity which men have with bad men; with vulgar courses; with low conversation; with obscene wit and stories. Men who call themselves respectable are accustomed to listen to operas and plays that are inherently bad, as portraying the most loathsome crimes and vices. There is many an opera in New York whose central element is reeking lust of the most detestable and hideous character. Nothing can be worse. But then they take a silk string and wind about it; they cover it up with exquisite little airs and melodies and scenes, and men go to enjoy themselves; and more and more they become fascinated, and gradually they lose their manliness. If you say anything to them on the subject, they say, "Why, I do not care for those things." Ah! can a person let those outrageous abominations be dressed up so exquisitely and dance so gaily before their eyes that they do not think they are wicked, and be unharmed? I do not believe in that purity or that integrity which can become so accustomed to prurient sins in life that they gently pass before them without a revolt. I believe that as a true ear is actually pained by hideous discords, not because the books or the philosophy of music proclaims that they are disagreeable, but because they stab the ear; so a pure

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nature hates all that is salacious, not because custom or religion says it is bad, but because all the power of the soul feels that it is positively abominable. And if to any persons they are not abominable, it is because they have lost their sensibility. There are a thousand things which men do, and which are permitted to be done in society, which wear away the enamel, rub off the bloom, destroy the freshness of the sensibility, but their ultimate tendency is not taken into account and men think they are not dangerous. There are a thousand liberties that men take in the various relations of life which are full of peril. Little things they are; but the very grounds on which we stand in maintaining decorous observances in the family and in the community, are the grounds on which we are to stand in condemning these little levities. They gradually lower the tone of the moral feelings, till by-and-by all resisting power is gone, so that when temptation comes all is destroyed.

Children should be taught that the customs and observances of society which have relation to propriety of conduct, are not founded on simple prejudice but are the results of wise legislation and experience, and that they stand between a man and corruption.

I have given a direction in respect to the passions; but the same is true in respect to all the other great master influences. A child is brought up wholesomely, and the law of the household is that a man ought never to praise himself and seek flattery, or anything of the kind. At length he goes into society, where compliments and flatteries are exchanged, and where everybody is fishing for compliments and flatteries. "Have you one for me? I have one for you." This is everywhere going on. And the child at first is shocked. But after a time his sense of propriety becomes accustomed to it. And by-and-by he is just as big a peacock as anybody. And every single step from beginning to end of this change is a step of decadence and decline.

The same is true of pride. And the same is true, also, of avarice. A man may begin very generously; and by almost imperceptibly minute steps he may become a hard-handed curmudgeon.

"There is a way which seemeth right unto a man; but the ends thereof are death."

There are very few people who, if they saw the ends of wrong courses, would venture upon them. There are very few people who, if they traced the results of evil-doing to the end of life would indulge in it.

There are thousands of persons whose lives were nobler in the family than they are in the world. There are thousands of men who had more honor and principle and generosity and moral purity, when they left their father's house, than they have ever had since. Honor

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that man who has gone through life without loss in real manliness, and increasing in moral vigor and purity all the way down. Happy is that man who grows better as he grows older. But how many are there of such? Have you grown better from your childhood up? Do you think you are cleaner-minded than you ever were before? Do you think you have a truer conscience, a more sensitive honor and a greater abhorrence of all that is mean and wicked? Do you feel that you have become attuned and chorded in integrity by the whole effect of life upon you?

Irreverence is permitted in the same way. There is every temptation in society to irreverence. Sacred things are handled familiarly by men. There is such a disposition to boldness, and rank, intemperate familiarity which grows up with democratic institutions, that neither the Church, nor any sacred book, nor usage, nor thing, nor even the name of God has any considerable respect among men.

Men ask me, "What is the harm of profanity? When a man says '*Damn*,' he does not mean *Damn*. When a man says 'Curse it,' of course he does not mean *Curse it*. And when he says, 'G—d d—n it,' of course he does not mean anything. There is no great harm in that, is there?" Is there no harm in a man's pursuing a course which steadily wears out the whole sentiment? Is there no harm in reading books that lower your faith or belief in truth? Is there no harm in talking with men who destroy your confidence in things spiritual? Is there no harm in indulging in expressions with regard to things sacred, that are like rasps, wearing down the very surface and taking off the very skin? There is harm in all the various modes of destroying sentiment and the root of veneration and reverence.

Now in all these things I go back again to the thought that in the beginning men do not mean wrong.

When fishermen are on the shore looking for bass and bullfish, they are accustomed to chop up a great deal of bait when the tide is right, and let it float out as a kind of lure. And the fish, that have a kind of telegraphic communication of their own, pass the word round, "There is something to eat;" and they come flocking up in shoals; and one seizes one morsel, and another another morsel, and another another; till by-and-by the cunning fisherman puts a morsel on a hook and throws it out. And soon some unsuspecting fish comes up and takes it, hook and all, and presently he is flopping on the shore!

It is just so that the devil fishes for men. There is this morsel here, and that morsel there, which men take with impunity; and they think there is no danger and wax bold; and by-and-by they get hold of a morsel with a hook in it. It is not wise for men to feed where there are fishermen about, fishing for their souls that they may destroy

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them. Ten thousand things there are which are "innocent in themselves," as men say, but which are thrown out as lures, and by which multitudes are drawn into things which are not innocent. Hence it is that men are not to consider themselves safe when they simply watch against specific evils. We are to watch against particular temptations; but we are also to watch our inward dispositions. A man is to watch the whole temper of his mind and soul. When he does this, and only then, he is safe.

It is declared in the passage which I read in the opening service,

"Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed." "Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death."

There is a period in the future, there is a coming time, when the thing which at first seemed so harmless shall be grown, and shall bring forth its fruit, and shall prove to be a monster, and turn and devour you. Therefore you are to take care of the foregoing dispositions and early states and stages of your experience.

I would to God that some prophet could come with authority, and stand in my place, and lower his face, and look fixedly upon the young that are here. I wish that at that young person, cheerful, gay, sweet-minded, apparently amiable and gentle, but with a rotten point of self-indulgence in him, which leads him to live from day-to-day for the present sensation, for the pleasure of the present hour, without regard to the benefit of to morrow or the next hour—I wish that at that young person the prophet could stand and look, prophesying and showing what that self-indulgence will lead him to far down in his career, and how it makes him accessible to all those who can tickle his vanity, and renders him a prey to every seduction and will leave him, by-and-by, a child of damnation. Oh! thou round of cheek, smooth of brow, and serene of eye, thou wilt die in a brothel! "What," you say, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" Oh no, not now—not until you have forgotten much of home; not until you have had wound around you the fascinations of flattering society; not until a thousand influences have dazed your mind; not until the day appointed comes. But then, "*when lust hath conceived, it will bring forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, will bring forth death.*"

Is it cruel to say so? But oh! is it not a greater cruelty that it should be true? My heart is pained when I know what is going on in life. Hideous stories come down to us of monsters of mythology that claimed some virgin at every festival to be given to its maw; but we sacrifice, not single ones, but hecatombs. And how cool is the public pulse! how little indignation there is! How many there have been, born and built with angelic mould, full of thought that might have made them majestic as kings and transcendent in loveliness, whose

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early steps were such as to lower their moral tone, and who kept sliding down and down until they were destroyed, utterly and without remedy.

"Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil."

I would that the prophet could lay his eye upon some young men that I see, who are healthy and strong and noble in their purposes, but who say that they are going to be free and independent, that they are not going to be bound by superstitious precedents. Wine bad? Not to them. Tippling bad? "Yes, to fools, but not to young men of my spirit." Drinking in a social way bad? They scorn the idea that they need to bind themselves with a pledge, or to turn out of their way to insure them against becoming drunkards. Oh Prophet! where art thou? Look upon these young men, and say to them, "I see you early overthrown; I see you early death-struck; I see you dying in disgrace; I see you lying in a drunkard's grave." They would say, "Is thy servant a dog, that these things should be true of him?" Yes, you are a dog, of whom just these things are true. If you are not afraid; if your hand is reached out for the cup when it is red and you have no concern; if you scorn the warning which is afforded by ten thousand instances of men who are just as good as you, and just as strong as you are, but who tampered with the cup and were destroyed, it requires no prophet to foretell the issue. I can myself tell what the end shall be. Here are thousands and thousands, and some that I know, who are dying now from this very cause. Their life looked as fair as yours; their hopes were as bright as yours; they were as certain of their power to retrace their steps in time to save themselves as you are; and yet they have fallen and are perishing. Oh! that men would ponder these things.

I behold men of generous impulses starting in life on certain courses; and I know what the end will be. I see men sacrificing themselves for gain. I see men giving their time for mere money. They do not care for the welfare of the community. They are not interested in charitable enterprises. They have no sympathy for the unfortunate classes. And yet they are men who, before they were attacked by the delirium of avarice, had generous and noble natures. I know what will become of them. They grow up more and more avaricious and less and less manly. As their riches increase, their manhood dies out. And I see them forsaking, one after another, their old companions that are not profitable. I see that as they pile up treasure, their generosity diminishes. There is a fever of gain which a man who is inspired to watch can discern. And I see them at last, lying back in their pondering moments, and turning over and over their money. Night and day they live for money. And every other thing is destroyed in them

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except the love of gain. They are utterly carried away by avarice. If I had told them when they began, that they were coming to this, they would have said, "Is thy servant a dog?" And yet, those very steps which they were then taking were steps by which they would inevitably become misers.

And so of every other wrong course—for time fails me, and I can not carry out in detail any further, the thoughts which are suggested by this general history.

We are all of us either advancing from strength to strength to appear before God, or we are, consciously or unconsciously, drifting further and further from the early period of innocence; from the early honor; from the early faith. We are drawing near to the heavenly land; but oh! with what freight do we go? What love we in the world? What has been our life? We had a fair start, most of us; how have we improved our opportunities? There are some who had not a fair start. There are some who had drunken parents. I have in my mind now two men who were the children of worthless parents, but who worked upon the farm to support themselves and earned their way through college; and now both stand high in the Christian ministry. And I know men who were born of Christian parents, who were the children of Christian ministers and who had everything to help them, both in regard to organization and precept, during their childhood, but who have worked their way straight down, until they are miserable wrecks and outcasts. But, thank God! if there are persons that go away from the Christian instruction of their childhood, there are also persons who do not. I have known many persons who, though they came out of the battle scarred, nevertheless grew better as they grew older. Are you growing better as you grow older?

Fellow citizens, men, brethren, is not this practical business? The year is drawing to an end. You are going fast to your account. I see in many of you the signs of decay. I bear them myself. I am no longer a young man; and you, many of you, have passed your youth. Do you ever take an account, an inventory with yourself? Do you ever say, "What am I? How do I compare with what I used to be? Am I harder, or more generous? Am I truer, or am I less scrupulous? Have I divine wisdom, or have I sneering, worldly wisdom?" Are you nearer to the spirit of Christ than you used to be? Are you nearer to the spirit of God? Are you better prepared for the society of angels than you were half a score of years ago? Does the world hold you less tenaciously than it did? Do you feel prepared to let go, if it be the will of God, this year? Can you say, when you meet your God, not, "I am spotless"—oh, no; but, "I love, I honor, I adore Thee above all, as the Chief among ten thousand and the one altogether

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lovely?" Is the language of reverence and love possible to your life? How have you been living? How are you living? Will you not take this home to yourself to-night, and make inquisition into yourselves? You know better than anybody else what secret thoughts and feelings you have cherished, and what secret sins you have committed. You know what your actions have been, and what the motives of those actions have been; and you can take a general account of your life. And why not be faithful to yourselves? Is there any use of cheating yourselves? I can understand how a bad accountant might make up a false account to cheat his employers; but I cannot understand how a merchant could make up a false account to cheat himself. And will you make up your moral account so as to blind your eyes and hoodwink yourselves, and stagger on for years, and at last plunge into the other world all unprepared to meet your Judge and the judgment?

It is not enough to say, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do these things?" Ah! many and many a man has done everything that he abhorred in the beginning. Many and many a man has fallen upon every evil that he dreaded in the beginning. Many and many a man has made shipwreck of faith, though at first he started for the other thing. I beseech of you take heed. Read the lessons that are around about you. Watch men and see what their lives are. Listen to the testimony of God's word. Call God to your side, and yield yourself to his will. By prayer, and by faith, and by reliance upon the power of the Holy Ghost, live so that at whatever hour the Son of Man may come, he shall find you right and willing to depart and be with Christ, which is better than life.

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PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We humble ourselves before thee, our Father. We draw near to thee in the spirit of children: and yet of children that have gone wrong. We are conscious of our sins. We are conscious that we have sinned against our own light and knowledge. Thou hast had occasion to be offended with us. Thou mightest long ago have been discouraged and cast us off. It is the nature of thy love to endure. Thou art long-suffering, patient, slow to anger, quick to relent. Thy nature is healing to sin, and none shall open their hearts to let in thine influence and go uncleansed. The fire of thy Spirit shall burn up the dross. The purity of thy soul shall cleanse the impurity of ours. The truth of thy thought shall straighten out the crookedness, the lies, the falsity, in us. Thou wilt pour through the soul those tides of the divine spirit that shall cleanse it; and by thy power we shall be regenerated, ennobled, lifted up into the likeness of God. And into our souls breathe the filial spirit, so that we shall call out in every hour, in every spontaneous moment, "Our Father which art in heaven."

We thank thee for all thy bounty which there is in the fatherhood of God. Oh! what comfort we have plucked from it already! It has reached above our heads as a vine that grew by diminution; for all we have taken of thine over-arching care has but caused it to put forth new clusters. Thou art giving without diminishing the supply. Oh! what consolation have we had when we fled from the terror of thy law; when we fled from the relentless aspects of nature, and found the warmth and sympathy of thy paternal heart! Thou art good. Thou art not only good but thou art merciful. How gentle are thy ways towards us! Grant that thy goodness and thy gentleness may win us more than terror and more than necessity. Grant that our hearts, moved by honor and by duty and by love, may turn unto thee and to thy ways. May we desire thy favor more than all other things. Thou knowest the battle of every one. Thou knowest the temptation that to every one is most potent. Thou knowest where are our weaknesses and what are our infirmities. Thou dost behold the doubtful conflict. Thou hast watched over us with more than tender watching and care than ever a mother watched over a child. We need not tell thee who we are. We need not tell thee what we are.

Lord Jesus! but for thy grace, we should have perished; and by thy grace we are what we are in good. Yet continue thy good to us. Inspire us and strengthen us and lift us up as things that are mighty to the destruction of pride and selfishness and appetite and every evil way. Turn us to thyself. Be school-master to us in love. Discipline us. Instruct us. Guide us to the knowledge of all that is good; and may our inclination follow our knowledge. May we have the way of righteousness. And, we beseech of thee, be near to those who are yet too weak to walk, and to all that are cast down and cannot rise up, and to all that are taken captive by sin and cannot release themselves, and to all that are snared, and to all that are slumbering, being stupefied by sin. O thou Healer! draw near. Thou Deliverer! appear for the rescue of souls that are in peril. There are many who make feeble cry to thee, not because they deserve aught but because it is thy heart's delight to do good, that they have faith in thee. And we beseech of thee that thou wilt help those who seek to help others. Give them wisdom. Inspire them with prudence. Give them might and power upon the hearts of their fellows. May all that seek to lead men in Godly ways be themselves lead by God. May those who seek to injure men, to carry them down, and to make mischief of happiness, be met with rebuke and overthrown by the breath of thy mouth and the brightness of thy coming.

Oh! hasten that day when all men shall learn the lore of love. Hasten that day when thy Spirit shall be breathed into all thy churches, and through thy churches into all the community; when laws and government shall be

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founded and administered in righteousness; when all the institutions of society shall be filled with the spirit of heaven. Grant that that blessed day of prediction may come when sorrow and sighing shall flee away, when cruelty shall cease, when superstition and ignorance shall depart, and when the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord as the waters fill the sea. Oh! hasten that long-delaying day. Grant that those who labor for it and die without the sight, giving place to other generations that labor and die again without the sight, and all of us may behold it, if not upon these shores, yet in our Father's kingdom. For this world is thine own. Oh Jesus! thou hast redeemed it by thy precious blood. Thou shalt win it through the dark ages. Thou art the Traveler unknown, seeking it. Thou shalt find it. Thou shalt cleanse it. Thou shalt ordain purity and justice and truth and love. And all the world shall see thy salvation.

Make haste then, consummate thy promises. Fulfill the blessedness of thine intent. Bring in on this earth all thy mighty power.

And to the Father, the Son and the Spirit shall be praise everlasting. *Amen.*

PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our Father, we beseech of thee that thou wilt bless the word of instruction which we have endeavored to give. May all those who are in the morning of life take heed to their courses. May all those upon whom thou hast placed the burden and heat of the day watch warily, knowing whose adversaries abound on every side. May those who have passed the years of their lives, and are standing in their autumn days, more than ever see that they are prepared to meet their God. May there be no more delay. May there be no more excuses. May men no more deny their duty, or turn away from their Saviour. Lift up thy cross, and make it glow before the eyes of every one. And may there be many who shall be won to it, and subdued by it, to the honor of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Redeemer. *Amen.*

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SATURDAY, DEC. 31, 1870.

Subject: Individual Responsibility.

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A Weekly Publication

OF

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THIS publication began with the sermon of Sunday, September 20th, 1868, the first of the Church services for the year. Each *Volume* will contain twenty-six numbers, being one sermon each week for six months. The *First, Second,* and *Third* series are now issued; each making one large and handsome 8vo vol., extra cloth—Vol. I. being embellished with a new STEEL PORTRAIT of Mr. BEECHER—the best likeness of him ever published—Vol. II. having a fine large Interior View of Plymouth Church. Price, $2.50 per vol. *Sent post-paid by mail on receipt of price.*

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THE GROUND OF SALVATION.

"But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; (by grace ye are saved;) and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus,—that in the ages to come he might show the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us, through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God."—Eph. II., 4–8.

We have here an exposition (if it is to be found anywhere in the Bible) of the ground of salvation. There is no possibility, it seems to me, of framing language broader and more explicit than that which here declares that man's salvation does not stand in himself, in his character, in his nature, in his desire, and, by implication, in his skill, nor in his power; but that it stands in the infinite goodness and generosity of God—that God saves men on account of what is in *Him*, and not on account of what is in them.

"For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God."

A gift is some object of value transferred from one to another, as a sign and token of good will or friendship. A simple gift is neither earned nor deserved. It carries with it no idea of commerce, and no idea of equity. It carries exclusively the idea of friendship, of kindness. But sometimes a gift may be bestowed upon persons who are in great need of it, and who even solicit it on account of their need. Then it is called a *benefaction*, or, more commonly, a *charity*. And if it be something given to earnest and importunate solicitation, it is called a *dole*. But where a gift is presented to one not altogether as an act of friendship nor as a charity; where it is presented to one who by his special character and conduct has no right to expect it; who has in some sense fortified himself against the access of such a gift, then it is called a *grace*, in the language of the New Testament. A great kindness, then, shown to an undeserving person, is a grace; that is, it is a gift not deserved by any conditions which exist between the giver and the receiver of friendship, and so is a gift not to be expected.

SUNDAY MORNING, Dec. 4, 1870. LESSON: ROMANS V. HYMNS (Plymouth Collection): Nos. 269, 243, 263.

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Now, the gift of eternal life, conferred through the Lord Jesus Christ upon men, is said to be both of these; namely, a gift and a grace. And there is something affecting, when it has once been called a grace, that it should also be called a gift. For as *grace* implies ill-desert, so when a great favor is conferred, and it is called a *gift*, the implication is, that the ill-desert is forgotten, and that the parties are treated as though they were on foundations of common friendship, unsullied and unforfeited. And in order to make this stronger, the apostle calls it a *free* gift. A gift is free anyhow; but here is brought to it that central conception of freeness which distinguishes it from a grace. There is supplied that peculiar grace of God which is great kindness shown to sinful men, who are undeserving of any such gift, but upon whom God, in his generosity, is disposed to look, not as culprits and criminals afar off but as brought near to him, as friends through the Lord Jesus Christ. And the declaration of the apostle which we have selected, is, that spiritual life, pardon and salvation, here and hereafter, are gifts of God, or graces conferred. That is to say, that a man is pardoned and saved, not on account of his earning pardon and salvation, not on account of what there is in him, not on account of any equivalent to that favor which is rendered to him, but because there is that in the nature of God which goes out to man's salvation, and which represents a quality, a character, a nature in God, rather than any affection or condition in the persons who are the recipients.

The reason, then, of pardon and life, lies in the fullness of the love and generosity which inhere in the original and everlasting nature of God. It is a nature which throbs for outburst; which seeks out, in creating, and through creation, new and infinite channels by which may flow down to an infinity of creatures the greatness of the benefaction of the all-loving soul of God. And God's saving mercy is free to every intelligent creature that is on the globe, or that shall be on the globe, as an absolutely free gift.

But our profit in this amnesty or gift must come as all benefit of the soul comes; that is, by our accepting it. The proffer does not bring profit—the *realization* does. Thus, we take physical things by our physical organs. If they are presented to us, we possess them only when we have taken them in the way in which physical things, material things can be taken. When intellectual things are presented to us (ideas, for instance, and new truths, or inflections of old ones), they are of no validity, and of no use, and of no significance to us as long as our intellect, being dead, does not rise up to receive them. A man presented with the most astonishing discoveries written out in a book which he cannot read, has in some sense a gift of knowledge presented to him; but it is of no use to him, simply because his in-

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tellect cannot receive it under such conditions. If the gift is material, you must accept it as material gifts are accepted. If the gift be intellectual, it must be conferred and received as intellectual gifts are conferred and received. If the gift be emotive, then it must appeal to the sensibility of reciprocal emotion; as, if one confers confidence or affection or friendship, that is received only when a corresponding warmth of affection rises up to take it and to realize it. And the generosity, the life, the goodness, the loving-kindness, the long-suffering of God—these can be received by us only through some corresponding spiritual sensibility. And although they are ours in one sense, in another sense they never avail for us until in some manner we take them home to ourselves. This is what is meant by *receiving the free grace of God by faith.* It is the nature of God looking out upon men, sinful and degraded, to love them—as I shall have occasion to show before I am done. To love them without forfeit, and without waiting for their reformation; to love them while yet they are sinners and sinning—that is the nature of God. Yet the proclamation of that nature which the great heart of God beams and pours out; the proclamation of benefaction, pardon, restoration, inspiration, divinity, for every living soul, the proclamation of the dying of the Saviour to give liberty to mankind—if it falls on men as sunshine on stone, it does no good. For this great knowledge, this great proclamation of divine, loving amnesty, must be received by some feeling that corresponds to itself before it takes hold of men with any benefit.

A worm, to-day—if there be worms in December unburied—lives in a world just as large and just as rich as you and I do; but how much of this world can a worm appropriate? And what is all the world to it except just that little modicum which it can itself appropriate? The worm has just as much of the world as a worm can use—not a bit more. All the rest to it is surplusage.

The sparrow that hunts the worm has a great deal larger world; but then it is a sparrow-world, after all; and the world of the sparrow is measured by the power of the sparrow to appropriate. The sparrow has risen above the worm, a great way in organization, and a great many degrees above the worm-form. But, after all, it is simply a creature of that world which it can appropriate.

The dog is far higher than the bird. And in the dog you begin to see the germs of rational intelligence, and the germs of affection and of disposition. The dog is, as it were, the prophecy of the man. And yet, large as he is, advanced as he is, he owns only just so much world as a dog can appropriate. What to the dog is architecture, in respect to its element of beauty? Nothing. He has no eye for beauty. What to him are the sciences? Nothing. What is knowledge to him?

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Nothing. It does not exist to him. It is outside of his possible apprehension. Only so much of this world exists to that dog as is able to get into him—into his apprehension and receptivity.

When you go to an intelligent barbarian, you have gone a great deal higher than the dog. And yet, the barbarian has in this world only just so much as he can appropriate. Yet there is an immense reach of reality that he never appreciates, and never comes into sympathy with, and derives no benefit from.

And from the barbarian man, step by step, through all civilizing influences, we come at last to the rational, the intelligent, the cultivated and spiritualized man.

And now, how much larger the world is to him! Yet all that part of the great outlying world that he has no affinity for, all that part of it for which he has no experience, no susceptibility, and which does not interpret itself to him on any chord, nor along any avenue of intelligence in him—all that part of the world is to him as if it were not. And if there be outside of the race of man angelic races; and if, high above all these, God over all, blessed forever, has filled the conception of perfectness, of beauty, of gracefulness, of gentleness, of sweetness, of ineffable love, of bounty, and of beneficence transcending all conceptions formed in our lower reaches of life; if there be such a God as this in the heavens, they only can have the benefit of that revelation of God who have some capacity to reciprocate it, to take hold of it, to see it, to feel it. But to all those who have no such capacity he is as if he were not. Therefore it is said that while men are saved by God's unconditional goodness, because it is the nature of God to love men, and to purify them, and to save them, they are not saved, after all, unless the knowledge, the proffer, coming to them, is accepted by something in them which corresponds to the divine nature. It is all as nothing to men who have no eyes to see it, no heart to experience it, and no will to accept it. We are saved by the grace or gift of God, and not of ourselves. We are saved by the faith of this grace or gift of God, by believing it, and accepting it. In other words, that is the way in which it works.

This, then, is the philosophy of faith, or receptive belief. And the reason why God's love does not help multitudes of men to whom it is preached, is, that they reciprocate nothing to it.

I remark, then, in the first place, in view of this brief statement, that this is the true and only method in which the doctrine of salvation should be presented to men. This is the ground and reason of salvation, namely, God's nature. It is the presentation of a personal God, full of love and full of mercy, rescuing from sin and degradation every soul that will receive his love. This is the true atonement. God is

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the atonement. What he has done shows atoning mercy; but the essence and centre of atonement lies in God himself, and not in any exhibitory action of it. It is the eternal and the everlasting nature of love to heal sin, to forgive sin, to purify men from their lower state, and bring them up out of the bondage of the flesh, and into the glorious light and liberty of the sons of God. Now, if one wants to know why a man is saved, by the grace of God he is saved. What does *the grace of God* mean? It means God's loving power. How comes God by this love? Ask him. Ask eternity. It is the nature of God.

A presentation to mankind of the theory of atonement from a lower plane than this, as has been so prevalent, and is to this day so prevalent, is pernicious. Not that there is not, or may not be, a theory of atonement; but an explanation of the "plan of salvation" as it has been drawn out in theology, after the analogy, mostly, of human civil governments, tends to destroy the essential part of the personality of God in the quickening and saving work of salvation. God's mercy through Jesus Christ is to be presented, evermore, simply as the sovereign, benignant, blessed act of a divine Person. We are not, in presenting this to men, to go back and ask the question, "Why did he?" or "How did he?" We are to stand simply in this great luminous fact, that it is the nature of God to love; and out of this great central nature God does present salvation to every man. Every man that will receive it will have the benefit of it. Those that do not accept it will go on as if it were not true, and to them it will not be true. That is the law of the universe. There is sun-light enough for all flowers that want it; but if a flower is under a rock the sun-light does not help it. Or, if you can imagine such a thing as a flower standing where the sun might pour down upon it, and hiding itself away out of the sun's rays; if you can imagine it as resisting the shining of the sun so that his light cannot reach it, the sun would be of no advantage to it. Summer only helps things that take summer into them.

We are not, then, to preach the *plan of salvation*, but we are to preach *God*, to men. We are not to preach the *atonement;* we are to preach *Christ*. We are not to preach the philosophy of redemption; we are to preach *the blessedness of God's heart and soul*. The moment that you undertake to preach that which is strictly philosophical in this matter, that very moment you preach man's theorizing as a substitute for the revelation of God himself.

But it will be asked, "Do not the Scriptures teach that the suffering and death of Christ were the ground and reason of this divine mercy?" I reply, No, not in the sense in which men think they do.

But, not to dwell upon that, the Scriptures do teach, I think, that

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the sinless obedience, the expiatory suffering and the death of Christ, had some relation, in the invisible realm of divine government, to the world's salvation. I know that a great many dispute that; but I do not see my way clear to set it aside. After careful and long reading of Scripture, I cannot but believe that the Apostles taught, and meant men to believe, that the suffering of Christ had an expiatory virtue in it; that the suffering and death of Christ did do more than constitute a manifestation; that they did have a virtue that in some way changed things in the great world behind and out of sight. I cannot fairly construe the language of the New Testament other than so.

But it stops right there, without going one single step further. It merely recognizes, without explanation, without solution, the fact that the suffering and death of the Lord Jesus prepared a way for the mercy of God to reach mankind. It left that fact without a syllable of explanation as to the *how* or *why*.

And so I am accustomed to say that I believe the suffering and death of the Lord Jesus Christ did have an influence, out of my knowledge, and out of the world's knowledge, which will be revealed hereafter; that in some way they took hold of the processes of things in the universe; and that all that part of Christ's suffering which is explained to us, iterated and reiterated as a motive power, all that part of it which is addressed to our conscience and our intelligence and our susceptibility, is this: that the influence of it was to make manifest that which inhered in the nature of God; and that the sufferings of Christ, so far as we are concerned,—so far as we are to search them out, and work them out,—have not so much to do with the economy of God's moral government, as with the influence which is to be exerted among men. And obedience, and suffering willingly borne, and death triumphantly met—all these are modes by which we measure what is the fullness of love, the strength of love, the depth of love, and the power of love. Our Lord declared:

"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

And it is said in the passage which I have read in your hearing this morning:

"Scarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die. But God commendeth his love to us, in that while we were yet sinners [bad as we could be: I do not mean sinning as badly as we could, but being out of friendship and out of sympathy, and so being in the remotest sphere possible from the expectation of any such goodness]—God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

There was the commendation of love. It was an emotion that would bear suffering. It was an emotion that would bear pangs unutterable. It was an emotion that could go through a long experi-

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ence of humiliation, and death itself—and under circumstances that no human intelligence can ever interpret. For the experience of one Man no man can interpret. The experience of so great a nature as that of Christ, going through that which he went through, no man can conceive of. That it was vast, that it was voluminous, Gethsemane bears witness. Many a drooping hour when his soul was troubled well-nigh unto death bears witness to its greatness. It was very different and far beyond all common human experience. And all of it, —what he thought, and felt, and suffered, and forbore, and did,—we are told by the Apostle are commendations of the love of God. They are interpretations of it; they are the measures of it. And so far as we are concerned, all that we need to know of the philosophy of the sufferings of Christ, is this: that they measure to us the greatness of his mercy and the greatness of God's love; that they interpret to us the effulgence and the fullness of that divine generosity and of that divine kindness in which is the hope of the world and the salvation of every man that is saved.

When, then, we are to preach the salvation of the Lord Jesus Christ, it is not for us to preach so much an explanation of how Christ was enabled to be "just, and yet the Justifier." It may be true that there was a process which he went through in order to be just and yet the Justifier; but the philosophy of that process is never explained. It may be implied; it is implied: but all the explanation there is of it is but a hint. But, on the other hand, that which the Scripture does deal in, is that Christ is prepared to save; and that, so far as we are concerned, the ground and reason of mercy and salvation is love in Christ to us. The declaration is not, "Because I have gone through such, and such, and such steps I am now qualified to offer you salvation." It is, "Salvation is possible to the worst sinners, because God loves so. And that he does love so is made manifest by what He has suffered to show it." The suffering and the experience of Christ are always arguments interpreting the greatness of the love of God in Christ Jesus, and not philosophical statements for the sake of establishing or illustrating some mysterious plan which lies back unexplained.

If, then, a man knows that the nature of God, as made manifest through the Lord Jesus Christ, and in him, is such that it is his desire, and has been from eternity, and will be to eternity, to raise the weak, to lift up the fallen, to forgive the sinful, to build up those that are cast down, to fill meager and fainting souls with strength and sustenance and power, and to carry them on to glory, and that He does this for just the same reason that a mother does things for her child—not because the public sentiment makes her; not because the law

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makes her; not because the child is going to pay her back; but out of the fountain of motherhood; out of that instinct and impulsion of love in her own bosom which makes her succor the poor and needy, the ground and reason of safety for the child being found in her *love* —if a man knows this, he knows all that the Scriptures undertake to teach him on this subject, and he does not need to search for any further explanation of it. Says God, "In my ineffable and everlasting love is the salvation of the world; and I pardon, I spare, I pity, I deliver, and I will ransom with an everlasting salvation every one that believes in me, because I am so loving and so generous. It is my nature to love. I am Father, and I will brood the world as fatherhood and motherhood brood the cradle." That is the divinity and the power of the universe. That is the infinite power of love. That is the truth of the atonement. That is the glory of the atonement, in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. And they are founded (they were illustrated in Jerusalem, but never founded there) they are founded in the eternity of God—in that drift and current, moving mighty as the ages, from eternity to eternity. And our salvation stands, not in any plan, or theory, or explanation, or arrangement, but in the force of the whole total nature of God, as a Being of infinite love, and therefore of infinite compassion and infinite succor.

And that is the thing to be preached. That is the thing which breaks down the heart. That is the thing which makes men bow down their heads, and say, "If this be God, let me worship." That is the thing which gives hope and courage to mankind.

If one be sick, and you present him medicine, knowing his sickness perfectly well, and saying to him, "This will certainly alleviate your pain, and restore you," he takes the medicine. How? By faith in your statement, simply. And he is relieved by it. But suppose you thought it necessary to say to him, "This medicine was gathered, some of it in Africa, and some of it in South America; and it was gathered at such and such seasons of the year. The juices of the plant were extracted and prepared. And then by commerce they were brought hither. And now these various elements have been brought together and triturated in such and such proportions. And when taken, one part goes to the secretions, and another part goes to the liver, and another part goes to the nerves. And so, this being the way in which the medicine was obtained, in which it was made, and in which it operates, if you take it you will get well." If you were trying to make a doctor, I do not dispute that this might be a wise method, and that it might be advisable to undertake to show him whence medicine comes, and how it operates, in order to direct him in the prescription of medicine; but if you were prescribing for a

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patient that was sick, and that was writhing in the agonies of present pain, you would not think of entering into a botanical explanation as to the origin of the medicine, nor as to the philosophy of its operation.

Now, I do not say but there may be reasons why, in the chair of theology, when you are discussing the abstract nature of all governments, and the abstract nature of all things derived from one source or another, it may be proper and necessary to discuss this matter of God's moral government. There is no question that may not be raised under such circumstances. There is no question that may not be in order in the philosopher's or the professor's chair. But when the Gospel is being preached, I protest against your presenting your *philosophy* of God's medicine for the soul's want, before prescribing the *medicine* for that want. First bring God's love to the soul that is sick, and let the heart take it; and then the man is healed by it whether he knows where it came from, how it is prepared, and why it was presented to him, or not.

Food for the starving does not require that the starving shall understand the origin of the food, or the operation of it. Raiment for the cold does not require that they for whom it is provided shall know whence it comes. A house of refuge being opened to those who are hard pressed, it is not needful, before they come in to enjoy its comforts, that they should know just when it was built, and just how it was built, and just how it was paid for, and just how it was arranged within. A knowledge of the history and economy of that house is not necessary before one takes the mercy which it offers.

A life-boat puts out to a foundering ship. Is it needful before one leaps from the sinking vessel into the frail life-boat, that every single thing about it shall be explained to him? Must he wait and be informed who made it, and of what materials it is constructed? Men never act in that way on subjects of that kind. It is only in matters of theology that they act so strangely. In all the great welfares of life, men do not undertake to teach the philosophy of things before the benefit of those things can be availed of; and they ought not to do it in matters so important and vital as the question of their soul's salvation. That which is essential is this *reciprocal love.* God so loved the world that he gave his Son to die for it; and He died for it while yet it was at enmity to him. And whoever believes that this dying of the Lord Jesus Christ is the evidence and interpretation of God's pardoning love; whoever will accept that truth, and believe it; whoever feels constantly the gushing in his soul of that love, and the certainty of it, is saved by the *ingress through grace,* as it is called, of this truth into his nature.

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That which has power with men, then, I think to be, not that which presents to them the history, if I may so say, of moral mechanism in the universe; but that which presents to them a personal God, clothed with all the sympathies, and all the yearnings, and all the desires that characterize a father. That certainly is the way in which the apostles preached Christ everywhere; and that is the way which subsequent experience proves to be the most beneficial preaching of Christ. That which men most need to have preached, is not a plan of salvation, but Christ. Preaching God, and not the philosophy of God's moral government is what is needed.

I remark, in the second place, that Paul does discuss the plan of salvation; but how? And to whom? Why, to the Jews. We find, for instance, in the apostles' writings—principally in Paul's—the declaration that Christ is the end of the law, and that Christ made a satisfaction for the law, and that he fulfilled the law, and made it honorable. And so men have inferred that the atonement of Christ was necessary in order that God should first satisfy the claims of justice and the claims of law throughout the universe; and that when they had been satisfied (some said in one way, and some in another; for there have been infinite diversities of theories in respect to this) then he could consistently with justice offer salvation to all that would comply with the terms. Now this is, in my humble judgment, surplusage. The whole question that Paul argued with the Jews was just as simple as A, B, C. Christ came to the Jews, himself a Jew, and a follower of the Jewish Law, declaring that that law should never pass away.

"Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

That is its substantial basis. And when the apostles began to teach Christ, men said, "Our fathers have been chastised enough for abandoning the law of Moses. This is God's law, made known to us, and confirmed through ages by proofs immutable; and we are not going into a new religion. We are not going to throw aside the Mosaic law and take the religion of Jesus Christ." And what was the answer of the apostle? It was this: "My dear brethren, you do not abandon Moses, and you do not abandon the law of God, when you accept the Lord Jesus Christ; for Jesus Christ himself is the law. The law means him. It was the foreshadowing of him. And in taking that which is the substance instead of the shadow, you fulfill the law better than if you took the law, and left the personal Christ out. You do not understand that in your history the whole economy of Moses was a schoolmaster to bring you to Christ; and that when Christ comes, and you take him, instead of taking something antagonistic to your law, you take that self-same thing. You keep it through a person in a man-

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ner that you could not until Christ came. And therefore you do not give up the law. Christ makes the law more honorable, larger, nobler, wider, more spiritual.

Now, this was a historical argument to the Jew which had great meaning and which extricated him from embarrassment; for, throughout, "the law" means the law of God as taught by Moses, the Jewish law, the only law the Jews knew or cared anything about. But, when a modern teacher goes before a modern audience that has no such historical snare or besetment, that has never been educated in the Jewish law, and undertakes to argue that God himself must satisfy the great *moral* law, in the sense in which the Jews argued it, he has violated historical propriety; he has gone aside from scriptural example; he has introduced an official, and I think a merely scholastic issue that does not belong to the Bible, and only perplexes man's understanding. Therefore, when you read in the New Testament that the law had to be thought of and to be observed, do not think that it is meant that God had, before he could offer pardon to the world, to sit down and say to himself, "How shall I pardon the world that lies in wickedness? If I do, all my intelligent creatures in heaven will get up and say, 'Where is your justice?' Now, I must take care of the angels, and the universe first; and when I have taken care of these, I can forgive sinners." This is the modern fictitious and false notion.

Over against it, I present the sublime defense made by God himself, when, in answer to the same kind of reasoning on the part of the Jews, who thought that he could not save any but Jews, he said, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." It is God's declaration of independence to act according to the impulse of his own glorious personality. "I am not tied up by my promises to Abraham; I am not tied up by any federation with the Jews," said God: "I have liberty of infinite love, and of individual justice; and there is nothing that holds me. There is no system, no government, no anything that prevents my letting flash and flame out my own personal power of nature."

And that which was true in answering the Jewish prejudices and national conceit, is still more eminently true in answering the scholastic conceit of the philosophy of atonement. God saves men because he loves to save them. His mercy saves every man who knows enough to open his heart and say, "I will take it, and believe in it, and rejoice in it."

I see people going by my house on whom the roaring wind and the pelting rain are beating; and I open my door and say to a poor, slenderly clad, feeble woman, without umbrella, without cloak, without gloves, "My dear madam, come up hither. Come in." She rushes

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up the stoop, glad of a shelter from the biting rain and hail; and I close the door on her and bring her to the fire. Why do I do it? Because I am a humane man. It is just that, and nothing else. Who is she? Let us not ask. All we want to know is that she is miserable. Why do I show her mercy? Because she is virtuous? She is not. Her hand knows theft; her heart knows guile; bnt she is miserable, and she suffers. And when I know all that, do I send her away from my fire? No. I feed her. I clothe her. And if she goes out from my house, she goes out with my benefaction. And after she is gone, I console myself with the hope that my kindness to her will lead her to better ways. Why did I do it? Not in obedience to any law. There is no great problem of metaphysics in it. It is just this: That I love to do such things to a fellow creature. And is not the philosophy of atonement this: that God loves to heal sinning creatures? And he loves to do it because he is God. That is the reason for sinning men to lay hold of. You do not want to go any further than that. And all further explanations are overlaid with the miserable fictitious systems of man's justice which give us all our analogies of the requisitions of God's justice. And all our arguments on the theory of atonement, as based upon the necessities of moral law and govern ment, are derived from civil jurisprudence. Civil jurisprudence is the best form of law that men can make; and yet, it is a very ricketty affair. There is nothing in the world that, beginning on right, sound principle, runs, at every single step, into more blunders and inconsistencies. There are not more meshes in a net than there are in the administration of human justice. It is what society cannot get along without; but it is not a perfect system in theory, and still less in practice. And are you to derive your analogies from that which is the mere creature of weakness and necessity? And are you to lay those analogies upon the infinite perfection of the eternal God, and say, "Because a judge on the earth has to act so and so, Jehovah has to act so and so?"

That explanation of the law, then, which had a historical meaning to the Jew, and which served to extricate him from embarrassments, when you undertake to apply it to us, commuting the law from the old historical, ceremonial law into the abstract or modern law of justice, is as a piece of mechanism between the soul and a personal God.

A plan of Salvation there may be; but that is not what we are sent to preach. A theory of atonement there may be; but that theory we are not sent to preach. We were not told to go down and explain to men how God might be just, and the Justifier; but simply that he *is* just when he justifies and clears, and when he condemns as well. The accomplished fact, and the sublimest and supremest fact that it is

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possible for men to understand, is the personality of the everliving and everlasting God, the Source of life; the Source of healing; the Source of inspiration; the Source of growth; the Architect of ages; the Upbuilder; the Nurse; the Father; the Mother; the Friend; the First And the Last; the Beginning and the Ending; the Author and the Finisher. That is what He is to every needy soul, to every hungry soul, to every wretched soul. God is enough, in the infinite fullness of his nature and love and sympathy, for every living creature on the boundless globe, and through the epochs of time. And that great fact of divine love in personality—let it not be degenerated into a web of metaphysics! Let it not carnalize itself into the miserable analogies of a botched human justice! Let it stand and glow in the pure sympathy and glorious personality of a central God; Father, Son and Holy Ghost, all-loving, all-drawing, all-inspiring and lifting up men into their ultimate and rejoicing condition in heaven. *There* is atonement for you!

Every end of religion requires that man should be brought face to face and heart to heart with a loving God. For it is this divine heart-power that is our whole hope.

You remember that very affecting story that lies unused so often in the Old Testament, where the Prophet Elisha was at night called in to see the widow's child. The child was dead. It was the only light in the house; and that light went out. And so the house was dark. And you remember how he stretched himself on that child, and put his face on the little child's face, and put his hands on the little child's hands, and his body, part by part, over the child's body; and how the little child sneezed, and his life began to come back? Beautiful it is in the old prophet's story. Infinitely more beautiful, to me, is the thought that the great God lays his great heart on my heart, and on your heart, and on all hearts. And it is this pressure of the heart of God that wakes in my life correspondency, sympathy, hope, love, a new life.

And it is that which men want. It is power to realize God, and to know how beautiful he is, and how generous he is, and how long-suffering he is, and how abundant he is in mercy and kindness—though he will not clear the guilty finally. It is the knowledge of this that breaks down the flinty hearts of men. And it is the thing for you to preach and talk, as it is the thing, also, for you to rejoice in, in your own personal lives—namely, the glorious fullness of Jesus Christ, who is the manifestation of God, as pitying, sparing, forbearing, rebuilding, converting, sanctifying, and finally saving.

So, then, when at last we come home to glory—then, not as a doctrine, but as an experience, every one of us will say, "By the grace of God I am what I am." Then we will say, "Not by works of right-

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eousness which I have done, but by the love of God, I have been saved."

Let me read now again, in your hearing, that whole connection in the 5th of Romans,—for it is one of the strongest passages of Scripture, and it will throw light on still another point:

"When we were yet without strength, in due time [or in the fullness of time] Christ died for the ungodly."

That which God's love is willing to suffer death for, is ungodly men.

"Nor scarcely for a righteous man will one die [among men]; yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die."

A merely just man does not excite much sympathy. A benevolent man excites a good deal of sympathy; and some might die for a benevolent man though they would not for a just man.

"But God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

O sinner! he loved you so that while you were yet sinners he died for you; he loves you so that while you are yet sinning, your sinful heart does not obliterate the glory of God's love toward you.

"Much more, then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life."

That is to say, the life of Christ is a great deal more efficacious, is a great deal more powerful in the general salvation of this world, than his death was, powerful and efficacious as that was. And it seems to me that here is all the philosophy that we want, and all the explanation that we need. It seems to me that here is the sum and substance of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ: Man is sinful, and utterly unable to build himself up; and God, in the spirit of infinite love and generosity, shining new life and new light, pouring abroad effulgent beams upon the hearts of men, is willing to rescue them, and willing to build them up. And what time any heart or soul looks up, beholds, recognizes, receives; what time any one feels "God loves me with an infinite loving, and is my Father for my soul's good," it is because the corresponding principle of love has sprung into being in that soul. And the moment that feeling of love begins to work in you, you are a new creature; you are passed from death to life. And from that time onward, the mighty nature and power of the universe, as disclosed in the love of God in Christ Jesus, that wonderful secret influence, will be working in you toward sanctification; and finally you shall stand and see him face to face, when the work is completed in you, and you shall be like him.

Thanks be to God for the unspeakable gift of his Son Jesus Christ!

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And to every poor, needy, wretched, sinful, conscience-smitten, and consciously weak creature in this congregation, I bring no elaborate system, I bring no mysticism, I bring no philosophical curiosity, I bring no need of vast knowledge in respect to moral government and to the plan of salvation; but I bring to you a truth which is just as simple as the truth of a mother overhanging her cradle. I bring to you the nature of God as shown in Jesus Christ—a curative nature of love, recreating. And I say that this God is revealed for you. If you need help, here it is, If you need forgiveness, here it is waiting for you. If you need inspiration, here it is. It is not formed into a system; it is not wrought out by any principle; it is this: *God, in Christ Jesus, loves, spares, pardons, and will save.*

Now, I beseech of you, if your thoughts turn toward this subject this morning, in its simple disclosure; if there is in your bosoms a yearning for a higher life, a longing for a better experience, turn away from all human knowledge. Learn in prayer. With the Word of God go to your closet, and ask that blessing. Seek that knowledge by faith, and you shall not seek in vain. It is the way in which you have been invited. It is the way in which thousands have gone. And to-day there are in heaven more than numbers can count, who, in this simple way, believe that God loves them, and has pardoned them, and will love them unto perfection, and who embrace Him in a spirit of corresponding love. There are multitudes without number in heaven who triumph over the victory of redeeming grace. May more be added to this number—more out of this congregation; more out of our families! And, Christian brethren, may we grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, unto the end. *Amen.*

PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We rejoice in thee, thou ever-loving and blessed God. We rejoice in the greatness of thy love, and in the power which it hath, and shall have. We rejoice to believe that it shall not always be so,—that by those in heaven thou art known and adored, though by a few only, upon earth; but that the knowledge of the Lord shall yet cover the earth, and that thy will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. Toward that consummation, we rejoice to believe, through darkness, through light, through storm, through calm, things are tending, and love shall yet be victorious over selfishness and animalism; and all things shall praise thee, and rejoice in thee. We desire, O Lord, to quicken our faith, and to take comfort in the midst of discouragements by the hope of victory. We desire to rejoice in the day of small things, when wicked men are strong and the righteous are feeble. We desire to take shelter in the prophecy and prediction of better things to come. We rejoice that the conflict, a part of which we wage, is not endless We rejoice that sighings and groanings with travailing in pain until now which have belonged to the whole earth shall not be perpetuated forever. There shall be an end; there shall be illustrious victory; there shall be joy

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and peace abiding undisturbed forever; and they shall be crowned with love. And all that are thine own, purified from every stain and from every spot, shall rejoice together, being as the sons of God.

Now, Lord, we beseech of thee that we may enter into the greatness of thy thought, and into the zeal with which thou art pushing the world forward towards the day of final consummation. May we, in our own hearts, be cleased from all unrighteousness, and become as little children. And with the simplicity of faith and love may we embrace Jesus, our Saviour, and live in him, and abide in the power of his resurrection. May we be raised from all death and from all sin into newness of life. We pray that we may be quickened by the divine Spirit. We know how quickly drops our nature back towards earth again. We know that but for the shining of the light of thy Spirit all our light would turn to darkness; and that but for the attraction of the divine love, we should fall back again to dust. And we pray for this quickening influence of thy Spirit, and for this life of God shed abroad in our hearts. We pray that sin may not have dominion over us, nor within us; that we may be able to overcome temptations and resist easily besetting sins; that we may be able to live by faith, and have the victory of faith. If there are those who are storm-bestead, those who are driven for refuge and know not whither to flee, O Lord, let them to-day see the heart of God, the refuge of the sorrowful. Let them, to-day, behold the mercy that is in Jesus Christ, the help of every needy one. Let them behold the sweet influence of the Spirit of God that brings us consolation through all the sorrows of life. We pray for all that are tempted more than they are able to bear; and for all that to-day look back upon their evil ways to repent of them, and turn from them that they may live. Grant them thy quickening influence and great encouragement. Meet them with benedictions. And grant to them that forgiveness which they supplicate.

Bless those that pray for others—parents for children; friends for friends; companions for companions; teachers for their pupils; and all that pray for those that are separated from them and are afar off from them. We pray that this may be a golden hour of their experience. And bless the absent ones. Remember those that go down upon the great waters. Remember those that are separated by the seas from those that love them. Remember those that are strangers in foreign lands. Remember those that are in the wilderness where no man dwelleth. Remember all, this day, with divine blessing, whom our hearts remember.

And we pray, O Lord, that thou wilt grant thy blessing to rest upon all those who, to-day, shall make known the Gospel of Christ, the unsearchable riches of divine love. And wherever they are, may their hands be strengthened and their hearts be encouraged; and may they preach faithfully the word in season and out of season. Even if they see no fruit from their sowing, still may they sow their seed by the side of all waters.

And we pray that thy blessing may rest upon all those that have gone and are going forth to the poor and ignorant to bring them up from degradation, and make them like the Master. May they have the spirit of consolation in their work; and may they see that the travail of their soul is prospering.

And we pray that thou wilt bless the nations of the earth. Bring wars, and all their cruelties and sufferings, speedily to an end. Grant that nations may learn war no more. May benevolence take the place of selfishness; and may men learn more to love and less to hate. And may that kingdom in which dwelleth righteousness come, and the whole earth see the salvation of God.

And to the Father, the Son and the Spirit, shall be praises evermore. *Amen.*

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SATURDAY, DEC. 24, 1870.

Subject: The Ground of Salvation.

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A Weekly Publication

OF

SERMONS

PREACHED BY

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

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INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

And Jesus said unto them, Why reason ye, because ye have no bread? perceive ye not yet, neither understand? have ye your heart yet hardened? Having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not? and do ye not remember?"—Mark viii., 17-15.

There is very much Scripture which always has to be interpreted with an allowance for the different languages in which it was written, the different nations out of which it sprang, and the difference which there is between Oriental modes of thought and Oriental expressions, and our modern methods of thinking and methods of expression. This is apparent, not unfrequently, in the teachings of our Lord. For although the "style," as it is called, which was employed by the Saviour, seems at the first thought to be very simple, it was evidently full of enigma, of paradox, of parable, of proverb, of "dark sayings," as they were called,—unlike our philosophical mode. The immediate occasion of these words which I have read, and which are severer in seeming than they were in fact, veiled under the form of rebuke, was a caution given by Christ to his disciples to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of Herod." Their ear caught that word *leaven*; and they took it literally as meaning the physical idea.

We smile at their simplicity in supposing the rebuke to be because they had taken no bread with them—for that was their interpretation of it. And he rebukes them for not understanding him. He recalls to them the miracles by which he created for thousands an ample supply of bread and of meat; and it is as if he had said, "How could you suppose that, because you had taken no leaven with you, I cautioned you against the leaven of the Pharisees, meaning that you must not borrow their leaven, nor make bread in their troughs? It is another thing that I taught; namely, that you should follow, not their teachings but mine, and understand, as it is time that you should understand, spiritual things, having been so long with me, and having had so much instruction." This is the purport of the passage. They had the means

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of understanding him, and they should have employed those means. This is his way of saying, "Every man is responsible for the use of his own faculties in ascertaining all the truth which is necessary for his conduct. *You have eyes; why do you not see? You have ears, why do you not hear?*—these senses standing for faculties at large.

Men are equipped with all necessary faculties for their guidance, both in the physical and in the moral world, and they are practically held responsible, in consequence, for the right use of their faculties, and for right judgments formed by means of them. However many helps there may be in the world, there are no substitutes for a man's own judgment and choice and action. However many things there may be in which men may transfer a part of themselves, as it were, to others, there is a central element in every man that is untransferable; and every man must stand for himself, think for himself, find out truth for himself, and follow for himself that which is found out. Whoever may help him, and whatever may throw light upon the problem, are collateral. He is the principal. And this is not the law of certain prominent and strong men: it is a law which belongs to the race. It is the moral economy under which all natural laws are administered in their relations to men; under which all civil laws are administered; under which all moral laws are administered.

This is a principle so profound, and it touches so many questions, that I shall feel at liberty to go into it a little more at length before I make the applications of it.

Responsible individualism is the constituent element of government and of society, whether you regard society as framed of God, or as fashioned of man. It is not, then, the design of things that a man should simply go right; because if to go right had been all that was meant, it would have been far easier to make all men go right by making them differently. No puppet goes wrong. Make a doll, put the machinery to it, and turn the crank, and it will go just as you mean it shall, every time, for a hundred times, and never make a mistake; but it is a puppet when you have got through—no more, and no less. And if men's merely going right had been all that was desired, they could have been made after a very different pattern. And there might have been a great economy of materials practiced. Far less would be necessary to make a man that should simply go when the crank was turned. If that had been all that was needed, perfect men could very easily have been made. People seem to think that to live about right is all that is required. Not at all. That is not the end. Living right is only the means to an end. It is an incident to something greater. The divine idea in the creation of the world, seems to me to be *manhood*—bulk of being, variety of being, power of being. And going

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right is simply the way by which men are to come to that augmented being.

That men should find out what is right, therefore, and learn how to fulfill what they find out, is as important as that they should go right. It is the finding out that makes men grow. It is the exertion to do what you have ascertained against difficulties, that proves, develops, forms and authenticates manhood. For, to be a self-centered individual, plenary in reason and moral sense, to be *like God*—that is the design which God says he is working out in man, in the heaven, and upon earth. And the method by which he works men toward that grand design is to lay on every man the responsibility of using the faculties with which he has been endowed, in their own spheres; putting him to find out the truth, to guide himself by that which he finds out; giving him ample helps, collateral suggestions, pattern, counsel and law, giving him none of these things in such a peremptory form as to supersede his own individual liberty and responsibility for finding that which is right, and then doing that which he has found out.

This is true of our senses, and of all their commerce in the natural world. Our eye, our ear, our hand may be trained; but after all, there is no training, there can be no training, there never was any training, which did not leave the individual responsibility untouched. If a man says, "To my eyes that is level," when it is precipitous, and I accept his sight in lieu of my own, and walk over the precipice, I tumble to the bottom none the less because I take his sight instead of my own. If a man says, "It is two yards," and I stand just a yard from him as he swings a whip, I none the less take the whip because I believe him instead of believing myself. It is for me to see, and to follow my seeing. I may help myself; I may get what light I can from sources outside of myself; I may form my judgment in any complex case by the assistance of other people's senses; but, after all, I am the pope of my own senses; I am the sovereign of my own faculties; and it is designed, either that I should form a judgment, and act according to it, or that I should take the penalties and the consequences. And all the early part of our life is spent in learning how to use our senses; in learning how to be a being. The child grows first by learning how himself to use every muscle, every bone, every limb; how then to use those higher senses which stand intimately connected with mentality; and how, afterwards, little by little, having gone from sensuousness to intelligence, to go from mere intelligence to sentiment, and from sentiment to *moral* sentiment, or to that which is right, and not to that which is fact alone.

I do not undertake to say that we may not derive great benefit from the foregoing example of others; from what they have learned. Books

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may help us train our senses; but no book, and no teacher, and no person outside of me can ever dispossess me of this, that I am primarily set to find out by the use of my senses all the truth that belongs to the sphere in which they act. *The sovereignty of the individual*—a term very much abused, and yet a term that may convey a correct idea—is asserted throughout every sphere of man's action.

It is the same in the transaction of secular business. It is the best way, although it is the hardest way, to hold every person responsible for his self-helpfulness, for his individual correctness of judgment, and individual correctness of measures or means applied to ends. Men seek to find out ways which shall release them from liability to mistakes. They marvel, frequently, that there have not been such ways found out. They think that when the millennial day comes, things will be so organized in this world that all things will come symmetrically, and that men will come into affairs naturally, peacefully, happily, every man finding everything done to hand, or else the doing of it being so natural and so easy that he will have no thought, no care, no ache, no study, no responsibility. Never: *never:* NEVER!

If iron is to be made into a tool, it has to go into the fire, and on to the anvil. Otherwise a tool can never be made of it. And there never will come a day in which a man can be made into a man, while the economy of this world lasts, except by going into the fire, and on to the anvil, and under the hammer. Manhood, if it comes at all, must come through a great many mistakes, and a good deal of pain from those mistakes.

Now, take a man in business. If he is readily expert in that business, and he becomes so by easy ways, it must be a very simple business. No man ever becomes, in secular affairs, broad, multifarious in power, eminent and pre-eminent, except it be by a tentative series of endeavors; except it be by a probation which implies perplexity, mistake, blunder, a thousand painful forms of experience.

Is that necessary? Was it necessary to the original conception of such a world as God was pleased to create? It certainly is the fact in respect to this world that he did create. What other worlds he may may have created, I do not know; but so far as this world is concerned the divine law is in that direction. It is laying the responsibility upon all the powers of a man, in his secular affairs, of finding out the truth, of ascertaining that which is right. The skillful, the lucrative, the honorable, the pleasurable—all these things are found out. And after the world has been finding out for six thousand years and more, no man can be born now, and not have to find out just as much as they did who were of the first generation. For no man ever transmitted his experience to anybody else. Really an experience does not become mine till I have realized it in my own action.

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A father brings up his children. He has gone through the school of experience. He has committed innumerable mistakes: and he can point to this or that mistake and save the child from it, and so abbreviate his course. But there is one thing that parents never can do: they never can bring up their child so that he will be a skillful man of the world, without suffering; without committing blunders; without falling into endless mistakes; without having been obliged to ply to the very root his own faculties, his observation, his judgment and his will. That you cannot help. Everybody must go through that school or else he has no business in this world.

It is precisely the same in civil life. A government that thinks for its people, or that undertakes to think for them, dwarfs them at once. Such a government is what is called a *paternal government*, and is the fool's ideal of a government. It is a government of fatuity. It is a government that thinks just how its people ought to act, and then lays down all its thoughts in exact concatenation, and then has physical motives by which the whole people train as if they were but a machine. Such a government may be called *paternal*, and men may admire the order of such a government; but it has no education in it. It has no developing power in it. It is a machine, and it makes men machines. And there never was an ecclesiastical or civil government that undertook to think for men, and tell them how to think, and to act for them, and tell them how to act, that it did not take from them the power of thinking and acting to any purpose. There was never a government of Church or State that took from men the necessity of individual responsibility, that made men that were worth having.

As I shall show, the sublimest undertaking of it was in the Jewish economy. "What the law could not do in that it was weak," says the apostle. It was a trial and a failure. And if that failed, there is nothing else of the sort that will ever succeed. But I shall speak more at length upon that in a few moments.

Minute rules for conduct, for the sake of superseding personal responsibility on the part of every single citizen, makes machine-men. It seems easier to live in such a way as this. Men think it abbreviates the processes of life. But then, it generates a life that is not worth having. It is not in analogy with nature. It is not the design of nature to make a grand city, but to make grand citizens. It is not important that there should be a magnificent nation, but it is important that the individual elements of the nation should be large, and self-helpful, and vital in thought and in purpose. Yet, time and history have run perpetually to making, not full men, but something less than men. Churches, cities, nations, have been built up as if the aggregate name was a more important thing than the special element. It is the

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same in our moral sphere. Principles are given to us. Men find out the applications of these principles on every side, in themselves, in their fellow men, in their minor organizations, and in their larger reach, for time and for eternity. The responsibility is laid on us, not simply of finding out what has been told us, but of finding out a great deal that has not been told us. We are not to suppose that men are to be left absolutely alone in such a world as this without any helps; without any foregoing experience, recorded and reported; without any guides whatever. But in all cases the man is the superior—not the guide. He is not to be judged by, but is to judge his creed, his church, and his conduct. Man is superior to his circumstances. I do not say in point of view, but I do say in point of ideal, this is the design of God, plainly indicated. All helps are good, except the helps that smother self-help. All helps are to be employed as so many excitants of one's self. All other men's thinkings are good for you if they make you think. If they overlay your thoughts with what is called "knowledge," they are bad for you. Other men's thoughts are like manure on farmed soil, not designed to be the thing that is good, but to stimulate to the production of that which is good. And so all teaching, and all thinking, and all guiding, and all experience given to man, are given to him only as so many stimulants to develop in him more power than he would have had without them. And they are doing their work when they are making him work; but not when they supersede his work, or substitute something else for it. These things are helps, therefore—not governors.

There is an exception in cases where a man is not a man. A child is to be helped. During the time that he is an animal, and not a man, the experience of the parent is to be substituted for his lack of experience. And we do not let him come into this reasoning at all.

There is only one other exception, namely, that of persons who are children all their life long—for there are some so weak that they never outgrow being children, and go out of life the same size as they came into it. I admit that there is to be an economy in every wise society, to take care of the feeble—the feeble-minded.

But these are always abnormal, exceptional cases; whereas, the great principle goes on, that it is the divine idea of the development of man to bring to bear upon him such stimulating influences as shall compel him, having eyes, to see, having ears, to hear, and having reasoning faculties, to think, so that he shall be educated, and self-educated, and be made more a man by that very process of development.

Now for some applications.

The first is, to throw light on democratic governments, and also on absolute governments, of which latter we have had a very lively

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specimen in Paris. Some of our traveled popinjays come back from Europe, talking about the superb order of Paris. They talk about the splendid postal system there, and the splendid civic systems. They tell us that you can walk through the streets there, in the middle of the night, in any direction. The police arrangements, they say, are so complete, that one is perfectly safe. They represent everything as being orderly in the highest degree there. When they go away, they are proud of our democratic government; but when they return, they are full of admiration for autocratic governments. "Look," they say, "at the condition of New York city? What kind of a government is there there? What safety is there there for a man's reputation, his money, or his life? All is misrule and discord in that city. Here is self-government for you," these aforesaid popinjays say, "and there is autocratic government: give me that. Give me a government where there is order and peace; where the great ends of society are perfectly served; and where there is safety for life and property and reputation."

Is that the only thing, then, in this world that is good for anything —the safety of reputation, the safety of property, and the safety of life? The least valuable thing in this world is life, frequently. If you could only make a good selection of men, there would be nothing so good as killing, in this world. The trouble is that promiscuous killing generally goes from the bad toward the good. But the earth is burdened with worthless population.

Now, that which the autocratic government of a European city accomplishes, is this: it takes away from its citizens the drill of thinking. It deprives them of the opportunity of learning how to take the responsibility of organizing order among themselves. And that which is an apparent blot upon democratic institutions (and it is a difficulty; it is a penalty; it is a pain) is, that it does not immediately accomplish as good ends as an absolute and aristocratic government. There is less personal safety; there are more, I was going to say, "jobs," under a democracy than under an autocracy. But this last I take back: there are more "jobs" under an autocracy than under a democracy—though it will surprise you to hear me say it. There are are apparent advantages in an autocratic government. But in the long run, a population that has been brought up under democratic rule (I am not speaking of our party phrase, but of the broad philosophic sense of the term *democracy*) in the long run a community brought up to think for itself, to organize for itself, to take the penalties of it, to bear the evils which accompany it until they become unbearable, and then to cure them, and so to cure them that they shall not break out again—in the long run they are superior in intelligence, in genius and power, to a generation of

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men that have been brought up in the puppet order of Paris, which some men so covet and want.

But these men, without manhood in themselves, do not miss it in other people; and so they go to foreign cities, and come back and brag over them, and dispraise our own cities. Not that there are not evils that go along with self-government; not that there are not monstrous evils under a democratic government which wait long, that the sword under an autocratic government cures quick—for the sword does cure diseases quick. But while it cures the diseases, it destroys citizenship. On the other hand, citizenship here is saved while the evils are waiting long to be cured by the citizens themselves. A republican government in a hundred points is weaker than an autocratic government; but in this one point it is the strongest government that ever the sun shone upon—that it has educated a race of men that *are* men. And it is to make men that the world was built—though you might not suspect it by the specimens.

If, then, your conception of municipal government is a city, wound like a watch, in which all the elements are simply meant to go with absolute regularity; if what you want is government like a watch which runs just so every day from year to year, in the same temperature, without variation, never changing, and keeping perfect time, then an autocracy is what you want. But if you want a government that shall develop human nature, and make it fresh, and various, and always new and progressive, then you cannot have one of these regulated governments. You must let men find their own way, and bump their own heads, curing the bumps; you must let them fall into mistakes, and learn by falling into them to keep out of them; and by and by, when enough have done it, by coöperation they will cure the evil. Sometimes the constitution breaks down before the cure can be established; but where there is a constitution that can bear the strain, and the cure is established, it is a glorious cure. And give me strong men rather than strong cities.

Secondly. We see, in the light of these principles, the contrast actually existing between Judaism and Christianity. When the Israelites were brought out of Egypt they were slaves. The great principle which Moses undertook to inculcate was *righteousness*. Righteousness means acting according to a straight line, as it were. He laid down ordinances and laws which regulated every part of every man's conduct in the nation. Those ordinances and laws went into men's dwellings, and into their industrial occupations. There was an autocracy established in Church and State; and their religion and patriotism were one and the same thing. It undertook to pervade everything. Every day was marked out, and every hour of every day,

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for worship. The particular place where they were to worship was pointed out. They were instructed how they were to worship, and what they were to worship with. Not only were they instructed that they were to worship with certain elements, but they were instructed how those elements were to be prepared, running into the most extraordinary minuteness, until men were perfectly meshed and webbed by provisions for doing everything right. And as long as they were very low and weak, this economy carried them up, and educated them until, if they could escape they would be benefitted, but if not they would be injured. That which is the best thing for a child when he is fourteen years of age is often the worst thing for him when he is twenty-four. Clothes that are a very good fit for children when they are six years old, are a very bad fit for them when they are sixteen years old, and must be let out, or they will split out in every direction. The Mosaic system was one of rigid laws. The Christian system was one without any instrumentation; without one single institution appointed rigorously; without one single point that represented the precision and imperativeness of the Mosaic institution. Our Lord instituted a spiritual kingdom, and put the stimulus upon men to develop reason and conscience and spirituality, and left them to do it in perfect freedom.

This does not argue that Christianity should not have days; but they are not to be "Thus saith the Lord" days. It does not argue that there should not be institutions; but they are not to be rigorously authoritative or obligatory institutions. They are to be institutions such as we shall have found to be useful, and which we shall therefore use, not because they are imposed upon us, but because they are useful. Christianity lets us have all manner of helps. But liberty is the essential element of it. Institutions, ordinances, creeds, churches, priests, all manner of imposed helps, Christianity ignores as obligatory. It permits them if men want to use them; but it takes the ground that if they do use them it is because they choose to, and not because God obliges them to. Christianity has infinite liberty of appropriation; but it is not under obligation to have a church, nor a Sabbath, nor a creed, nor any other thing. It is free.

Judaism was a system of precise institutions. Christianity is a charter of liberty. Judaism brought men up a certain way, and could not go a step further. Then came Christ, and unfolded the supernal manhood of God in the flesh. And from that point human nature sprang up, and sprang out. And if Christianity had been kept to this its fundamental idea; if its principle of liberty, its stimulating power, its conception as to the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation, had been its main force, we should have been advanced a great many ages beyond the point at which we are now.

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In the third place, the reason why Christianity has not done more, is because this principle of life has been largely ignored. Christianity fell into the old tendency very speedily of providing for men, and not leaving them to provide for themselves. It undertook to order men's worship through its Church—the great mediæval church, which is the most sublime, elaborate, and astonishing system of organization that the world was ever cursed with: *blessed*, they say; *cursed I* say Christianity, enshrined in this vast catacomb of mazes and labyrinths, has stood right in the way of itself. It has undertaken to do again, by old barbaric instruments, what it should have outgrown, and what the world is fast outgrowing. And spiritual liberty was deposed, and ecclesiastical despotism took the place of it.

Now, if I were going to have either, I would have Judaism. The old Jewish system of religion was the nearest to sublime natural religion of any system in the world; that is, it came nearer to the aspects of material nature than did the superficial moralities and refinements that grew up under the great mediæval system, and are embodied in it. I should prefer Judaism, pure and simple, to Romanism, pure and simple. It is more manly, more natural, more divine, more stimulating.

I remark, fourthly, that this is the fundamental difference between all hierarchal churches and all democratic churches, or churches of the common people. One of these modes of organization attempts, in a ministerial way, to provide for every act of worship, for every ceremony, for every belief, for every routine, for all government. The other of these modes of organization inspires men to provide these things for themselves, and lets them have liberty to do it.

Oftentimes I hear men say, "I do not believe in Congregationalism, it leaves everything so untied, so hap-hazard. It has no government, no process of order. Men, under it, do not know exactly what to do, and do pretty much as they have a mind to. I believe in a church that just divides the year up, and divides all the chapters of the Bible up so that there shall be a certain portion of Scripture to be read every day; so that when a man gets up in the morning, he shall not be at a loss what to do, but shall only have to see what day it is, and then look and find the passages of Scripture that he is to read, and the prayers that he is to say, and directions as to the other duties he is to perform It is pleasant to have everything arranged for one in that way." It *is* very convenient; but is it better for a man to be baptized into a specific system, and never take off his swaddling clothes, and have a nurse to take him up as a babe and carry him through life, and never have anything to think about, nor anything to do; never be obliged to vex himself with responsibility; but lie brooded and sucking all through life? There are a great many who have that conception; and

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any church that comes near to that; that is to say, any church that does everything for a man; any church that takes from a man the necessity of thinking for himself, and thinking till his head aches; any church that takes all perplexities out of a man's way, so that he is never annoyed, but is always easy—any such church just suits them. But no true church should undertake to mechanically organize life so as to supersede or cover down this fundamental principle of God's word—the necessity of every man's organizing his own life. Such churches are very much in vogue. And far be it from me to undertake to say that there is not a liberty on the part of men to organize such churches. Humanly speaking there is such a liberty. What I am pointing out is this: that the educating power of such churches is not so great as the educating power of those churches which seem to be far more scattered and disorderly—but seem so only because the principle of individual development does drive men asunder more than the principle of an organized government, and because this principle of personal liberty makes men strong and robust.

This principle is more valuable than the simple idea of order—though I recognize the order, and well know that the distribution of both elements is desirable. Order, the habit of coördinate acting, is important; but it is not sufficient. There need to be, in addition to this, the principles of individual opportunity and individual obligation.

Fifthly, this question takes hold of the difficulties which men find in the Bible. People often say, "I cannot believe that that is a revelation, because nobody seems to know what it teaches. There are infinite diversities among believers of the Bible as to the doctrines which it contains. A revelation from God, it seems to me, must settle something. How can the Bible be God's revelation when it is so full of obscurities; when it is so full of doctrines that are enigmatical; when there are apparent contradictions in it; when there are historical collisions in it? It cannot be from God; for if it were it would be perfect." Would it? Was not this material world from God? and is it perfect? Did not it begin in germs? and did not these germs go through all forms of development—that is to say, from the lowest stage of imperfection clear up to the highest? And is not that the peculiar characteristic in the world—germination, and development all the way up from the lowest to the highest point? And is not that, if I may so say, the trade-mark of God—early imperfection, and late, self-evolved perfection?

If, therefore, there was to be a divine revelation, do you suppose that God would have begun by making every thing so plain at the beginning that men should have been saved all the perplexity of finding out the truth for themselves? Is it not more likely that he would have

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done just as he has done—given men gradually all manner of traditions that have been handed down from the earliest ages, as indications of the way in which the race had developed, and left them to work out principles from these?

Revelation is in strict analogy with the world itself; and both of them are conformed to this one central element. Having eyes, we must learn to use them, and must learn to see right with them. Having ears, we must learn to use them, and must learn to hear right with them. Having reason we must learn to use that, and must take the responsibility of using it right. And having a moral sense, we must learn to employ it in finding out the ways of God toward men. For you have got to find them out if you are to know them. Another may help you; but, after all, the central responsibility rests in you.

But men say, "It would be so much easier if one knew just what duty is, and knew how to do it." But the finding it out is the most wholesome part of it. That is the very thing which keeps men awake, and keeps them thinking, and makes them discriminating. Finding out what is true, is just as important in education as the truth itself when it is found out. And finding out the way; the very thing that makes men puff and murmur—the wear and care and anxiety to know what they ought to think and know—these things are a part of God's great educating scheme in this world. A revelation, therefore, which took all care and all difficulties out of the way, would, by so much, lack the nature of being a divine one.

Lastly, in such a world as this, where the great central principle is that every man is responsible to God and not to his fellowmen; responsible for his thoughts, for his feelings, for his character, for his development into all strength and stature of perfect manhood—in such a world as this, there is every reason why men that sit under the constant teaching of the Gospel and Gospel institutions, should cease, and should a long time ago have ceased, from looking at others for models and for motive power. We are accustomed to grow under the superstitious influence of a mediæval age to such an extent that men scarcely think that they can live or die without the priest. The child that is born without the baptismal touch is not fairly born. The child cannot die and go out of the world unless the priest prepares him. If men are sick, the minister must come to them. The man of the house may be a great deal deeper and wiser and stronger; but then, he is not "ordained." We feel that there is a certain sanctity in the church, and that men must have something of this outside ecclesiastical influence before they can venture forward. Nay, men seem to go to churches very much as fishes come in shoals upon the coast when the net is thrown around them and they are drawn in. Men wait for revivals; men wait for their

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neighbors to talk with them; men wait for the minister to go after them. Men that have come to a degree of seriousness which is ample as a motive power; men that have long been instructed in the way of duty to men, and of love to God, and of love to men; men that have sat under the teachings of the word of God from week to week and from year to year—such men wait for some forth-putting influence that shall bring them in, irrespective of their own volition.

Now this is not becoming in you. You ought long ago to have been independent of these collateral helps. There are many persons in this congregation who ought to come to the question of personal religion directly, and rise up, and go home, and say, "The question has been thought over, and has been settled: I am a Christian." Men come to me and say, "I am serious." It is an invitation for me to take them by the hand as I would a little child, who was learning to walk, and lead them, and teach them how to walk. But full-grown men, instructed from their cradle, knowing just as much of the essential truths of religion as I do myself, ought not to come to me in leading strings, nor oblige me to go to them. You ought to stand up in your households, and say to your children, "From this day forward I serve the Lord Jesus." And you ought to report yourself from the household to the church, and say, "I have chosen God's service." It is not becoming, and it is not necessary, that your neighbors should force you out, or that there should be got up for you some special excitement or summer of revival, in order that you may be willing that the ice in you should thaw out and flow down. It is in every man's power to choose the service of God, and to begin that service, and declare it to the individual, to the family, to the church. There ought not, in such a church as this, to be a month in which there should not be men and women coming to me with hope blossoming and joy effulgent, saying, "Behold what the Lord has done for me!" But as it is, men wait to be helped.

When the man that was paralytic would go down into the pool, others nimbler than he, stepped down before him; and that was his plea for help. But if some great sturdy fellow that had the use of his limbs had stood round there waiting for some one to take him up and carry him into the pool, what would you have thought of him? And yet, there are multitudes of men standing around the pools of salvation; who are instructed, and who are full of power, and self-helping power, and yet no step do they take. They are waiting for some one to take them up and carry them.

My Christian brethren, this is not right or manly. This is not in the spirit of religion. Religion is designed to make you, having eyes, to employ them; and having ears, to employ them; and having a reason, to employ that; and having a moral sense, to develop that; and

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having a power of choice, to enter upon the noblest choice and the highest career. And do it because this is the way that God meant we should be the most manly, and develop the most perfectly, and be most worthy of him. And when we see him as he is, we shall hear the welcome that will greet our emancipation into ever-abiding manhood in the heavenly land.

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PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We adore thee, Almighty God. Thou hast made the heaven and the earth; thou hast created man; thou hast given him laws and ordinances, and established government; and through this government thou hast still led the race as a flock. We rejoice that thy benignity and thy patience are over all this world. Slowly as man has toiled toward knowledge, and little as he has found; much as he has degraded himself; strong as have been the passions that have borne sway; feeble as have been the impulses toward good, thou, O God! hast been unwearied. Thou hast not cast aside thy work; but with infinite patience and gentleness thou hast still educed good from evil, and by long-suffering saved the race. And we believe that thou wilt yet, in the day to come, brighter and clearer than any that have yet dawned, bring forth perfect holiness; and that the earth shall see thy salvation. For that blessed day of prediction we long. We look wearily for its signs, and behold them not; and yet we believe that the kingdom of heaven is as a leaven; and that it works in the hearts of men; and that thou art bringing to pass the counsels of thy will, though by ways which we discern not. And we rejoice that we are permitted to be laborers together with God in our individual selves; in our households; in our neighborhoods; in the nation where we dwell. We thank thee for all the mercies which thou hast vouchsafed to us through Jesus Christ our Lord; for our hope of forgiveness; for that faith which has been breathed into our hearts; and for all that expectation of immortality which cheers the dreary days of this mortal life. We thank thee for all the blessedness which we have had in times of sorrow; for the communion of the Holy Ghost; for the quickening influence of thy Spirit by which we have discerned the truth; by which we have been fortified in the hour of temptation; by which our hearts have been encouraged when fainting and failing. We rejoice in our personal hope and in our personal expectation. And we pray that thou wilt join with us, in this experience, all our children, and all others whom we love. And grant that the work of the Gospel may go from heart to heart in this congregation; and that there may be none left out; none who shall not know experimentally the love of Jesus, and who shall not have felt the power of the Spirit of God, and who shall not understand something of that life of the Spirit—the soul's higher life—by which they shall walk with God, and, though yet on the earth, hold communion with heaven.

We pray for any that are degraded; for any that are despondent; for any that are in affliction in over-measure; for any that are ridden by anxiety, and that are filled with fears. Will the Lord be gracious unto them, and spread abroad Thine hands over them, and say, Peace be unto you.

We pray for all that are in perplexity; that know not the way of duty. May they be able to discern it, and find out the right way to walk therein, and to gain strength by their intuition.

We pray that thou wilt grant thy light to shine upon all those who are teaching others. Help our Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes, both all that teach in them, and all that are taught. We pray that their souls may be knit together in the bonds of holy love.

We pray that thou wilt be with all those who go forth to seek the outcast and the neglected, and to bear the Gospel to unwonted places, where no Sabbath is, and where no teachers are. Will the Lord fill their hearts with a holy fear; and may they never be weary of their labors of love. We beseech of thee that thou wilt prepare thy servants for all the events of thy providence—for sickness; for life; for burdens; for prosperity; for disappointments; for grievous troubles. Grant that we may walk expecting

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evermore thy strength in thy presence which shall be to us, in the flame or in the flood alike, strength, and succor, and release.

Bless, we pray thee, the churches that are gathered of every name this day. May the Spirit of the Lord be in the midst of them all. And we pray for thy servants that preach, that they may be made to discern the truth, and have fervor given them that the truth may be as good seed sown in good soil. We pray for the day when there shall be no more divisions; when each man shall be content to let each worship God according to the dictates of his conscience; and when men shall love those that are apart from them.

Grant that the spirit of undying love may spread, and that sympathy may take the place of persecution, and that thy name may be honored in all the forms in which men are seeking to do thy will. We pray that thou wilt bless the nations of the earth, and bring in that day so long waiting and so long needed, of final and universal peace, when men shall no longer wage war, nor provoke the causes of it; and when love shall supersede anger and cruelty, and mercy shall fill the earth.

And to thy name shall be the praise, Father, Son and Spirit, evermore. *Amen.*

PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our Father, we beseech of thee that thou wilt let the truth sink down into our hearts, and abide there. May we never be the believers of cunningly devised fables. May we be filled with the spirit of manliness. May we be gentle. May we be fair-minded. May we be amiable—not arrogant nor vain. May we desire to know what is truth. Grant that we may desire our true selves more than everything else—more than houses or lands; more than honor; more than fame; more than all pleasures. May we desire to be built up in the essential elements of a true and Christian manhood, that we may be presented before the throne not unworthy of the divine Eye, O ,eternal Father! when we shall be perfected without spot or blemish, or any such thing.

We beseech of thee that thou wilt grant, then, thy Spirit, which coerces none, but helps all, but which sweetly shines as the sun. And like the sun, may it bring forth all pleasant plants of righteousness in the garden of the Lord.

Revive thy work in the hearts of all those that already have known thee, but have forgotten thee; and of those that follow thee but afar off; and of those that are cumbered with care; and of those that are cankered with passion; and of those that are bewildered and lost in the maze of the world. Oh! that all might hear thee calling to them, and rise up, and in their plenary power accept thy service, and love thee, and rejoice in the glorious hope of immortality.

And to the Father, the Son and the Spirit, shall be praises evermore. *Amen.*

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THE MINISTRANT CHURCH.

A

SERMON

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS,

AT THEIR

MEETING IN SALEM, MASS.

OCTOBER 3, 1871,

BY

REV. TRUMAN M. POST, D. D.

OF ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 131 CONGRESS STREET.

1871.

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American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

SALEM, MS., OCTOBER 3, 1871.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board be presented to the Rev. Dr. TRUMAN M. POST, for his sermon preached Tuesday evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

Attest,

J. O. MEANS, *Recording Secretary*.

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SERMON.

BRETHREN AND FATHERS:—

As I rise to address you this evening, I feel oppressed by the genius of the place. A scene presses on me from what now seems the far past. On this spot, if not within these walls, nearly sixty years ago, was the ordination of the first missionaries of the American Board. Here, on February 6th, 1812, in the presence of a vast and profoundly sympathizing assembly, Hall, Newell, Judson, Nott and Rice, were solemnly set apart to the work of Foreign Missions. The actors, and most of the spectators, have long since passed to other worlds. But they seem to me gathering again to this place, this hour, to inaugurate your assembling. Hovering over and around us, seem to my eye faces that are not of clay. May the words I shall utter before you to-night, approve themselves to those on whose ears are falling the voices of eternity.

I have selected, as presenting timely theme for the occasion, the words of our Master and Model, found in

MATTHEW xx. 28.

THE SON OF MAN CAME NOT TO BE MINISTERED UNTO, BUT TO MINISTER, AND TO GIVE HIS LIFE A RANSOM FOR MANY.

In this and the preceding verses, Christ's example is set forth as the rule for his disciples. "Whosoever will be great among you let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a

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ransom for many." The proper import of the word "minister," is servant, and to minister is to extend service through kindly offices, beneficent instruction and bestowment,—labors, sufferings, sacrifices. Our Lord has also taught us that "the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall find it." "He that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple:" and he subjoined, as his valediction when he left the world, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

The law of greatness in the kingdom of heaven is ministration, set forth in God himself as its prime archetype, who ministers the universe to the universe; in his Son, who ministered himself for the ransom of many; in the all-quickening Spirit, who ministers life to moral being; in the angelic orders who are ever ministrant spirits; and in the church, whose office it is, to the end of time, to minister the lifted-up Christ to the world, by like vicarious suffering and sacrifice. Such ministry is God's charm of persuasion, and such the church's law of victory amid the lost nations.

We are assembled here, brethren, in this year of grace, 1871, in missionary convocation, to commune together, for the time, on the great problem of the conversion of the world—the consummation assured by prophets, apostles, and the Son of God, and commanded as the object of prayer, to the church, through the ages. Toward it the centuries past have wrought under divine rule, slowly it may seem to us, but surely; and out on the deeps, though far off still it seems, yet manifestly in nearer distance, we may descry the brightness of the burning wheels of the coming of the Lord.

If we look at the present situation as compared with the past, we discover vast progress, vast preparation, and vast expectation. Vast the progress since the resurrection morning. The faith of the crucified Nazarene embraces the civilized world. Christianity is incorporate with the life and thought of humanity. It is armed with art, literature, science, wealth and empire. It is the

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religion of the mightiest nations. It possesses the domain of history. It is clearly the mightiest power on earth, at this present, and bearing within itself the destinies of the future.

In regard to missionary enterprise, compared with past times the field is clear; the world is open and explored. Mundane agencies, political and social, empires and systems—with their changes, wars, migrations, conquests, colonizations—have been working their preparation. Commerce, adventure, travel and ambition have been pioneering the way. Science, art, letters, culture, and the forces of civilization have been wrought into auxiliaries. The enfranchisement of nations, the liberation of minds, the spread of general ideas, and the advancement toward a world-unity in the realm of thought, are elaborating a capacity for a universal spiritual reign.

Within the sphere of the church, also, vast preparations have been in progress. Missionary consciousness and enterprise have been aroused and enlightened; missionary agencies instituted, organized and systematized, and applied extensively to the strongholds of heathen religion and empire. Christian truth has been widely diffused; the sword of the Spirit—the Word of God—unsheathed and presented ready to the hand of the church, in that the Holy Scriptures have been translated into nearly all the languages of the known world; some of which have been reduced to writing expressly to receive the sacred gift. Copies of them, or of thoughts born of them, have been scattered like leaves of the Tree of Life on the wings of all the winds of heaven. The steam press, the steam ship, and the telegraph, have been made ready to minister the new-creative truth to the nations.

Signs, meanwhile, that this truth has lost none of its primitive power, but is as mighty now as at the resurrection of Christ, thickening in the missionary field and showing that the Pentecostal power still waits with Him that has the residue of the Spirit,—these, blending with these preparatory agencies, seem marshaling on the universal triumph of the kingdom of God.

Now in this hour of vast preparation and expectancy, what waits, what wants within the sphere of the church, to secure the mighty prize so clearly in view? Has the church risen to the height of the occasion—to the plane of her great mission? Does

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she realize, does she adequately conceive, even, her true ministrant mission and position—the true nature and office of the Christian life on earth? Our Lord's definition and assignment by his own example, enforced by his precept as a model for all disciples—are they not construed extensively, as extreme and exceptional? Do we not, by extenuation and abatement, fritter away language the most explicit and categorical? Are not our senses so dulled by custom, or so dazed by worldly illusion, that "seeing we do not perceive, and hearing we do not understand" that Christ in very deed meant what he said, and meant it for us and now, when he presented his own example in coming into the world—not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many—as a paradigm for all who would be his disciples?

Requirements the most explicit and unequivocal, of *entire* consecration, *absolute* devotion, *complete* self-sacrifice; of *forsaking all that one hath;* of living not to ourselves but to the Lord who hath bought us; of *unreserved, universal ministration of self to the great cause*,—are not such requirements subdued by construction into *figurative, intensitive, exaggerated* utterances,—into something *not entire, not absolute, not universal*,—something partial, occasional, exceptional? But surely He who was the very Truth, would not, in a matter of such awful concernment, palter with us in a double sense, would not deal in phrase or figure, overdrawing the reality, or leave the law of Christian life confused by *overstatement*, or subject to the limitations of individual convenience or caprice. And never, we believe, till the church gives *full* and *vigorous interpretation* to her Master's commission and requirements, and recognizes her *true calling, to be in this world as was her Lord*—"not to be ministered unto but to minister,"—to minister her labors, her prayers, her wealth, her children, her best, her all for the glory of the Lord and the life of the world,—never till she becomes profoundly conscious that a life thus ministering is the *gladdest, noblest, grandest beneath the sun*, will she reach "the height of her great argument" for the conversion of the world.

But are not our churches full, this hour, of those who seem to regard church-life as *passive* rather than active, *exacting* rather

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than imparting—who are in the church, not to minister but to be ministered unto—to find enjoyment and repose—to be *waited on*, *cultivated*, *caressed* and *insured* for *Heaven*—not to be servants of all, but to be served of all? To them, it wonld appear, the earthly church is as though already within the walls of the New Jerusalem.

But evermore the *church militant* is the *church ministrant*—ministrant of her very self for the life of the world. She *wars* by ministration. She *saves life* by losing it for Christ. She gains all things by giving up all things. She contends with the ministries of truth and love. She *subdues* the world by devoting herself for it; by ministering her pleasures and convenience, her comforts, her toil, her gold, her sons and her daughters; whatever she has most precious, yea, life itself, for human redemption. She overcomes by self-sacrifice for the wretched, the ignorant, the hateful, the sinful. Like her Lord, she is victor through vicarious suffering. She conquers by dying. By crucifixion she casts down the prince of darkness. By entering the grave she breaks the gates of hell. Above her onward march, over the ensign of the Son of God, bearing on his own cross the sins of a world, gleams evermore the blazon, "*In hoc vince.*"

This self-ministration to the cause is essential to the triumph of Christianity; because, 1st. It is essential to its very existence. It is of its original vital essence, the very element and condition of its being, even as shining is the condition of light.

In the 2d place, it is to the world the proof-impress of the original archetype—its divine attestation.

3d. It is *God's persuasion*—his continued argument, of the Christ lifted up, with a fallen race; yet a race not *so fallen* as to fail to recognize this proof of celestial original, or to be insensible to this manifestation of the beauty of God. The world in its moral ruin, still feels the divine charm of *self-sacrificing love*.

"He that will be greatest of all shall be servant of all," is written even in this world's code of honor. The ministration of self for others it recognizes as the royal mark on grand and beautiful souls. It feels it to be the God-like,—the very love-

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liest, kingliest thing among the sons of men. Wherever it meets or thinks it meets it, in hero, patriot, philanthropist or martyr, it does it reverence. It honors, celebrates and worships it, as something from heaven. It becomes the orator's theme, the *inspiration* of the *poet*, the *ideal* of the *artist*. To it the nations institute festivals, build monuments, temples, and Westminsters. Spirits signalized by it walk the earth in light. They break in upon its night with the gladness of sunbeams. Sweeter than music are their names to the forlorn and wretched. Like angel-faces, their thought wanders through the hospital and asylum, or hovers over the eyes of the desolate and dying. The less the suspicion of selfish alloy, the farthest the apparent removal from ambition of eclat, the more men love and worship; so that the humblest, obscurest and most hidden life in which this self-ministry moves, becomes, to our world's night, as those star-fields whose lights, dimmest to earth, shine in holiest height, and nearest to God's throne. Such is its charm, even to our fallen world.

Its primal archetype is set forth in the ever-and-all-ministering God, whose name and essence is love, whose glory is the effluence of love, who is greatest of all as He ministers to all. Its imprint is on the elder and mightier sons of light, whose glory and bliss it is that they are all ministering spirits. It is incarnated in "God manifest in the flesh," vindicating the divine son-ship of him, who, "though rich, for our sakes became poor," and who, "being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

This spirit, incorporate with the idea and being of the church, and breathing through it as its organ of perpetual utterance, is God's eloquence with men,—his signature on his church; recognized as such by the world, whose conversion waits its full manifestation.

That this ministrant spirit must make proof of itself in *missions*, I need not argue. The church ministrant must, by its very definition and original constitution and commission, be the church missionary,—a church that goes forth from home

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and country, to seek and save the alien and the lost. Originating in a mission from heaven to a ruined world, it must, of its very nature, go forth from realms illuminated to peoples that sit in darkness and the shadow of death. Everywhere, indeed, it must be animated by the missionary spirit—the spirit of self-devotion for the salvation of men. The life of every true Christian is a mission; cannot, must not be aught else; no more on the banks of the Hudson or Mississippi than on those of the Ganges, the Hoangho, or the Niger.

But evidently it is essential to the full development of the nature of the church, and especially, its full proof of itself before the world, that it go forth on the *foreign* mission. Benefactions to our country may be regarded as benefactions to ourselves, and patriotism may be construed as an expanded self-love. But the foreign mission eminently impresses the world as of that "charity which seeketh not her own;" which gives proof of its God-likeness in that it is without color of selfishness, and is universal. Not only the Roman theatre, but the whole race of man rises up to do homage to the Terentian assertion of a catholic humanity,—"I am a man, and nothing human is foreign to me."

Moreover, a true home-evangelization requires it. As an expression and a culture of Christly love, and of sympathy with the life-spirit of Christianity, the mission abroad is vital to the church at home. To limit Christianity geographically, violates its nature. It is ubiquitous in its reach, or it is nothing. To partialize the universal, introduces a fatal solecism into its nature. It is, moreover, clear disloyalty to the original divine commission, and as such must be fatal to its life-power. Indeed, in breaking up the spiritual torpor and narrowness wont to gather upon churches that are content to shut up their Christian sympathies within their own borders, the reflex benefits of foreign missions can hardly be over-estimated. In truth, such are the ultimate relations, now, between different parts of the world, that it could be readily shown that missions are richly remunerative in the light of a true, moral, we might even add, political economy, to home interests.

But the foreign mission is especially valuable in the profound

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and striking impression it makes on the world generally, of a ministrant Christianity,—of an entire and absolute ministration of self for the salvation of men.

I speak now of *impression on the world.* Every Christian life, at home or abroad, is in truth such a ministration. Its consecration is entire or nothing. "Whosoever forsaketh not *all* that he hath, cannot be my disciple," is the law as much in Christian America as in India or Central Africa. And in general, I believe, such a life involves as much sacrifice and brings as much happiness in one field as in another. It is the great *first step* which costs, in either. And it is more *what* we are, than *where*, that fixes the happiness as well as nobleness of life. These are determined more by loyalty to our professed self-consecration, its entirety and absoluteness, than any or all exterior circumstances whatsoever.

Nevertheless the foreign mission presents such self-devotion in a form which especially strikes the sense of the world. The denial of instinctive sentiments, common to all men and appreciable by all men; the sundering of ties universally felt as among the strongest on earth—those of home, kindred, country; the voluntary surrender of the sweets of civilization and culture, for perpetual exile amid dark-souled, barbarous, or semi-barbarous and pagan peoples; such a sacrifice,—visible, summary, absolute, irrevocable,—especially impresses the world with the sense of a faith and love above its plane of being, and having origin in higher realms. It also touches the mind of the church at large with a true consciousness of her calling.

In corrupt and apostate ages, such examples of consecration have been exponential of the divine life immanent in the church. They appear like pulses of the consciousness of a higher world breaking in upon a torpid and stagnant worldly church-life.

That the enthusiastic and imaginative sentiments have often had to do with the origin and enterprise of foreign missions, as also with their impression on the popular mind, cannot be denied. But who shall deny that these sentiments, though requiring to be carefully guarded from a mere spirit of romance, still have their legitimate and beneficent sphere in the economy of a world of faith, and that it is well to have occasions to call them forth in a

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cause where, after all, the real forever transcends our utmost ideal, and imagination falls below our soberest logic? The examples called forth thereby are channels for the illapse of modes of thought and feeling from a loftier and truer realm into our common life; similar in effect to those of martyrdoms in the ancient church.

It were easy to show that not only the primal impression, but also the continued conscious connection of the home with the foreign field, and the constant presentation of claims for a purely Christian ministration of men, money, personal labor and sacrifice, must be stimulant and purifying, and tending to keep the church in healthful sympathy with its original idea.

But argumentative detail is unnecessary. The foreign mission is clearly incorporate with the essential nature and orginal commission of the church, and is indissolubly connected with its purity and power. It originated in a foreign mission—if indeed anything is foreign to the blessed heaven—a mission from heaven to a lost world; and the foreign mission must ever be to it a vital ministrant function.

The argument from the life-principles of the church is confirmed by history, and God's methods of providence. Historically, the life-eras of the church have synchronized with the ministrant and missionary spirit, both as cause and effect. Through the darkest periods of Christianity, its life is traced through that spirit, sympathizing with it in its vigor or decay. Where this spirit has failed, Christianity itself has seemed to die. Where it has lived, even in crude and crass form, there, notwithstanding errors and offences in doctrine and government, Christianity has lived on, under all and in spite of all; each marked renewal of Christian life or reform in the church, being marked by a revival of this spirit.

To this spirit, moreover, developing itself in missions, Christianity owes what extension it has achieved. Various mundane agencies God has used, as preparatory and auxiliary. But each new, genuine evangelization of nations has been through *express and formal missions*. When these have ceased, the frontiers of Christendom have ceased to widen,—often have shrunk.

God has, moreover, by his providence, enforced the ministrant

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action of the church, expressly enjoined in the Great Commission. Whenever she has seemed settling down in mere self-maintenance or self-culture, and in contentment with past victories and acquired domain, the Providence that ever watches over her has permitted her repose to be perturbed. Persecution and convulsion, invasions or immigrations have aroused and proved her, broken up stagnation, brought her to ministrant confession, scattered her members, and compelled their testimony among new peoples. So he broke up the early coagulation of the church about Jerusalem, by the persecutions connected with the martyrdoms of Stephen, James the greater, and James the less, and finally by the destruction of the city itself; compelling the disciples to go abroad, everywhere proclaiming the kingdom of God. To the same intent wrought the persecutions of pagan Rome. So of the church, nominally mistress of the empire. Its stagnancy, tending to rapid corruption, was broken up by the invasion and migration of nations, which enforced the ministration of Christian life and truth to the heathen, by captivities, dispersions, enslavements; or led to formal missions to the Goths and Germanic tribes, whereby the edge of the barbaric sword was broken, so that, in the overthrow of the Roman world, it did not rage utterly against the church and Christian institutions. So the overflow of ancient Christendom by the barbarians, compelled the ministration of Christianity to new nations, by contact under pressure, and constrained the church to be missionary in order to self-preservation.

But political changes were not factors of evangelization, or real conversion. These were wrought only by the ministrant and missionary agency to which they furnished opportunity, occasions, or necessity. The same was the fact under the sword of the Merovingians and Carlovingians, and of the new Germanic empire. It was the mission that followed the sword, ministrant of truth and love, and of personal labor, sacrifice and suffering, that converted a nominal and enforced into actual Christianization. It is to missionaries mainly from the Irish and Anglican church—the Winifreds and Willebrods, the Columbans and St. Galls, and their successors, the Ansgars, Ottos, Adelberts and their coadjutors—it is to the devotion and

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self-sacrifice of those engaged in personal missions, and for the love of Christ and of souls penetrating forests, crossing wintry rivers, braving frost and storm, the miasma of marsh and the terrors of savage nature and more savage men—it is to these individual missionaries more than to armies or edicts of force, that nations, now the mightiest in Europe, owe their Christianity.

The same was the law of Christian life and spread under the era of spiritual despotism. It was not the church imperial, throned and sceptred on the seven hills, arrayed in purple and scarlet, arrogating universal lordship, fulminating interdicts and instituting inquisitions, claiming to coerce the faith and submission of the world, and to be ministered to of all nations,—it was not this, but the church ministrant in the wilderness,—the church of the cottage, the hut, the hamlet, the cave and catacomb, amid the poor, the suffering, the humble, the wretched, in seclusion and often concealment, that bore the true succession of the kingdom of God on earth, and kept alive the true confession of Christ among men. The genuine succession runs through the church-ministrant, not the church imperial. God's seal of genuine apostolicity is on it. The transmission was through the living, not the dead. There is no *mortmain* in the kingdom of God,—no succession in dead hands.

Missions also betokened the revival of apostolic Christianity through the subsequent ages. Thus out of the Lutheran reform, —after the struggle for existence had ceased to tax all its energies,—and subsequently, out of the Whitfieldian and Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century, was evolved, largely, the spirit and enterprise of modern missions.

These missions, though yet mainly in their pioneer and preparatory stages, have accomplished enough to demonstrate the proposition, that through the *express and formal mission*,— not by commerce or conquest, or the contact of civilizations,— the evangelization of heathen nations is to be effected and the domain of genuine Christendom to be extended. *Already* vast results, not in preparation only, but in actual achievement; not in the realm of *ideas* alone, but in change of *institutions;* not in impression on popular thought merely, but in the spiritual

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conversion of multitudes, attest the continued potency of genuine ministrant Christianity, and the presence of the new creative Spirit. "The handful of corn on the top of the mountains,"—"the fruit thereof" has already shaken "like Lebanon." And slow as the process has seemed to us, it has been rapid beyond the precedent of former ages. In historic comparison, the prophetic declaration seems truly verified, that nations are born in a day.

Again, the church ministrant is not only the great diffuser of the Christian faith, but is also the *proper conservator and elaborator of that faith*, i. e., *of a pure theology*. Such a theology is not so much wrought out in the *schools* as in *life*,—is less the product of speculative *dialectics*, than of practical *uses* and *exigencies*. The truth and value of dogmas are gauged fitly by their relation to the great problem to be accomplished—the conversion of the world.

Arms and armor are best elaborated and tested in actual warfare. Use discovers and perfects instruments. The science of a power is wrought out from its practical application, as that of steam by millions of brains and hands in innumerable operative fields. So keeping men in constant presence and practical use of great natural forces, imparts a perpetual consciousness of their reality and potency; teaches their proper correlation and coordination; and gives a quick faculty in their harmonious application. So a true theology is best appreciated, gauged and adjusted, as well as most profoundly believed, in practical converse with the great problem of human salvation. It is likeliest to be found in minds in intensest sympathy with the original life-spirit and aim of the mission of Christ, as the solar system is best comprehended from a stand-point on its central orb.

Not by synods or sorbonnes, so much as by practical ministries, has the faith of the church been conserved and developed. Men thrown amid the actual dynamics of nature are little likely to doubt the law of gravitation. Those engaged in callings requiring practical converse with astronomical phenomena, will feel little need of resort to assemblies of savans to re-enact, from time to time, with formal solemnity, the dogma of the Copernican system.

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Movement, moreover, and endeavor along the line of the church's original mission, will tend to purify both faith and life, and to give it power of conservative regimen. The vessel that, without power of guidance, is wrecked on the dead surges, can feel her helm only when she feels the propelling wind or steam. Waters that ferment when stagnant, and breed all corrupt and venomous things, become rivers of life as they flow. Such is the law of life in the church. It waits on ministrant movement.

Missions, again, are the great *unitive forces* of the church, the great means of truly realizing the prayer of our Lord for the oneness of his disciples. What we vainly reach after by contemplation of differences, and attempts to harmonize or annihilate them, is naturally achieved by supreme ministry to a common end; as the life-struggle of nations silences, for the time, the strifes of political parties, one common, supreme enterprise unites by subordinating and correlating all minor individual interests and tenets. As the waters of the Mississippi valley, from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains, widely asunder and with currents most diverse, defy all the engineers and Hibernians of the earth to unite them, but brought under one great law, move from all their springs to swell one mighty stream, and laterals that threatened to stay or deflect, augment and accelerate the march of the waters to the sea. Forces that, working within, convulse, directed to one objective aim, minister strength. In a great conflagration, the most impracticable material is converted into fuel.

Thus missions are exponents and factors of ecclesiastic life, purity and progress, and the *effort for the conversion of the world is coronal to all ministries for the prosperity of the church.*

But why go abroad? Why not wait the objects of missions brought, as they are being brought, in a migration of nations, to our own shores? Because both history and reason show that Carthage must be conquered in Africa. Streams are purified most readily at the fountain. Immigrant masses are most readily rendered innocuous and beneficent by missions directed toward the countries which are the centres and foci of false faiths, from

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which they largely come. Missions in both directions, domestic and foreign, are requisite and mutually supplemental. Indeed, such is the oneness of humanity now developed, that the only way to permanently save one nation, evidently is to save all; to leave no exterior circle of barbarism or falsehood to breed infection or attack; no outside Gog and Magog, to bring war anew on the camp of the saints.

Evidently, therefore, the coming of the Lord waits the true ministration of the church. The world waits this coronal proof. And the hour of coronal proof we believe will be the hour of coronal triumph. Rationalism, now the subtlest and deadliest of antagonists to the gospel, which relies not on out-arguing, but on out-living and out-growing Christianity, will be confuted and confounded by the actual proof of its immortality of life and vigor; must despair as it sees the ministrant Christ still manifestly living in the ministrant church, and leading her on, conquering and to conquer.

The cause, therefore, now summons the church to the utmost development and energizing of all her ministrant agencies. The call is to all the blood-bought in every place and every sphere. not for detached and selected regiments or troops of the line alone, but for a "land-wehr" and "land-sturm." The ministrant activity must quicken through each class and order, and with entire consecration of all elements of power, material or ideal, spiritual or temporal. The brain and heart, the gold and silver, the personal energies and influence of each; all business, all callings, all are to be held as ministrant means to the Great Cause. On the very bells of the horses is to be written, "Holiness to the Lord."

In summing up our argument, among the principles evolved from our theme and from the history of the church, we note the following,—1st, *The conversion of the world is to be wrought through the church ministrant, directly lifting up the crucified Christ before the nations;*—lifting him up by self-ministrations that are constant representations of his vicarious sacrifice, and that constantly evidence in the church the presence of him who gave his life a ransom for many. This is the essential, vital, capital agency for the conversion of the world. Other influences,

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as those of commerce, intercourse, political institutions, educational culture, contact of civilizations, or extensions of empire, may pioneer, prepare, or co-operate. But they are not to be waited for or relied on, and are utterly inadequate without direct evangelizing effort. Without such effort, indeed, weaker nations are not saved, but perish by contact with superior civilizations. For the conversion of nations we must look to the direct ministration of the gospel,—now and ever, and to all men, "the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation." Culture and civilization may be auxiliaries, and are to be expected as results of evangelization, but are not to be insisted on or waited for as pre-requisite antecedents.

2d. *The most vital of all our ministries to missionary churches is that of the ministrant spirit itself.* This alone can develope and stimulate their life-power. For this our ministrations must consult. Continual material support may dwarf and paralyze its beneficiaries, and prevent natural growth and development. But self-ministry secured, secures not only self-sustentation but self-diffusion. The Christianity thus planted will be Christ-like. It will be vital and self-propagating. It will develope itself in native growth and the production of native preachers and pastors, and native missions.

3d. In order to the development of this self-ministry in missionary churches, *they must, as speedily as practicable, be wrought to self-government, and be left to develope and order themselves according to the law of Christian liberty.* Freedom is the element of ministration. It is requisite to the full culture and application of ministrant energies. Without it there is no permanent vitality, no development of self-sustaining or of life-diffusing power. There is peril of perpetual nonage and impotency—that you may have in the end only a home bureau with foreign outposts—an East India house and a factory.

4th. This ecclesiastical independency, or self-regimen in the missions, is to be *protected from individualism or selfish isolation, from anarchism, faction, schism, and perversions of faith, by the Christ-like ministrant spirit developed in it.* This spirit must become a reliance for the communion of the

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churches, which is only a communion of mutual ministries, helps, counsels and sympathies; and also, as the best safeguard for Christian brotherhood and equality against a spirit of ambition or domination; even as this same spirit is expressly enjoined by our Lord as antidote to emulations, rivalries and usurpations of lordship among his disciples. It will also be, as we have shown, the most effective assurance of substantive purity of the faith—a living and a practical one.

Thus this principle, inwrought, tends to secure in the mission churches life and order, unity and freedom; the speculative, regulated and conserved by the practical; that blending of individual spontaneity with organic solidarity, which constitutes the acme of social power, such as was largely represented in the primitive ecclesiastical type, by which Christianity was propagated through the ancient Roman world, and which will ever be found possessed of equal fitness and power; giving now, as it did then, the freest play to the great organic agencies of truth, liberty and love, and the influences of the ever-present Spirit.

5th. *Missions must be sustained abroad by such means as shall most widely diffuse the ministrant spirit among the churches at home.* This needs to be cultivated, as much for their own life as for that of the missions they sustain; and that not only among particular sections, classes, or individuals, but universally.

6th. Missionary ministrations, as a normal and perpetual, not exceptional or spasmodic agency of the church, *must be rendered in patience of hope and of faith in the divine promise and the divine Spirit, and in reliance for success, not on eclat, or pageant, or force, or artifice, but on the patient ministry of truth and love, of suffering and sacrifice.* With our Lord as leader, we are to walk by faith in this highway, knowing it will at last emerge in light.

7th. It is now evident that the conversion of the world *waits upon the re-baptism of the church into its original life-spirit.* She must come up more to the scriptural ideal, the Christly model,—must hear and obey the voice of the Master,—before her prayer, going up through the ages, shall be answered. She

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must manifest Christ "lifted up" by ministering her all, her very self, for the redemption of the world; must feel that this is her work in this world, *her business*, the business of each and every member, everywhere and at all times.

8th. *It is evident that the church is to be wrought to this ideal chiefly through missions themselves.* The culture is in the process; the preparation in the endeavor. By shining she grows light. If the church, in large portions of it, is far removed from that model, it will be by quickening the parts most living that those most dead will be delivered from torpor, and the whole body from mortification. To fit ourselves for the work of the world's conversion, we must in earnest address ourselves to it; and not in masses and societies alone. Primitive evangelization was chiefly through the mission of the individual, solitary, or with few associates. We must see to it that in our superior system we lose not the original spirit, and the sense of individual responsibility in every class and sphere.

9th. Especially, one part of the church, embracing more than half its members, peculiarly endowed with ministrant instinct and faculty, and whose influence on our entire civilization, though subtle, delicate and silent, is as potent as that of the imponderables—light, heat and electricity—in the material world, must be more drawn into conscious sympathy and co-operation with this great movement. *The feminine element, so prominent in the primitive evangelic mission*, though much lost sight of in subsequent ages,—when the ministrant church disappears more from history and becomes largely merged in the imperial and despotic,—*must be more fully utilized.*

It is auspicious for the times that woman is being extensively aroused anew to a consciousness of privilege, power and responsibility in this interest. Her peculiar spheres and avenues of influence; her privileged admission to the homes and the domestic life of peoples; her exclusive access to half the population; and the fact that civilization and evangelization never go by halves; these things are becoming more recognized in the missionary economy.

The gospel, indeed, puts especial honor on woman. It utilizes and sceptres her peculiar gifts. In its system, her function

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is most potent if not regent. The virtues and graces which seem most germane to her nature, her gentleness, delicacy and sympathy, that apply themselves with loving intuition and felicity of tact, and in patient and quiet sacrifice to ministries for others, are in especial power and honor in the kingdom of Christ. In truth, in accordance with that perfect completeness which attaches to him as a universal Saviour, there is much we feel as feminine—not effeminate—in the character of Christ himself; foreshadowing the potency and beauty of that element in the church he founded. The church now needs to call this element, embracing so large a portion of its members, into more active missionary sympathy and co-operation, at home and abroad.

Gladly and hopefully we now welcome woman to the successorship of the Marys, Marthas, Salomes and others, who ministered to our Lord in his walk on earth, and were 'last at the cross and earliest at the grave,' and to that of the Syntiches, and Priscillas, and Euodiases, and those women who labored with Paul and the Philippian church, in the work of the gospel. The forces of motherhood, wifehood, sisterhood, daughterhood, and those quicker sympathies and affections,—those subtle and delicate, yet most potent influences which are the prerogative of woman,—these belong with especial propriety to the church, and are to be enlisted for its triumph at home and in foreign lands.

In the great social stir of the times—when woman is repudiating the old idea of a mere inert and frivolous, or of a pageant or drudge life, and is aspiring to spheres wider, loftier and nobler, whatever we may think of issues contested in other directions, there opens to her here, beyond caption, cavil or controversy, a field for which she has especial endowments of heaven, than which none grander, more beautiful, or more beneficent, is found among the daughters or sons of men; a future to which a ministrant church, and ministering angels, and the ministering Christ welcome her.

Indeed the cause invites and requires all, learned or unlearned, weak or strong, "young men and maidens, old men and children;" all faculties, gifts, graces, temperaments, vocations, spheres. It is constituted of all, demands all, utilizes all elements of influence or power. Each Christian, as he or she

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hopes for pardon, divine heirship, kingship and eternal glory through the blood of the Son of God, is bound thereby to minister all of life and being to it. The conflict between light and darkness, love and hate, in which every Christian has enlisted, has no truce, no remission, no lull, no neutral place or party, knows no stationary border, till the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord. In this conflict, moreover, where militancy is ministry; the weapons, truth and love; strategy, self-sacrifice; success, the giving up of all; and happiness, self-oblivion; where also the gentlest things are the mightiest, the humblest are the loftiest, the most delicate the strongest, and childlike love and trust transcends all the wisdom of all the schools; yea, where "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings," more than all the sabaoth of the heavens, is God's praise to be perfected; and where, by "the weak things of the world God casts down the things that are mighty, and by the things which are not, brings to naught the things which are,"—in such a conflict, every element—the subtlest and obscurest—is in requisition and has its value, read only in the notation of God. Each member of the elect host, in whatever sphere or home, is a power, and is enlisted, not for his own salvation only, but for the salvation of a world. For this we all are to live, to labor and pray, and to give and endure, as long as we walk beneath the sun; not at home, never at rest, never at peace, till behind us are the doors of the City of Light. Meantime, the sweetest, kingliest, divinest thing we—the mightiest or meanest alike—can do, is to minister our entire being to it. So all shall walk at last with those who, in elder times, "obtained a good report through faith;" so stand with those who stand on the sea of glass and have gotten the victory, by "not loving their lives unto the death."

> "Where white-robed saints, the star-thrones singing under,
> Their state all meekly wear;
> Whose ceaseless praise goes up from hearts that wonder
> That ever they came there."

So all shall at last wear the glory of Him "who, being in the form of God, took on him the form of a servant," and came from

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the highest throne of the highest heaven, "not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Whom God, therefore, "hath highly exalted, and given a name which is above every name." So shall we surely, even in this life, be children of him whose name and nature, and whose effluent and ineffable glory is Love.

Beloved friends, wheresoever and in whatsoever sphere may be to us God's allotment of labor, let us work on in patience of love and faith, devoting our life's force to building the temple of the Lord. We know not how or what we build. But the Great Architect is above, and millions infinite of ministries, under his plan, are wrought into its scheme. In darkness and deeps though it be; in difficulties, discouragements, and seeming disasters; or in mingled light and shadow, success and failure, defeat and victory, and celestial glories glimpsing athwart a field of toil, sorrows and graves,—however it may be, it is ours ever, in childlike trust, to build on. Through all, the mighty structure shall surely rise—is rising. "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills," and our eyes shall surely, at last, behold it.

It is typed by nature herself, in her high places in the material world, where often, to one emerging from a mazy, tangled and difficult climb, upon some lofty mountain, a glory of the earth and sky suddenly breaks upon him, like a new Jerusalem let down from heaven. Thus, recently, as after a toilsome clamber through forest-glooms, and wilds formless and desolate, and up arduous steeps, I emerged upon one of the loftiest peaks of the Adirondacks, there was suddenly revealed a scene such as our eyes may rarely behold this side the Golden City, and which seemed to type the Coronal Temple itself.

I seemed standing as in the presence of one of God's great ministers. The "Gothic Mountains," fitly so named, rising immediately before me, with awful mural steeps, castellated with cliffy turret and battlement, and their white escarpments, or sharp cut, salient angles, wrought by the elements into wondrous tracery, and mysterious symbol, carved or emblazoned, with

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semblance of cross and sacred emblem, or of column, oriel, pointed arch or half-swung portal, seemed as the façade of some vast cathedral, surmounted with sweep on sweep of ridge and peak above and beyond, that appeared as frieze and architrave of its mighty entablature; while farther on, and higher, crowning the stupendous pile, and girt round with lesser heights that stretched as satellites, pinnacles and cupolas, to the horizon's utmost verge, upsprang the central dome, the mighty Tahawas itself, and under a sky "so cloudless, deep, and purely beautiful, that God alone was to be seen in heaven."

As I emerged on this view, I saw before me, emblazoned, "the mountain of the Lord's house established in the top of the mountains." Over what an agony and ruin of nature upheaved, in what gloomy and formless deeps founded, was that glorious pile! From what dismal disorder of marsh and fen, and cliff and flood, and forest it rose! From what confusions of nooks and vales hidden in beauty, and crystal cascade and rivulet, and flowers of wondrous sweetness, strangely blent with poisonous growths and wilds deform, rocks, caves, bogs, dens and shades of death! Yet from all this at last uprose—what a visible hallelujah of the mountains and the sky! A liturgy statuesque in eternal granite!

Even so God builds the mountain of his house against the latter day. Out of glooms and deeps, cycles of disaster and agony, wildernesses of toil, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain, strangely mingling with visions of celestial sweetness and beauty, and touched often with gleams of light and joy from higher worlds, upsprings, at last, the coronal glory! That glory all the faithful at last shall surely see; see as wrought out of God, in part from their own true work. And when goes up the coronation hymn, all shall share in it. Not as in earthly triumphs, where the true victors often sleep lone and afar, beyond the festal blaze, — not so when moves the last great triumph up heaven's Capitoline, and the mighty anthem climbs the crystalline to the Central Throne, all the faithful, wherever they have gone to their rest,—in China or India, in Afric sands or the deeps of ocean, or in Christian Europe or America, under the shadows of the old church-yard,—all shall bear a part in the

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universal refrain — "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

"Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion forever and ever."

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The Divine Forces of the Gospel

A SERMON

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING IN NEW HAVEN, CT.

OCTOBER 1, 1872

BY

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SERMON.

"And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power. That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." — 1 COR. ii. 1–5.

THE sentiment is completed and compacted by the same apostle, thus: —

"For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles." — GAL. ii. 8.

Here is the whole theory of the early success of the gospel. In the acknowledged impotence of human teachings, comes "the testimony of God." In place of the world's "wisdom" stands the one absorbing knowledge of "Christ crucified." Instead of merely "persuasive words" of brilliant rhetoric or profoundest logic, all the utterances, both "speech and preaching," are freighted with the "demonstration of the spirit." In the midst of human "weakness, fear, and much trembling" shines forth the power of God, working effectually in Peter among the Jews, and mighty in Paul toward the Gentiles.

All the surface changes of society leave the fundamental relation of Christ's kingdom to the world unaltered. It is no small privilege to live in a time when Christianity is popular and powerful; when its great Author is the subject of men's fair speeches, and his outward realm includes the great empires; when wealth and fashion throng its costly temples; when its messengers charter the power-press, and London bankers honor the drafts of its missionary boards. But, for all this, the offense of the cross has not ceased, nor the difficulty of maintaining and spreading a pure gospel diminished. It is in times like

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these that faith is sorely tempted to surrender unto sight; that science pushes far away the living God; and the power of the spirit is superseded by the reign of law. At such times, the Church and her ministry "breathe in tainted air." The gospel in solution tends to become a gospel in dilution. Fashion and religion give mutual bonds of good behavior, and the line between the Church and the world fades out in a penumbra. Culture chills fervor; or fervid men exalt peace and union above truth and purity. Christian youth, nursed in luxury, lose the very conception of Christian heroism. It is a time when Robertson and Brooke, in England, can find the whole power of prayer to consist in its influence on the praying heart, and the difference between the inspiration of Wordsworth's "Excursion" and of Paul's Epistles, to be one of degree and not of kind; when the popular American pulpit sometimes knows not what to say of the men "who believe neither the Old Testament or the New," but abound in the charities of life; and when well-meaning Christians magnify the possibilities of heathen salvation into probabilities. It is the era for "Theodicies," and "Sciences of Religion," and "Comparative Theologies"; an age when men can discover ten Great Religions, — perchance eleven.

Surrounded thus by the glory of secularism, we are called, at times, to take our bearings and look forth for the pole-star of our heavens. Permit me, therefore, fathers and brethren, to strike once more the key-note of the whole Christian enterprise at home and abroad, and to recall to your thoughts and mine this primal truth: —

THE DIVINE FORCES WHICH CENTRE IN THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST ARE THE ONLY ULTIMATE RELIANCE FOR THE WORLD'S CONVERSION.

By divine forces, I mean those which come direct from God; which, though they act in nature and through man, are behind nature and above humanity, — supernatural and superhuman. When the Church fails chiefly to invoke these influences, her most magnificent appliances are but a mechanism, and her own beautiful form is a corpse. These things need not all be specified in technical detail. The text sketches them in bold outline, the expiatory offering of the Son of God, recorded in sacred Scriptures inspired of God, and applied by the Spirit of God to

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the regeneration of sinful hearts and the holy energizing of human lives, through institutions appointed and preserved by God, and by God made effectual to overcome the universal repugnance to truth and duty. That here must be our reliance would seem clear, —

First, from the emergency of the case. After all sentimental dreams, when we open our eyes one appalling fact stands full in view: every member of the race is clearly out of harmony with the God of holiness, and plainly in conflict with his searching law. The Bible did not make it so; it finds it so. I have heard the godless man of business preach as stern a doctrine of depravity as the apostle Paul. And so radical is the ruin, that when you look upon the new-born child in his cradle, you know that, train him as you will, in the bosom of refinement and love, none the less certainly will he go estray. Gravitation is no surer. You look upon the stranger, of whose existence you never knew before, and you assume that his character is traversed with sin. The man of the world would otherwise scorn your simplicity. So thorough-going is the aversion of men to God, that when the full remedy is offered them, their opposition to being saved from sin long seems, and often proves, unconquerable. Nay, it seems proved by fact, that the forces of the gospel are needed to awaken the desire to be saved by the gospel. And though we grant that the presence of the Redemptive Work in this world creates a possibility that men may be saved in pagan lands; and though we conceive that for Christ's sake God may accept even a potential or germ faith, — the readiness to believe, — yet in the whole history of heathenism, who will recount to us a score of undoubted cases where that potential faith was found without the coming of the gospel?

When, therefore, we look forth on this great moral Sahara, where the highest moral attainment is the despairing confession, "I see the better and approve, I pursue the worse," how can we fail to see, that where the whole course of nature has but led to sin, the rescue from sin must be out of the course of nature; and where the whole race are fallen together into the pit, the only arm to save is the arm of God. Deliverance, if it come at all, springs not from earth, but from heaven.

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But we are persuaded of the same truth, secondly, by the manifest inadequacy of human agencies to accomplish the end.

It would seem needless to speak of the ordinary influences of civilization and culture, for the reason that at their highest scope they never aim at the reconciliation of man to God. But since so many are still ready to propose the plough, the anvil, the loom, and the press, as at least needful pioneers of Christianity, we may well take notice, in passing, that but for some higher influence than has yet shown itself in such schemers, no man can be found to send, much less to carry, the plough and the press to the brutalized. Loudly and vainly has the missionary called on them for these magic implements. Nor have I ever read of an instance, outside of Christianity, where mere culture has sent forth its choicest men and women to raise the degraded races. And when the contact has been made providentially, it has been more commonly the fact that the solitary white man has sunk toward the level of the savage, and that in the fuller contact of races the savage has caught chiefly the vices of his superior, — his drunkenness, profanity, and gambling.

Civilization and culture have, no doubt, some diffusive force, but, alas, in conflict with human depravity they have no self-perpetuating power. After all our declamations upon the progress of the race, it remains, perhaps, to be proved, that there is any line of sure, *permanent* progress for the race, except along the line of revealed religion. In the long run, human depravity outstrips human intellect and worries it down. Nearly all that survived the wreck of classic culture, was wafted down in the ark of the gospel. Scattered through the world are indications which fairly raise the question, whether the race as a whole has not fallen away from a primitive moral light, just in proportion as it has receded in time and space from its original source. There are traditions of that golden age, and old mythologies with gleams of lost expression on their now hideous features, universal memories of the great deluge, tattered theologies, discarded moralities, dead languages, and extinct civilizations. The splendid Sanscrit speech, all buried beneath the debris of modern Hindooism, is a more startling phenomenon than those vast western mounds and ancient copper mines that lay beneath the trail of the unconscious moccasin. But be these things as they

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may, what corruptions of society may underlie the glory of culture, he who cannot read in Martial, Juvenal, or Catullus, may see in Pompeii. And of at least the average tendencies of unsanctified commerce, the world has had some evidence in the East India Company's relation to Hindoo idolatry, in the African slave trade, in American debauchery of the Indian tribes, in the opium war with China, and in the white man's hellish pollution, that fought fifty years with the missionary for the Pacific Islands.

But when we speak of conversion, or even reformation from vice, we sound a deeper chasm. What human power can rescue the individual once thoroughly sold under sin? To the slave of the cup — some Burns, or Poe, or Hartley Coleridge — how often have wife, children, and friends, wealth and fair fame, yea, life itself, come pleading in vain. How every consideration of prudence and national well-being goes down before some great organic sin, till half a nation hugs the chains of slavery with its heart-strings, and finds deliverance only in the frenzy of suicidal war!

And when we deal no longer with individual sins, but with the bitter root and essence of all sin, how desperate the struggle. The very gospel then seems destined to be the victim and not the victor. No more forlorn prospect is conceivable, humanly viewed, than that of Christ's kingdom in the presence of the kingdoms of the world. A babe lying in a village stall at Bethlehem, while a king and his councillors are deciding its fate at the capital, is its standing type. It is the still small voice amid the universal uproar; straggling workers against vast combinations; and the promise of the earth's inheritance, not to the world's hero, "*impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer*," but to the meek and lowly. It is a universal assault on human nature in its stronghold, with an old book and an invisible spirit.

Viewed on the human side, the vital problem of the Church is simply hopeless. Sydney Smith so far was right, when he pronounced the difficulties in India "insuperable." Martyn said substantially the same, when he likened the conversion of the Hindoo to the "resurrection of a dead body." The case cannot be over-stated, and it is everywhere substantially alike. How often does the young convert, all aglow with Christ's love, feel

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persuaded that he can so tell the wonderful story to his comrades that they too must believe. And how sadly does he learn his impotence. I remember well the lamentation of a distinguished teacher, a man of rare intellect, and a most accomplished speaker, that in more than twenty years of preaching in various pulpits, he knew not that he had persuaded one soul to Christ. All his eloquence had halted at the ear. In truth, no class of men so profoundly comprehend the unspeakable barriers that lie in the pathway of Christ's chariot, as the ministers of the gospel. They know full well the apathy of the masses, the pitying incredulity of the great, the mighty ambitions of mature life, the enticements that draw the young from the master's service, the errors and defections of Christian leaders, the unworthy membership of the churches, — the gnarled and twisted sticks and shapeless stones with which Christ must build his temple, both abroad and at home. Xavier, indeed, in ten years, rushed from India to Japan, ringing his bell and scattering baptismal water till he had "made Christians" of a million persons. But it was his own comment on his own work, "If you will search India through, you will find that few will reach heaven but those who depart this life under fourteen years of age, with their baptismal innocence still upon them." Never were human force and fortitude strained to a higher tension than by the devoted band of Jesuits, who, a hundred years later, attempted to convert the native tribes in Canada. They lived in the filthy wigwam, or slept on the uncovered ground, or roamed and suffered with the hunters. They travelled on snow-shoes, tugged canoes and burdens round portages, were jeered at by the sorcerers and threatened by the warriors. They went wet and hungry and frost-bitten. They sickened with exposure and toil; but they would not die of disease. The martyr's crown encircled the heads of Daniel, Lallemant, Brébeuf, Garnier, Chabanel, Jogues, Buteau, and Garreau. Their zeal and self-abnegation were as matchless as their failure was complete. That failure, for which their Boston historian, in 1867, can find no deeper cause than "the guns and tomahawks of the Iroquois," lay clearly in the system they represented, and broke on their devoted heads as a direct retribution for the hollow religion they bore. It was Jesuit principle, avowed by Father LeCaron, that

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these "infidels needed but a drop of water to make them children of God," changing "little Indians into little angels." It was Jesuit practice to apply that drop deceitfully, and to inform the scowling father that they were only giving a little sweetened water to drink. They pledged themselves to help the Hurons in all their wars; and they impressed "the mysteries of the faith," by the wonderful performances of a striking clock, a prism, a magnet, and a microscope, together with horrible paintings of devils and lost souls, and with grand religious tableaux and parades. They told the Algonquin chief, that God's ways with friends and foes were the same as his own; and while they resisted the eating of prisoners, they made but feeble remonstrances against the killing and torture. But they reaped as they sowed. All their dangers and their martyrdoms, whether from Hurons, Mohawks, or Iroquois, were on the definite charge of being sorcerers, or in league with hostile tribes. And it was a fearful retribution when their own water-made Christians not only shed their blood, but heaped their own doctrines as coals of fire on their heads. It was a renegade Huron convert who murdered the priest Chabanel and threw him into the river; and when Lallemant and the dauntless Brébeuf stood unflinching at the stake, it was apostate Hurons who taught the Iroquois to add new keenness to their fiendish tortures, and to aggravate them with still more fiendish taunts. "We baptize you," said they, as they poured boiling water slowly over their heads, "we baptize you that you may be happy in heaven, for none can be saved without a good baptism." And as they lacerated Brébeuf's athletic form, in modes too awful to relate, they called out to him, "You told us that the more one suffers on earth the happier he is in heaven. We torment you because we love you." "That such beings could have been civilized," exclaims the Boston historian, "is scarcely possible." And from his stand-point he spoke well. We accept the verdict. To Jesuit Christianity it was impossible, and to any form of humanitarian Christianity similar obstacles lie everywhere. When the humanitarian religion of America at length, like a century plant, blossomed out into one solitary missionary to the Hindoos, he was speedily absorbed, not by "Great Brahm," but by the Brahmo Somaj; and his successor could not tell whether it was well with him or no.

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It would seem that no subtle argument can be called for, to show how helpless are all merely human agencies to work out that internal purity, disinterestedness and love, and that wide and deep reign of inner and outer righteousness, which the gospel commands, and the world has pronounced Utopian. By no conceivable stratagem can the teacher or the preacher eke out the lack of the life from God, or animate his clay images with some human spark. Had these things some potency, the world can beat him at his own weapons. His jocular Christianity is not half so attractive for the crowd as the true comedy. The most artistic performances of the church are inferior to the opera. All the sugar-coated panaceas, the consecrated billiards, the church kitchens and religious merry-makings — if these be chief things — are as nothing beside the infinite allurements of the world. In the "study of human nature," on its weak side or its strong, the Protestant Jesuit will never approach the followers of Loyola; while, alas, when all has been learned that can be learned of human nature, it is still the desperate problem, not how to humor, but to reverse its whole moral drift. The Boston historian in 1867, may be supposed to represent the average judgment of the world when he wrote, "As for the religion which the Jesuit taught them (the Indians), however Protestants may carp at it, it was the only form of Christianity likely to take root in their crude and barbarous natures." If we look for some skillful apparatus of propagandism, no human machinery will ever surpass the vast and varied resources of Rome. To that we may surrender in advance. If we are directed to the constant and vehement reiteration of the great laws of lofty morality in all the relations of life, we grieve to see that the one grand lack is not of the knowledge but the will, of the power that shall lift character and life into that higher plane. Common preachers can do little with the Christless morality with which Thomas Chalmers, at Kilmany, could do nothing. We admit that the ethics of the Scriptures can largely be culled out from the maxims of the heathen; that Confucius taught the negative side of the golden rule; that Plato held that a good man will injure neither friend nor enemy; and that Seneca uttered maxims which remind us of Paul. But the perpetual, fatal want, was of some influence which should energize those dead pre-

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cepts into life, in so much as a single soul; so that, while Seneca was echoing the maxims of Paul, he was pandering to the foulest crimes of Nero. Universally, when fallen man has been made most clearly to see and feel his obligations to God, like that old man at Tientsin, the highest point to which he has risen has been the desperate call, "O wretched man, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And the one wail that has risen everywhere from the messenger of the Cross, just so soon as he has learned the bottomless depth of the work before him, has been the almost despairing cry, "Who is sufficient for these things?" And he answers at length his own question, "Our sufficiency is of God."

And we are brought directly to contemplate the fact that, —

Thirdly, the Divine influences that centre in the gospel of Christ prove adequate to meet every emergency in the effort to bring men into harmony with God. Here again my theme, thank God, calls for no subtleties or novelties, but for a fresh recurrence to the ever-open secret of the kingdom, — truths that shine by their own historic light.

On this direct effluence of God's Spirit does the working church securely rest for her own life and vigor. By all the laws of probability, in the tremendous and one-sided conflict of forces for eighteen hundred years, the church should have died a hundred deaths. A weary catalogue of kings and wits and scholars have made ready the apparatus of her execution. Fourteen centuries ago the very year was set for her decease; and from that time to this has her requiem perpetually been sung. But not there has been the chief peril. All outward combinations have been as nothing to the dangers within. The weakness and wrong-headedness of her own membership, with their freaks and prejudices and bickerings and animosities and scandals, their icy intellect, their headlong passions, their unconsecrated, intractable wealth, their uncontrollable greatness, their reckless vanities and prides, their narrowness and sensuousness of thought and aim and life; the multiform follies of her leaders, with their gross defections, their imprudencies, their heresies, their rivalries, their low ambitions, their puerilities and platitudes, and emasculations of their glorious message; the popularities and compromises that muffle the edge of the gospel; the rationalism

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that would dry up the life-blood of her faith; the selfishness, often national or continental, that would bind the hands of her beneficence; the material civilization and earth-born hopes that ensnare her young men; these are evermore, and now more than ever, if possible, the great perils of the church. Constant and mighty as are the dangers, mightier is the power that averts them. The modern church, like the ancient, is the bush that burns and is not consumed. Rather she is that sinking ship on lake Gennesaret, which yet, against wind and wave, without oar or sail, was borne to the land whither they went, when he that walked and stilled the waters stepped on deck.

Often there have been times when, to the eye of man, all seemed lost, but to God's eye all was safe. Some Elijah, roaming in the wilderness, mournfully exclaims, "I, even I only, am left," to whom God can say, "Yet have I left seven thousand." Or the eye looks back over the dreary course of those Dark Ages, when the whole church seemed sunk in formalism and falsehood; but suddenly it sees a city set on a hill, a pure church all safely nestled on the high Alps, where the snows are crimsoned with the slaughters of three hundred years, and watches her colporteurs winding their way through Europe, with knapsack on back, to castle halls and cottage doors, and listens to the voice, which, with rings and robes, offers also the pearl of great price. Or, an old convent wall is torn away in modern times, and reveals the writing of five hundred years ago, where some sweet soul, from the very bosom of Romanism, was pouring out pure devotion to the Lamb of God. And we watch these flickering lights disperse and approach, till they join in one great guiding star that came and stood over the place where the child Jesus was. We behold the flame of piety dying steadily down in our ancestral land while Butler and Bingham were marshaling the evidences, till God sent Whitefield and Wesley, and filled England and America with spiritual religion; and while seven hundred and six books and pamphlets against Methodism, it is said, now lie on the shelves of the Astor Library, behold Methodism itself sweep onward through the land. In the Metropolis of New England, wealth, fashion, learning, social culture, and legal lore, send their long tentacles around and through all the old churches of the Puritans, to bear them, and the whole body to which they

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belong, away to another faith. But they only purify the church and lift the load from all her activities. A local church in the Old Commonwealth seems wholly seared by the heat of party strife, when, lo, the sweetest refreshing of the Holy Ghost falls upon the impenitent all around; and when the astonished brethren look forth for the unknown cause, they find that a fervent cry had been going up to the God of grace from a little band of praying women, of whom one was she who breathed out of her own heart for the church universal the strain,

"I love to steal awhile away,"

and another was fellow-counsellor with Mary Lyon in founding that seminary, also for the church universal, at South Hadley. A godless father determines that his beautiful daughter shall never be dragged away from the gayeties of life to the gloom of religion; but the Spirit steals in through massive walls, and lace and damask curtains, and she adopts the song,

"Jesus, I my cross have taken,
All to leave and follow thee."

And so God keeps alive and alert his church. Here are influences which no wisdom can forestall, no combination can crush, no vigilance exclude. It is a Spirit that chains cannot bind, that sword and musket cannot kill. And so long as God yields this help, no outward foe is formidable. In our day, a brilliant and resolute man wrote in his journal, "I will study seven or eight months in the year, and four or five months I will go about and preach and lecture, in city and glen, by the roadside or field-side, or wherever men and women can be found. I will go eastward and westward and southward and northward, and if this New England orthodoxy does not come to the ground, then it shall be because it has more in it than I have ever found." He kept his word. And what a stir he seemed to be making, as crowds followed him to the Music Hall to hear his bitter denunciations, or to the neutral lecture-room to hear his perpetual sneers. But he passed away, and religion moved right on. Not a church was broken up; God's spirit came down; orthodoxy still lived. It was like the dropping of a stone into our broad inland lake, — a splash, a foam, a ripple, fading slowly away; and the broad placid lake lies there still.

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To one who has traced the track of the church all the way, through her heresies and follies and wrongs, and who looks behind the scenes now, it is a marvel that she has not perished from inner corruption. It is God's standing miracle to have kept the life beating and bounding in so wretched a frame. No less wonderful is the divine energy which makes the message she bears — a message so unpalatable to human nature — yet lay hold upon the worldly heart. As against the infinite seductions of Romanism, and Ritualism, and Sentimentalism, and Rationalism, and open Skepticism, the life and power of Puritanism is a phenomena inexplicable save by the presence of God in it. The King's arrows are sharp. The divine word without and the divine witness within respond unto each other; "Deep calleth unto deep." And thus, while in the far East, Osman Bey, the Turk, discerned the Protestantism which effectually preaches a gospel of honesty to his tenants, and himself rented a house for its preacher; so in the far West, the shrewd but wicked Congressman, when solicited by a wily heretic for aid in building a church, — "a church," said he, "that will receive *you* to its membership," — instantly replied, "Ah, there is the curse of it. I will give no money to a church that will include such men as you and I." But for the sustaining fact that God gave the doctrine and God gives it its weight and edge, its winning light and its melting heat, evangelical religion might retire from the competition in despair. No man knows it better than we who are here assembled to-night.

It is the same energy of the Holy Ghost that gives effectiveness to a ministry so thoroughly human and weak. It is and has always been the cry, that the world's genius and talent are drawn off into other callings. Nevertheless the ministry succeeds. Said a wealthy merchant, "I cannot aid your Theological Seminary because there are so few successful ministers." "Sir," was the reply, "you have watched the course of trade forty years on Long Wharf; how many of the merchants around you in that time have succeeded?" "Not more than fifteen or twenty per cent." "But the ministry knows no such terrific percentage of defeat as that, it has no twenty per cent. *of failure.*" Thousands of men, unknown indeed to fame, will reach heaven surrounded by a cloud of living witnesses to their highest success in the noblest work given to man.

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hen the time comes for some great aggressive movement of the church, how manifestly it is a divine moving which guides and moulds all to the central purpose. So was it in what we may call the great mission of Puritanism to America. At a dozen different points and stages, it was clear defeat. But at all those points — even when Robert Cushman wrote, "all things promiscuously forerun our ruin" — God was organizing defeat into completer victory. So was it in this enterprise of ours. Far off God's coming shone. Some years before, revival flames had flashed through New England, not like a common dawn, but more like the auroral light when it lies all around the horizon, before it streams up to meet in a central crown. Those were hallowed times in Connecticut when the Spirit was poured out on seventy contiguous parishes around this centre; palmy days in Yale College when Jeremiah Evarts, and fifty-seven other young men in one year, joined its church. Thoughts of foreign missions were stirring in the hearts of Spring at Newburyport, Spaulding at Salem, and Worcester at Fitchburg. Prayer meetings for the world's conversion, like scattered watch-fires, were held at Hollis and elsewhere; and a Christian mother at Torringford was talking to her son of Eliot and Brainerd. A little later, Samuel Nott, in his solitude at Franklin, was meditating the missionary life during the very time when the young brethren at Williamstown were forming their secret missionary league. The first four petitioners at Bradford to be sent to the heathen, were graduates of four different colleges. Here was no concert of men, but a moving of God. And how signally, in all those opening events, do we read a higher wisdom over-riding the maxims of men. Without funds or popular favor, in the midst of war, embargo, and financial distress, against the great commercial sovereignty of India, except as God's promises were sure, that enterprise was a chimera. The young men were plainly told by Christian ministers that their project "savored of infatuation." The young women were assured by friends that their scheme was "wild." The Prudential Committee of this Board at first advised the missionaries to go "without their wives." After they were ordained, your peerless Dwight expressed his "decided disapprobation" of the Committee's action in sending them forth. But there remain on record precious

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memorials from every member of that little band, and from the Secretary who gave them their commission, that they went forth in the strength of a simple faith in the promises of God; a faith as clear and bold as that of the Father of the Faithful, when he went forth "not knowing whither he went." And the God of infinite resources converted their seeming imprudencies into fertile devices. The young wives in their weakness became a tower of strength. And never were more prolific missionary seeds planted on earth than when the girlish form of Mrs. Newell was laid to rest in the Isle of France, and the worn-out frame of Mrs. Judson on the banks of the Martaban.

In like manner has our whole enterprise fallen back upon the mighty workings of God to clear the way for our missions, from the time when Hall and Nott were unexpectedly informed that the interdict in India was removed, the day when Hopu came back in his boat, shouting, "Oahu's idols are no more," the almost "miraculous" procurement of the Turkish firman for "liberty of conscience," the sudden return of the retreating missionaries to Port Natal, down to the edict for toleration, which may yet appear within a twelvemonth in Japan.

On what other persuasive power, also, has this enterprise steadily relied to provide the men and the means for the foreign field. In the first little band of heroes God sent the first scholars of a class at Brown University and a class at Williams' College. The treasury, almost empty at their ordination, was filled before they sailed. And could the secret history of all their devoted successors be fully unfolded, what an array of superhuman influences should we see, overcoming human reluctances. Mrs. Bridgman is led to China solely in the strength of the 121st Psalm. Mrs. Lloyd sets forth from her city home for the Zulu kraal. Perkins leaves his tutorship, and rides indomitable on a sick bed to his vessel. Grant cheerfully forsakes his large medical practice, Thompson his parish, and Stoddard offers of the professor's chair. And what long chains of such influences seem riveted in every link from above. Perkins, one Sabbath morning, far away in Vermont, fixes his eyes and his heart on a young preacher for his coadjutor, and on that same evening in September invites him to go. The young man, Stoddard, changes the whole plan of his life, and in December is a mis-

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sionary elect, and in January a missionary ordained. A young kindred heart, just before a perfect stranger, is suddenly and singularly drawn into a holy affinity of love and purpose, and in February they pass hand in hand to their blessed work. In that month of January, Dr. Perkins sends to a ladies' school a request for a teacher. Of forty notes thus called forth, one reads simply, "If counted worthy, I should be willing to go. Fidelia Fiske." But her health is not firm. Her mother, her pastor, her friends object. She gives it up. But the Lord sends back the call by the failure of the substitute. Every objection is at once withdrawn, and with two days' preparation she also is on her way to a labor whose record is on earth and on high. How divinely wise and blessed was the sudden conjunction. Had Fidelia Fiske studied for years on the one question where to make her mark for God and for woman, she would have seen that earth had no place for her so great and good as those seventeen years at Oroomiah. And Stoddard too — well does his biographer relate the remarkable effect of his decision, in giving "new tone and energy to his daily life." The incoming of the divine afflatus seemed to expand his whole being. I knew him well, for he was my seminary class-mate and friend, but I knew him chiefly as a careful scholar, and a man gentle in spirit and precise in manner. We had no conception of the organizing, toiling power that afterwards shone out in him; the multifarious activity, the ardent faith, the burning zeal, and the seraphic eloquence with which he thrilled the Christian assemblies of America. God was mighty in him, both toward the Nestorian and the American.

And this leads me to add, how we are constrained to rest upon the life from God to develop the diviner qualities in all the workmen and the work; and how thoroughly that dependence is justified. In the midst of incessant and universal infirmities at home and abroad, how God reduces the chafings on both sides to a minimum. Never, methinks, did human machinery work with less friction than our beloved Board. There are dangers, and excitements, and debts, and forebodings, and misunderstandings, and complaints; but God brushes them away, and maintains mutual faith and confidence. Near three hundred missionaries hang trustingly down the chasm, and the brethren at home

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faithfully hold the rope. Each year revolves anew the question of faith, "Will the means be forthcoming?" and each year they forthcome.

It sometimes seems as though God gave us this foreign work, more than all things else to keep alive our faith and dependence, and to develop apostolic graces and Christian simplicity. One wonders what we shall do when the millennium comes. We can never too fervently thank God that the mission work began at a time when the missionaries carried a pure and simple gospel, unadulterated. They themselves fed on its angels' food. Their hopes were wholly on the heavenly promises. Robert Morrison baptized his first convert after seven years in China; and our missionary Adams sat down to the Lord's table with one native after ten years in Port Natal. Eight years in Persia wrought but four or five clear conversions; in Hawaii but about fifty. The London missionaries spent ten years in Madagascar without one known conversion. Full fifteen years passed away at Tahiti before the first native voice was heard in prayer. Commodore Wilkes kindly offered the missionaries at Fiji a passage away in his vessels, because their enterprise was so clearly hopeless. Dr. Thomas is said to have labored seventeen years in Bengal before his first baptism. After four years in Burmah Judson saw his first *inquirer* after religion. But with what a majestic faith he wrote home, "I have no doubt that God is preparing the way for the conversion of Burmah to his Son." "Whether I live or die," said the sinking Richards, "the glorious predictions concerning the triumphs of the Cross will assuredly be accomplished." This spirit did not cease with the first missionaries. The wish of Parsons, — "Lord send me to the ends of the earth," "I would do anything to live and die a missionary," was reiterated by Stoddard, — "I shall be happier in Persia than America; there let me live, there let me die." And the early message of Harriet Newell, "Tell them I have never regretted leaving my native land for the cause of Christ," was echoed sixty years later by the dying Penfield, — "We made no mistake in coming to India. India is Christ's; it belongs to Christ; it is all Christ's." Midway between, I see the toil-worn form of the noble Poor, as he traversed the churches a quarter of a century ago, and his cheerful call still sounds in my ears,

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"O come with us, and we will do thee good; for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel." And in such souls and sentiments, wrought by the spirit of God in the bosom of his Church, —

> "We mark her goodly battlements
> And her foundations strong;
> We hear within the solemn voice
> Of her unending song."

To no other source than the same unearthly power are we constrained to refer the steady triumph over the fearful degradation of pagan character. Our God has made that gospel which so egregiously failed in the mouth of the college professor, a word of power even from native tongues. Quala, the Karen, baptized two thousand converts. Blind Bartimeus led many a Hawaiian to Christ. Blind John Concordance first saw how to raise the indolent and covetous Armenians to an almost unparalleled beneficence. The missionaries were divinely taught to loosen their early dependence on books and schools, and to learn that by the foolishness of preaching the Spirit reaches the heart. How marvelous, to the thoughtful mind, are those scenes when the Spirit came down simultaneously on the two schools in Persia, without contact; or when, in Hawaii, in three separate islands, without communication, the heavenly dew descended, to the amazement of the missionaries; or when the grace of God swept through a whole prison full of Indian convicts and the encampment of their families without. And how precisely like the workings of the same Spirit in the best revivals in the home churches! The same deep sense of sin, the same despair of human help, the same bounding to the bosom of Christ, the same peace and joy, the same reconstructed life, and the same serene or joyful death. Behold the epitome in the history of Guergis, the Koord. A rough, vile mountaineer, armed with gun and dagger, brings his daughter to school, and wishes to carry her very clothing back to the mountains. On one occasion he blunders into a revival. He opposes, and mocks, and laughs, hour after hour. Sabbath noon, one parting shot pierces his soul, — "My sister, I need this salvation; I will go and pray." Sabbath night finds him weeping on the floor, "My sins, my sins." Monday morning sees him full of the love of

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Christ, and he can only say, "My great sins, and my great Saviour." Monday noon he is on his way to his mountain home, — "I must tell my friends and neighbors of sin and of Christ." For eleven years, thenceforth, the mountains reverberated with his "hymns of lofty cheer," as he threaded their passes to lead men to Christ, till, when the fatal fever was upon him, his voice died away, still calling to the end, "Free grace. O it was free grace, free grace."

Yes, our gospel has been reaching below the lowest depths of the heathen character, and reversing the stream of human nature. It brought the Brahmin to eat with the Mahar. It laid fast hold of "Wicked Jack," the Choctaw, and "Thief Maghak," the Armenian. It made Simon, the Dakota, steadily bear to be called "a woman now." It made the Zulu renounce his polygamy, and the ferocious robber Hottentot, Africaner, became a missionary's nurse and a fellow worshipper with his old enemy Berend, the Griqua chief. The British officer might well be profoundly impressed in Fiji by the sight of a great worshipping assembly, every man of which, fifteen years before, had been a cannibal, and "the fatal oven was still in sight." And these changes have been wrought not in straggling cases, but in hundreds, and in even hundreds of thousands of pagan lives. Sydney Smith's "insuperable" difficulties have been surmounted. Martyn's "dead body" has been raised. Parkman's "scarcely possible" thing had been abundantly wrought on the Indian character before his book was published, though he knew it not. He might have seen Christianized and civilized Dakotas by the hundred, men who periled their own lives, in the great pagan uprising and slaughter, that not a hair of the missionaries' heads should perish.

They that toiled and waited were abundantly rewarded. The fifty converts of the first ten years at Hawaii, in the next ten years became fifteen thousand. Where Judson saw but one Karen inquirer in four years, there are now little less than twenty thousand Baptist church members. In Madagascar, for ten years without a convert, there are thirty-two thousand church-members, and a quarter of a million worshippers. In the Fiji Islands, where the missionaries landed thirty-six years ago, and labored long with slight success, there are twenty-two thou-

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sand communicants and five times that number of worshippers. Tahiti is reconstructed. The Wesleyans reckon ten thousand church members in Southeastern Africa. The three hundred and fifty Chinese converts of 1853, had become eight thousand in 1868. And so down the scale, where the figures still are not by thousands, but by hundreds and by tens, the narratives of all the stations, with whatever moans, came laden with continual contrasts of "THEN AND NOW." It is often bitter sowing and blessed reaping. They who disparage the results of missions know not whereof they speak. Herein is that saying true, "The most contemptible thing is contempt."

So superhumanly does this divine agency work its way, that the foul pool of corruption becomes a fountain of life. Men and women whose very atmosphere was pollution, carry spiritual healing. The God who could make one stolen Testament at Agana bring the thief and three comrades to its heavenly light, has shown Himself able to do the more wonderful thing, — to make the Indian, the Hawaiian, the Fiji, the Hindoo, the Shanar, the Zulu, and the Chinese, as well as the Armenian, spread the same life. It was a slow lesson for the missionary to learn, that the gospel in a heathen heart was still a divine seed, and had a self-propagating power. They dared not trust it: but God's providence forced upon them the truth. For twenty years the French rule excluded English missionaries from Tahiti; but the native force aroused itself, furnished the churches with home-born pastors, and filled them up to three thousand communicants. For nearly twenty-five years, in Madagascar, did a more than Neronian persecution expel the missionaries, and with two hundred modes of punishment attempt to strangle the church. But when the missionaries returned, they found near three thousand communicants in place of the two hundred they had left. And now the offshoot missions in Micronesia, Marquesas, Koordistan, and elsewhere, have brought us fully to know that a true church in a pagan land is a young Banyan tree, and that in due time the main hope of every race, are native hearts filled with the love of God.

In the same process we have learned by actual experiment that the greater includes the less. Christianity is the shortest path to civilization. We have long ceased to send the farmer

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and the blacksmith to the Hawaiian and the Indian. They come uncalled. The Dakota wigwam has grown into a frame or brick house, and the hunting ground into well tilled farms. Many an African kraal, where Christ has entered, has changed to a neatly furnished home. Five hundred plows were sold in one year to the natives of Port Natal alone. One missionary has ordered a hundred fanning mills for Turkey. And Hagop Effendi, after a tour of inspection through his native country, boldly averred, that "the most zealous advocate of American civilization could not have done half so much" to Americanize Turkey "as the missionary has done." It is not commerce, but the Word of God, that is giving a literature to scores of languages never before reduced to writing. It is not the trader, but the missionary, who is carrying the English tongue, and Anglo-Saxon civilization, around this globe.

But to my thoughts the strangest thing of all is the petty human force that has done it all. Verily, the cheapest enginery that this world has seen is the missionary. Never did such a handful of money and of men do so much work. When I remember that all the male missionaries of this Board from the beginning have been scarcely half a regiment, and its annual expenditure half the cost of an ironclad man-of-war, that the money laid out for forty-six years in raising Hawaii to its place among the nations was less than in the three years' expedition of Commodore Wilkes in the Pacific, and the whole expenditure of the American Board for six-and-fifty years, less than the cost of a hundred and fifty miles of Massachusetts railway, I know not which most to admire, the feebleness of the instrumentality, or the matchless magnifying and fructifying power of God. I know not whether most to blush for the Christian zeal of the churches, or to extol the glorious workings of their infinite Head. Verily, the weakness of God is stronger than men, and the foolishness of God is wiser than men.

The foremost reflection which comes from my theme to-night is the duty boldly to set forth and earnestly to invoke these divine elements of our religion, both abroad and at home. I say at home. For our pulse now beats round the world. The missionaries have lately assured us that they feel in Calcutta the in-

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fidelity of Christendom, and our "eclipse of faith" has made the educated Hindoo slower of belief. We are driven to look at our own foundations, and to see that we are strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. While, therefore, we carefully discern the signs of the times; while we industriously subsidize learning and culture, wealth and ability, wisdom and energy; and while we seek out acceptable words; we will yet remember well that the true weapons of our warfare are not carnal but spiritual. These alone are mighty to pull down strongholds. We put them in the fore front of the battle. In the name of God will we set up our banner. We glory in its unearthly device. In the face of all the physics and the metaphysics, of all the "higher criticism" and the lower, we "believe in God, the Father, Almighty; and in his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord; who was born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, buried, on the third day arose from the dead, ascended to the heavens, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence He will come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; the holy church; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body."[1] Believing these things, and more also, we will breathe them in and speak them out. The boldness of the foe shall be our teacher. The faith of the scientist shall stimulate our confidence. We admire the serene conviction which, in spite of grave objections, still believes the interior of our planet to be one molten mass. We almost wonder at the wide, firm acceptance of La Place's brilliant theory, chiefly because it will explain the phenomena of the universe; when it does not explain the presence of comets, nor the inclined axis and elliptic orbits of the planets, and is seemingly contradicted by the retrogade motion of Uranus's satellites, by the fantastic, various, and varying forms of the nebulæ, and now at last by the negative results of the solar spectrum. We hold our breath before that precipitous assurance which claims all the infinite species of being to have come by evolution, when it has not yet been proved of one. But we quarrel not with science. All her theories will we accept — when proved. But we will "hold fast that which is good," and

[1] The "Apostles' Creed" of the *fourth* century.

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proved good for two thousand years. Not one hair's breadth will we swerve from our great central creed; for therein, to a great degree, "we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen." Boldly we range our higher sphere. Science may modify our reckonings of time; it cannot touch the concerns of eternity. It may elucidate the method of God's workings; it is dumb before the fact. The telescope can never reach God. The microscope can never find this struggling, heaving soul. No chemical or metaphysical test can solve the terrific fact and mystery of sin. No hospital registry can measure the power of prayer. No agency known to science can renovate one moral character, nor relieve one sin-burdened soul. No roamings among the stars, or crawlings through the earth's crust, can invalidate the change wrought in one believing heart. All the cavils of all the cavilers about the historic Christ go down before the presence of the living Christ, as he perpetually enthrones himself in millions of human hearts, with a deathless power and a quenchless love, which the Great Emperor owned he could but feebly imitate by his personal presence on the field of battle. The humblest saint has in himself evidences which neither Strauss nor Baur can disturb. The boldest array of scoffers melt away before the mighty outpouring of the Spirit. Dealing thus with facts and truths that are deeper than reasonings, closer than testimonies, and higher than cavilings, we will "turn us to our stronghold." No Nebular Hypothesis shall constrain us to preach a nebulous gospel. Positivism shall not be more positive than our truth. We reverently accept the very alternative presented to us — Jesus Christ, God, or a madman — and in the strength of that ancient promise of his, "Lo, I am with you always," do we venture forth. We will proclaim a Godhead that is more than a "Fatherhood;" a Saviour that is more than the most thrilling of tragedians, or the most fascinating of fellow-sufferers; an atonement that is more than at-one-ment; regeneration that is higher and deeper than reformation.

Nor will we for one moment deceive ourselves as to what constitutes Christian success on either field. Perhaps no age has been more sadly tempted to mistake the popularity for the power of religion. The kingdom of God in our day cometh with obser-

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vation. Huge church rivalries heat up our blood, vast church machineries captivate our sight, grand church parades impose on our carnal minds. But we will never forget that all this outward, seeming success, may be real defeat of the kingdom of God within, and the open triumph of the world, with its pride of life; that the immense congregation gathered and held by secular attractions may be thoroughly secular; that great riches in the church, unconsecrated, are its deep poverty and curse, and the ingatherings of the world's great men, unless they "become as little children," its weakness and snare; that enormous rentals may stand in bitter mockery of the scanty charities; that the costly sanctuary may dry up the streams of beneficence; that fashionable piety may garnish the sepulchre of a crucified religion. Away with these false standards and estimates, these great, flaunting shadows. Give us back the church that is built, not of granite nor marble, but of lively stones, a spiritual house; and enthroned therein Him who is a stumbling block and foolishness to the Jew and the Greek of all ages, but unto them that are called, the wisdom of God and the power of God. And especially will we rejoice in this, our foreign mission work, that here at last we are brought and held face to face with the naked elements and most glorious workings of our gospel. We are glad to think with the senior Alexander, that each young missionary does as much for his native land as though he had remained at home. And we know that the whole reflex influence of our great enterprise, in recalling these home churches to the primal truths and primal agencies of our religion, is most benign and blessed. Is it not true, that with all our popularities and outward successes, what the church most needs to-day is — I will not say a revival of Puritanism, for God never exactly repeats Himself — but a Puritan revival; yes, a Persian, or an Hawaiian, or an Armenian revival, with its deep heart-searchings, its profound convictions of sin, righteousness, and judgment, its mighty self-denials and glorious heroisms, its dauntless hopes, and its ringing declarations of the whole counsel of God.

The theme speaks to us, finally, with a new and cheerful summons to Christian and missionary activity. We labor in hope. Our strength is not in ourselves and our fellows, weak and foolish, but in the infinite wisdom and strength. We look out

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over a scene of flickering light and shade. We contend with discouragements ever changing, but always renewed. The pathway of light always comes to us through a continent of darkness. But we lean on One who makes no mistakes, and suffers no defeats; who never wearies and never hurries; who works on while men wake and while they sleep, while they are born and while they die, while they fume and fret and pass away. We rest on the promise of One who cannot lie. We sow a seed which we know will germinate. We have embarked in the only enterprise that is certain to prevail. Whether we turn our eyes to the amazing obstacles which still retard Christ's kingdom abroad, or to the dangers that threaten it here, — in the glaciers of skepticism that creep in on our eastern coast, or the massive *echelon* of paganism that pushes upon the western coast, we foresee the end. We have no fears nor regets, nor complaints that our numbers are few or our resources small. Except for their own sake, we have no laments to utter for the great men who have no part with us, or for the brilliant youth who are said to turn their backs on Christ's cause for the attractions of wealth and worldly honor. We need no man who is faint-hearted or half-hearted. For, thank God, Christian manhood and Christian heroism are not dead, nor will they die while God lives. And many, very many, of the best types of apostolic manhood in our day are to be found in the missionary work.

I speak to-night under the shadow of a great University. And I speak to some who are pondering their future course — whether they shall surrender to this Saviour; whether they shall take part in this ministry; whether they shall engage in this mission enterprise; or whether they shall run the race of earth, in commerce, in science, in art, in civil or professional life. Far be it from me to disparage any of the spheres of human activity and duty. When good men fill them, they can be brimful of goodness. There are riches which are alike blessed in the getting and the spending; sciences so pursued as to ennoble the man and his race; learning and art which are the handmaids of religion; professional services which honor Christ; and a statesmanship that fears God. But these sometimes seem to be but the drop in the bucket. The ignoble wealth, the godless science, the Christless ambition, these are Satan's lures, and they sing

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around you with a thousand siren voices. But before you turn finally down thither, we show unto you a more excellent way, — manlier, Godlike; the path of him who "pleased not himself." We invite you to a goodly fellowship. From the venerable roll of your own alumni illustrious voices of the dead call you to this work. Early secretaries of this Board — your Evarts, bringing the elements of a great lawyer and a statesman to lay them on the altar, saying, "Only let me be employed for Christ and the heathen;" your versatile and beloved Cornelius, declaring it the highest happiness of his life to labor for the cause of missions; your Greene, with his calmness, clearness, and sturdy manhood, asserting to the last his "ever-rising estimate of the excellency and honorableness of the foreign missionary work;" these all speak to you of a higher purpose. Honored missionary pioneers, — your Meigs, from Ceylon; Thurston, from Hawaii; Ball, from China; and Eli Smith, from Syria, call on you to rise and follow. Later voices bring you the message. Your Stoddard shouts to you, "My desire to return to Persia is like a fire in my bones." Your young missionary patriot Schneider whispers to you, as "on his knees, and with tears," he gives himself and his fine scholarship to God, exclaiming, "I wish I had more, so as to give it all." And the voice of the well-beloved Walker still hovers over the churches where, with self-consuming fire, he sought to kindle the missionary flame, and to you he seems to preach again from Diarbekir that sermon of his last Sabbath on earth, "The Master has come and calleth for thee." O, may the mantle of the noble dead — and the Spirit of the living God — rest, young men, on you.

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MEMORIAL

OF

REV. J. G. BERGEN, D. D.

Formerly Pastor of the Presbyterian church at Madison, New Jersey, and of the First Presbyterian church in Springfield, Illinois.

INCLUDING THE

FUNERAL SERMON, BY REV. J. A. REED,

AND A

BIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE,

BY REV. FRED. H. WINES.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
JOHN H. JOHNSON, PRINTER.
1873.

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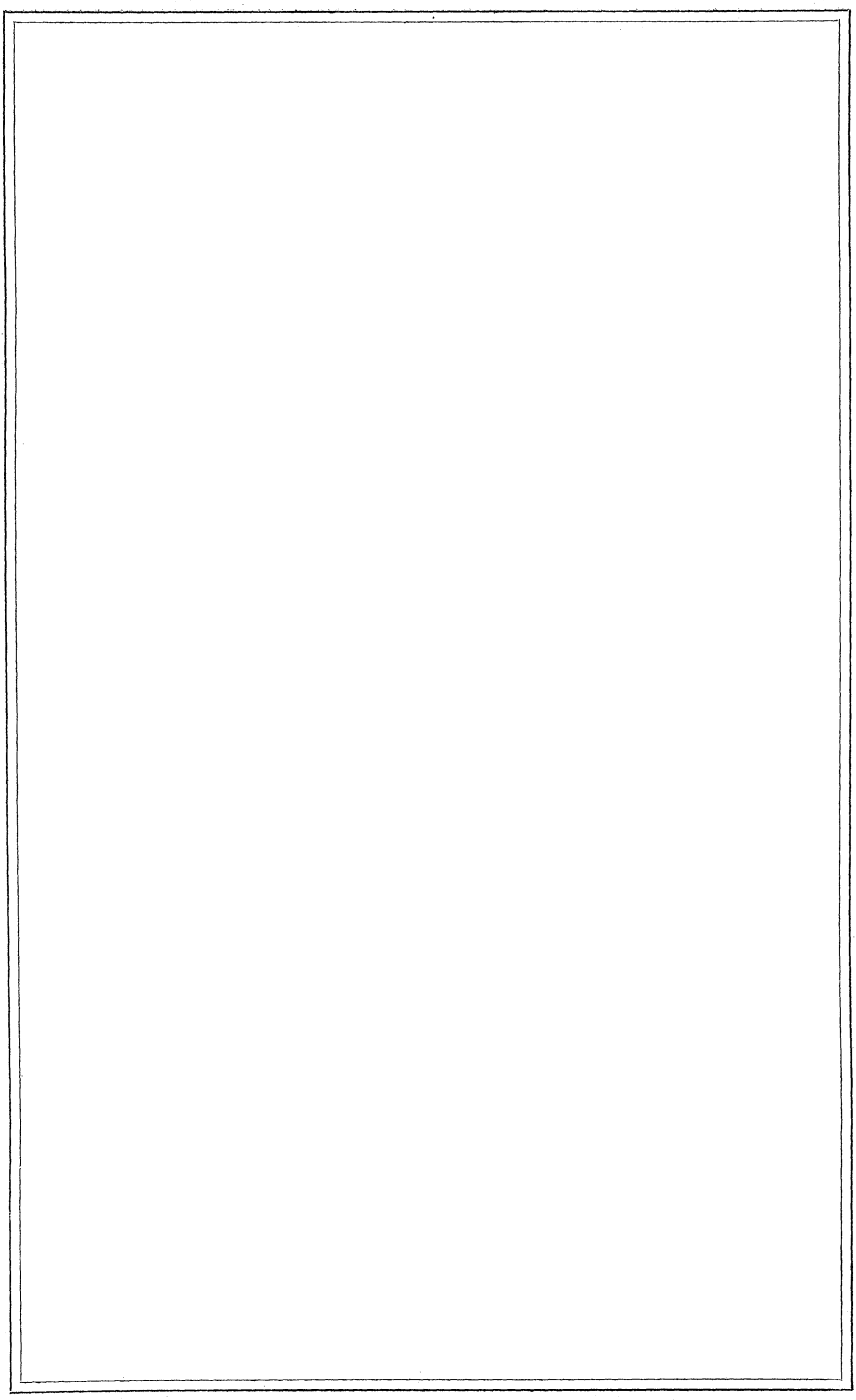

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BIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE

BY

REV. FRED. H. WINES.

REV. xiv. 13.—"And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

The Rev. Dr. Bergen, whose death we this day deplore, and with whose afflicted family we have met to mingle our grief, was born on the 27th of November, 1790, at Hightstown, Middlesex County, ten miles east of Princeton, New Jersey.

His parents' names were George I. Bergen and Rebecca Combs. George I. Bergen was a descendant of the Bergen family of Norway, and Rebecca Combs of the Combs family of Scotland.

The Bergen who first emigrated to this country was a single man, a ship builder by trade. He came over the seas in one of Commodore Hudson's ships, in the year 1621. In the year 1635, he married the first white woman that was ever born in the province of New Netherlands. She was a daughter of Huguenot parents, who had fled from the bloody Papal persecutions in France.

Dr. Bergen's mother was a daughter of Jonathan Combs, an aged elder in the Presbyterian church of Cranberry, New Jersey, and a magistrate and judge of the court, a man held in honor by all who knew him. His ancestors came from Scotland in the old ship Caledonia, which brought the first emigrants flee-

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ing from the persecution under Archbishop Sharp and the dragoon Claverhouse to this new world.

The original source, under God, of all Dr. Bergen's power, was the devoted piety of his parents, and their careful culture of his moral nature. His appreciation of their fidelity in after years was exceedingly tender. He was consecrated to the ministry by his mother, even before his birth. The Rev. G. S. Woodhull was his pastor, a silent man, except in the pulpit, but whose preaching and catechetical instruction inspired in young Bergen's heart an unusual affection. The church—one of the oldest meeting-houses in New Jersey, at that time—stood near where the sainted Brainerd began his missionary labors among the Indians. It was open for preaching, by appointment of the presbytery, one week day, and the boy, then twelve years old, strolled into the gallery, where he sat alone and listened to a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Rue, a one-armed man, from the text, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." The picture which Mr. Rue drew of the love of God in Christ so melted the boy's young heart, that he arose from his seat and stood as if entranced, while his tears dropped upon the floor. He left the house, rejoicing in his Redeemer, but said not a word concerning his experience to any one. His father, however, had seen his emotion, and asked him, some days afterward, what made him stand? He replied that he did not know that he did, and then opened to him his whole heart. At the next communion he was admitted to membership in the church, and made a public profession of his faith before the congregation, when he was yet so small that he had to mount upon a platform, in order to be seen and heard. That gallery was to him, ever after, the most sacred spot on earth, for there God enthroned himself in his understanding and affections.

Dr. Bergen's education began at Cranberry, in the parochial academy, under the Rev. Mr. Campbell. A few years later, when his father, under the pressure of business perplexities, removed to Somerset county, he attended the academy at Basking Ridge, presided over by Dr. Finley, in which the Rev. Philip Lindsley, afterwards president of the university of Nashville, was tutor. Dr. Finley was the father of the colonization move-

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ment, a scheme kindly meant, but impossible of execution, as the event has shown, to which, nevertheless, Dr. Bergen gave his life-long adherence; so deep were the impressions made upon his mind in his youth. Mr. Lindsley first awakened in him a taste for reading, by putting in his hands the Arabian Nights, then Don Quixote, then Gil Blas; and afterward more solid books—Ramsey's American Revolution, Marshall's Life of Washington, Gillie's History of Greece, Anicharses' Travels, Ferguson's Roman Republic, Rollin's History, Plutarch's Lives, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Robertson's Charles V., Mexico, and South America, and other works of similar character.

In 1806, he entered the junior class at Princeton college. Here the ridicule heaped upon two pious young men, nick-named Daddy P—— and Daddy W——, whose room he shared at first, led him to change to another, occupied by men of dissipated habits, where he was sorely tempted to take the first step in a career of vice; but was delivered by the interference of one of the party, who cried shame upon the rest. In the spring of 1807, a rebellion, which lasted three days, broke out in the college, in which nearly all the students participated, but by an accidental, or rather by a providential, absence from his room, young Bergen escaped even so much as a solicitation to take part in it. During the latter half of his senior year, in consequence of unceasing and excessive application to study, he fell into spiritual darkness and thought of abandoning his choice of the ministerial profession. From this distress and doubt he was only relieved by rest, medicine, and an entire change of scene.

Samuel Stanhope Smith, the president of the college, during Mr. Bergen's connection with it, held certain views concerning the freedom of the will, which were unacceptable to the thoroughgoing Calvinists of our Church; and the synod of New York and New Jersey advised students of divinity to repair to the Rev. Dr. Woodhull, of Monmouth, for instruction and training. This was before the day of theological seminaries and educational societies. Dr. Woodhull preached in the old Tennent meeting-house, where Brainerd and Whitefield had preached before him; and he lived in the parsonage, which had been occupied by Lord Cornwallis, as his headquarters, during the battle of Monmouth,

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in the revolution. His method of teaching was by written questions, to which written answers were required—the answers to be prepared by a thorough examination of standard works on church history and theology. The theme of Dr. Woodhull's most impressive exhortations to the students under his care was the duty of ministers to *know nothing else*, save Jesus Christ and him crucified. The influence of Drs. Finley and Woodhull, as will presently be seen, gave color to Dr. Bergen's entire subsequent career.

In March, 1810, Mr. Bergen was appointed tutor in Princeton college, an honor which he declined at first, but was subsequently induced to accept. In the discharge of the duties of the position, he derived much assistance from a wise counsel of Dr. Woodhull —"let your commands be reasonable; and when given, inflexible!" While tutor, he sat in the gallery of the Princeton church and heard the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, in 1811, deliver the address at his installation as first professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. With the theological students and a few other young men, he attended the weekly Sunday-night prayer-meeting in Dr. Alexander's parlor.

In 1811, he was licensed to preach, by the presbytery of New Brunswick. In September, 1812, he resigned his tutorship, to enter upon the duties of the sacred calling. On the following Saturday, with a letter of introduction in his pocket, he set out for Madison, New Jersey, then called Bottle Hill, forty miles from Princeton, and twenty miles west of New York City. The deacon to whom his letter was addressed made his appearance unshaved, in shirt sleeves and bare feet, but treated him kindly. He found four villages in the congregation, which embraced fifteen hundred souls and two hundred communicants. It was a very compact settlement, covering about four miles square, and was one of the oldest, largest congregations in the presbytery. Its position in the presbytery was central. In four or five hours' ride, one could be at any place where presbytery ordinarily met, and there meet more than thirty ministers belonging to it. Mr. Bergen preached on Sunday; a congregational meeting was called for Monday; on Tuesday, one of the elders came to Princeton, and after making such inquiries as he saw fit, an official letter

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was placed in Mr. Bergen's hands on Wednesday, informing him that it was the unanimous desire of the congregation that he should consider himself a candidate for settlement. He returned to Madison, spent two sabbaths and the intervening week there, was called to the pastorate, and on the first Monday of December, the presbytery of Jersey met at Morristown, four miles from Madison, to examine him for ordination.

The differences of opinion and sentiment which led, in 1837, to the division of the Presbyterian church, now happily reunited, had even then begun to manifest themselves. In New England, the type of Calvinism known as Hopkinsianism was rife. Some of the Hopkinsians insisted, that before a man can be saved, he must be willing to be damned; some said that a man can as easily change his heart as plough his field. The New England theology, as it was called, was making progress in New York City, in Western New York, and in East Jersey, but had scarcely penetrated into the presbytery of New Brunswick. There had been a struggle in the General Assembly between the two parties, the Hopkinsians and their opponents, for the nomination of theological professor in the seminary at Princeton, which resulted in the choice of Dr. Archibald Alexander; and a few years later, the other party founded the seminary at Auburn, independent of the General Assembly. Upon this question the presbytery of New Brunswick and the old Jersey presbytery were in a manner pitted against each other; and ministers could not pass from one to the other without undergoing the ordeal of very close questioning. Mr. Bergen, as has been said, was a licentiate of New Brunswick presbytery. The presbytery of Jersey, on proceeding to his trial for ordination, assigned him as a theme for his latin exegesis one of the most exciting topics of the day, and as a text for his ordination sermon, Romans viii. 1: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." In the sermon, Mr. Bergen took up all the points in dispute and treated them controversially. After an hour in criticism and canvass of the sermon, the presbytery proceeded, before voting upon the question of sustaining, to the examination upon theology and casuistry, which lasted from three o'clock on Monday afternoon until a late hour in the night, and

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was not closed until four o'clock the next day. Whether the sacrifice of Christ was penal in its nature, and whether sinners under conviction of sin ought to be directed to pray, were two of the points most debated—Mr. Bergen holding the affirmative of both questions. One would say: "The sinner can't pray;" and another would insist that "the sacrifice of the wicked is abomination to the Lord:" but to every inquiry Mr. Bergen replied in the same words, "I would direct him to *pray*." In his written account of the exciting scene, he remarks, "You may as well attempt to stop the north winds from blowing, as to stop the cries of a soul awakened to see its lost condition. It will cry to God! to an invisible Saviour! It is the language of instinct, in this world of grace and hope. The man who will not cry to God for help is not a convinced sinner! If he professes to be, and presses his case on you, his inquiries are mere cavils out of a proud heart." The ultimate result was, that his examination was sustained, and he was ordained February 17, 1813, but not without some misgivings on the part of the leaders of the presbytery.

From the commencement of his ministry at Madison, he greatly desired a revival of religion in the church. He had never witnessed a revival; but Madison was revival ground. An era of revivals, dating from the labors of the Rev. James McGready, in North Carolina, in 1795, marked the beginning of this century, in the United States. In 1797, under the influence of threats against his life, McGready removed to Logan county, Kentucky, and an extraordinary work of grace began, which spread over that entire region, and of which many accounts have been published. In early boyhood, Mr. Bergen heard of these revivals through the private letters of friends addressed to his mother. In 1807, when Dr. Perrine, afterward a professor in Auburn seminary, was pastor at Madison, the Rev. Dr. Blackburn, after whom Blackburn seminary, at Carlinville, is named, passed through that region, on his way to New England, bearing the unction of that mighty outpouring of God's Spirit in Kentucky and Tennesee, and after a "four days' meeting" of Jersey presbytery in the Madison church, one of the most remarkable and extensive revivals of religion occurred, on record in our country. This was five or six years before Mr. Bergen's coming.

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He asked counsel of his older brethren in the ministry, who advised him to preach Christ crucified, repentance toward God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. He commenced a round of earnest labor. He spent one day every week in pastoral visitation, accompanied by an elder. Once a month, he catechised the children of the church. On Saturday night, he held a weekly prayer-meeting in the academy. He had about thirty written sermons when he was ordained, but he did not depend upon them, except as a reserve, in case of necessity. On the first Sabbath of December, 1814, at the close of the first year of his ministry, a revival occurred, which lasted for five months, and resulted in the addition of sixty-nine members to the church, on profession of their faith, on the first sabbath of the following May.

Trial was mingled with mercy, in this pastorate. One of the leading members of the congregation refused to attend his ministry, because some years before the pews had been rented, contrary to his sense of right. One of the elders of the church, after disputing with him in season and out of season, whether sinners ought to be directed to pray, claimed the right to be consulted as to what he should or should not preach, and endeavored to stir up dissension, because the claim was resisted. Mr. Bergen's political sentiments were in opposition to those of his flock, and his exercising the right of suffrage at a presidential election created a terrible commotion. But he held steadily on his way, growing in influence and power, all the while.

In the year 1819, a second revival of religion visited the church; and a third in 1821–22,—a work of grace of suprising magnitude and interest.

In the autumn of 1821, the churches were in such a languishing condition, that a day of solemn inquiry, fasting, humiliation and prayer was appointed by the presbytery of Jersey, in the church at Madison, in the latter part of November. After the presbyterial meeting, special services were held in different parts of the congregation for about four months; when, in March, the interest suddenly increased, until from five to seven hundred persons assembled night after night, flocking to the appointed place before sunset, and this continued through the summer. The

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meetings were kept up during the harvest and haying. A hundred souls were gathered into the church as the fruit of this revival. The year following was a year of revivals. The Boston Recorder, in 1824, stated the number of revivals reported from September 1st, 1822, to September 1st 1823, at four hundred and seven, of which two hundred and thirty-seven were in Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

At the close of the meetings, it was evident that a new meeting-house must be built, without further delay. An attempt to build had been made several times already, but led to such a contest for the location between the rival villages, that it had been abandoned. The former efforts originated at congregational meetings; the new one with the board of trustees.

Mr. Bergen's diary, for more than three months, is filled with references to the struggle which now ensued. A division of the church and the establishment of the church in Chatham village were the result. The summer of 1823 was devoted to preparation for building; in 1824, the corner stone, with Mr. Bergen's name upon it, was laid, on the 18th of May; and on the 18th of May, 1825, the new church was dedicated, with much rejoicing; though the pastor noted with regret an increase of the spirit of pride among his people, which showed itself in a change of style in dress and manners, and in envy and strife after the highest seats in the synagogue.

Without dwelling longer upon this part of our venerated father's life, the memory of which was to him indescribably precious, let us consider the causes which led him to turn his footsteps to the west. These were two. First, trouble in the church at Madison, occasoned by an unruly spirit, remarkably converted during a sermon in the new church on "they hated me without a cause," a man full of zeal and of spiritual self-conceit. He was the son of an elder then dead; himself about forty years of age, and the head of a large family. He had much to say of his own religious experience; would go from house to house, talking with many tears on the subject of religion; attempted to preach whenever he had an opportunity; rose up one night in the Masonic lodge and called his friends there to repentance; and often prayed in secret so loud, that his voice could be distinctly heard at a distance of

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more than half a mile. He was a good man, but an enthusiast, who lacked ordinary discretion. This man insisted, in 1826, that Mr. Bergen should invite a lay exhorter, named Carpenter, from the presbytery of North River, to hold a meeting in his church; and urged his piety and success elsewhere with so much earnestness, that consent was given to his coming, though Mr. Bergen would not invite him. The meeting resulted in twenty professions of conversion, which did not satisfy our friend, who immediately set himself to work to find the Achan in the camp. He never thought of himself, but exhorted the young converts to try to come up to *his* mark and try to excel *him*. When asked by a skeptic, "Do you believe there is a heaven?" He replied, "Yes I do, for I have been there." Finally, he decided that the pastor of the church was Achan. Such a man can do much harm in any congregation, even where, as in this case, the majority disapprove his course. The night before Mr. Bergen's resignation, unknown to him, a great meeting was held in the Academy, to rebuke the mischief-maker. Had he known it, he might never have left New Jersey.

The other cause, which turned his thoughts westward, was the removal of his relatives to Kentucky and Illinois. His uncle, old Major Conover, left the state in 1790, the year of Dr. Bergen's birth, and was one of the first settlers of Woodford county, Ky. From there he removed, in 1821, with his connexion, to Jersey Prairie, in Morgan county, Illinois, where he is believed to have cut the first sapliug. This family were all Baptists. In May, 1818, after the close of our second war with England, financial reverses consequent upon the inundation of British goods, led Dr. Bergen's father to remove to Kentucky, with nine sons and daughters and their families, whence they accompanied Major Conover to Jersey Prairie. There, after the death of his father, his mother became the wife of the Rev. W. Kenner, a Baptist preacher from Virginia, who was an agent under Dr. Peck for raising funds and building the Rock Spring Seminary, out of which Shurtleff college grew, at Alton. On the removal of the family from New Jersey, Dr. Bergen accompanied them two days' journey, and parted from them at a place called *New Hope*, saying to his mother, "Let us part in hope—*New Hope*—

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that it may please God some day to direct my steps to follow you thither."

Without going further into detail, it is enough to say that the agitation in the assembly of 1828, of which he was a member, when it was decided to organize church boards, and a visit from his mother during that summer, hastened his decision. On the 17th of August, he gave notice of his intention to ask permission of presbytery to resign his pastoral charge. In spite of great opposition on the part of the congregation at first, and renewed opposition by members of the presbytery, especially on the part of Dr. McDowell of Elizabethtown, presbytery dissolved the pastoral relation, September 10th. On Monday, the 22d, in the presence of an assembled multitude of the congregation, many of whom followed him for ten miles, before they could say farewell, he took his departure for Illinois. His parents rode in their own dearborn; he and his wife, with one child, in a new gig; the remaining children in a travelling carriage, driven by a cousin, a candidate for the ministry, who needed the trip for his health. His library and other goods had gone before him, across the mountains, in a heavy wagon, to Wheeling.

Let us pause a moment. We who are younger cannot easily conceive the social and physical condition of our country at that early day, when there were only twenty-seven states, and our national population was less than thirteen millions. The great northern and southern mail, between New York and Philadelphia, then passed his father's door three times a week, in a stage, poorer and less comfortable than a fish wagon in New Jersey, to-day. While he was at college, Fulton stood begging the legislatures of New York and New Jersey, year after year in vain, for an appropriation for a small boat in which to try his newly invented steam engine. While he was studying his profession, the whole country laughed to scorn the projected great Northern Erie Canal, and called it, in derision, *Clinton's Big Ditch*, saying that the Czar of Russia could not finish it in a hundred years. During the war, while the British infested the seaboard, nearly all the commerce and munitions of war between the great cities of New York and Philadelphia had to be transported by land, over almost impassable roads; and the New Jersey legislature could not be per-

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suaded to give Mr. McCullah and a few other far-seeing men the privilege of cutting the Delaware and Raritan Canal, only thirty miles long, until the cannon announced the mingling of the waters of the the lakes with the brine of the Atlantic. I remember hearing my father say that the farmers objected, on the ground that the canal would destroy the demand for horses. There were only two small railroad tracks in the country, in 1828; one of them at Mauch Chunk, to convey the anthracite coal a few miles, from the mountains to the Lehigh. The telegraph had not been thought of. In that day, the severing of a pastoral relation was no light matter; and removal to the prairies a greater undertaking than a voyage to China would be now.

The journey occupied forty days' actual travel, not counting stoppages. It would have been longer, but for the National Road, now scarcely ever named, which it was then thought had secured certain immortality for Henry Clay. At Wheeling, he shipped his gig and his effects by river to St. Louis, lightened his carriage, and had a spare horse, on which they rode by turns. They passed through Chilicothe, Ohio, to Maysville, Lexington and Frankfort, Kentucky, where they visited near relatives, whom they had never seen. They visited Ashland, the home of Clay, with patriotic delight. Dr. Bergen preached at Frankfort, by request of Mr. Edgar, then pastor of that church. In Indiana, an effort was made to induce them to tarry, and seek no farther, but without avail. They crossed the Wabash on Tuesday afternoon, about three o'clock, and entered Ellison Prairie, which was their first view of a prairie. The houses upon the prairie were then sometimes more than twenty miles apart. On Saturday, about eleven o'clock, they reached Rock Spring, in St. Clair county, eighteen miles east of St. Louis. Here Mr. Bergen's mother resided, with her second husband, Mr. Kenner, who aided the Rev. John M. Peck in his seminary. Mr. Peck, the author of Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois, was the leading Baptist preacher in the state. He was as active and as much at home in public and political life as in the pulpit, and in both equally effective, so that many seeing him in the pulpit wished him never out of it, and seeing him out of it wished him never in it. He came to this state in 1816. He was an untiring friend of education, and a vigorous opponent of negro

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slavery. The seminary building, as Mr. Bergen saw it, was a small, frame building, covered with clap-boards, unfurnished, and served for a school, a church and a seminary, whence preachers of the gospel were to emanate. In this house he preached twice, the Sabbath after his arrival, using notes, which led to a long and friendly discussion, in which Mr. Peck told him that "everbody in the west shoots flying." At Rock Spring he found a letter from the Rev. Mr. Ellis, urging him not to delay around St. Louis, but to come immediately north to Sangamon. On Monday, Mr. Bergen and his family called on Gov. Edwards, at Belleville, and found the household in mourning for his son-in-law, Hon. Daniel P. Cook, the first attorney general of the state of Illinois, and afterward its only member in the national congress. Mr. Bergen preached that night in Belleville, in a private house. On Tuesday, he drove into St. Louis, a dirty, dilapidated old French town, of bad repute, with a population of seventeen hundred inhabitants. By Saturday night, he reached Jacksonville, where half a dozen log houses and a log school-house constituted the entire village. There he found Mr. Ellis expecting him, and received a hearty welcome. "When I received your letter," he said, "it was the first ray of light which had dawned on me for the two years I have been laboring almost alone in this region of moral desolation. Come in, my brother, you and yours, and God bless you, and make you a blessing."

This Mr. Ellis was one of seven Presbyterian ministers, five of whom were in the southern portion of the state, who with Mr. Bergen were organized into a presbytery the following spring. He originally preached in Kaskaskia, but removed to Jacksonville in the spring of 1828. Subsequently he removed to Michigan, where he died, in 1855.

On Monday, Mr. Bergen parted with his family, they to accompany his parents home, twelve miles north of Jersey Prairie; he, to Springfield, where he was hospitably received by Major Iles, then recently married, and one of the four original proprietors of the town, of whom he is the only survivor. The town, when Mr. Bergen came to it, numbered about two hundred inhabitants, and thirty-five log houses, with a few frame dwellings, not more than four or five, painted in front only. The school house was a

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small frame building, with broken door, broken windows, broken benches—a high seat in one end—a floor almost as dirty as a pig-stye—the whole elevated on blocks, as if to give free room for the hogs to root under the floor—standing on the east side of the public square. A Presbyterian church had been organized here, January 30th, 1828, by the Rev. Mr. Ellis, of nineteen members, who were all the Presbyterians known to live within a circle of twenty miles around the town. Five of them, all women, lived in the town. I shall touch a tender chord in the hearts of some present to-day by naming them: Mrs. Elizabeth F. Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Moore, Mrs. Nancy R. Humphries, Mrs. Ann Iles and Mrs. Olive Slater. The original elders—John Moore, Samuel Reid, Isaiah Stillman and John N. Moore, lived in the country, at a distance of from three to twenty miles, in different directions. Eleven other members were received during the spring and summer. The organization was made in the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, a daughter of Col. John Nash, of Prince Edward county, Virginia, and widow of the Rev. John Blair Smith, D. D., who was made president of Hampton Sidney college, when his brother, Samuel Stanhope Smith, resigned that position to become the succesor of Dr. Witherspoon in the presidency of Princeton college. Mr. Bergen had known her at Princeton. She came to the west with her son-in-law, Dr. Todd, and after remaining five years in Lexington, Ky., removed to Edwardsville, in 1817, where the Rev. Salmon Giddings organized the church of Edwardsville, in her house. She wrote a letter, which was laid before the general assembly, and in consequence, two ministers, the Rev. Mr. Low, of New Jersey, and the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Virginia, were sent out, in 1820. When Mr. Bergen arrived, she was absent in New Orleans. On the afternoon of his arrival he called to see the other five female members living in town, who were both glad and sorry to see him. The Rev. Mr. Howe, from New England, with his wife, a man utterly unadapted to the west, had spent part of a year with them, and had gone back, after spending all that he brought with him except enough to take him away. The last place where he called was at Mrs. Slater's, the mother of Mrs. Jayne. It was Dr. Jayne who helped him the next morning to get one of the six frame houses of the

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town, raised up from the ground on posts; for, said the Doctor, "I love that man, because he loves his family so much."

Two weeks later, after a fit of sickness at Jersey Prairie, followed by the sickness, first of one of his children and then of his wife, he took up his abode in his new home. His cousin visited him in December, and on opening the door, lifted up both hands, exclaiming, "Why, my cousin!" as he saw boxes in the room where the family lived and slept and cooked, filled up with harness, and two great dressed hogs which had been bought and given them, lying on another box, with their mouths wide open, with a great cob in them. Said Mr. Bergen, in his cheerful way, "Come in, come in, cousin! Never mind it!" It was the way of the country.

Mr. Bergen called on every family in the town, whether members of any church or not. He announced from the pulpit that he had come to live, labor and die among this people. On the second Sabbath in December, notice having previously been given through the county, he administered the communion; and at the close of the service, announced that he had come with his family to seek a home here—not to make an experiment, but to plant with their planting and to grow with their growth. He thought they ought to do one thing without delay. "*Let us rise up and build a house for God!*" He invited all who were disposed to do so, to meet the next evening in the school house, to deliberate and conclude upon it. The meeting was held, and a building committee was appointed, consisting of John Todd, Gershom Jayne, Washington Iles, David Taylor, John Moffitt, Samuel Reed and Elijah Slater. In a few days over six hundred dollars was subscribed—a more liberal act for the times than a hundred thousand dollars would be to-day. Mr. Bergen wrote to the Secretary of Missions; his appeal was published in the *Home Missionary*, and he received two hundred dollars as the response. He and Dr. Jayne then "scoured the town," secured a subscription of twelve hundred dollars in all, and it was decided to build of brick. Thomas Brooker, a brickmaker and stone mason was sent for from Belleville to do the work.

During that winter, Mr. Bergen visited Vandalia, and preached before the general assembly from the text, "Of the increase of

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his government and peace there shall be no end." There he met Gov. Edwards; Col. Mather, afterward president of the state bank; Peter Cartwright, the Methodist pioneer; and George Fauquier, Esq., secretary of state, who offered him twenty acres adjoining the town plat on the southwest, including the site of the new state house, for seventy-five dollars, if he would build on it and live there. The offer was declined, on account of his unwillingness to live so far from his people—out of town, separated from it by a wide miry ravine, in a thicket of briars and hazel bushes.

On his return from Vandalia, in January, he went with Dr. Todd to the Moore neighborhood, where the North Sangamon church now is, twenty miles north of Springfield, and greatly enjoyed the expedition. John Moore, the patriarch of the Moore family, was a Virginian by birth, but emigrated in early life to Kentucky, while the Indians were still a terror to white settlers, where he planted Presbyterianism in the Green River country. He passed through the exciting revival at the beginning of the century, taking a warm and active part in it, but consistently opposing the extravagances by which it was marked. His wonderful knowledge of the deep things of God began with the study of an old, torn, coverless book which he found in the garret of his father's house—"Law–Death and Gospel–Life"—probably by Dr. Bellamy, which he read and re-read until its thoughts were inwrought into the texture of his soul. He was Mr. Bergen's trusted friend and companion on many a preaching tour. Once they rode together during the summer before the deep snow, one hundred and thirty miles north, to organize a church of twenty-six members, at Union Grove, in what is now LaSalle county. On their way home, they stopped at Holland's Grove, where now stands the large and pleasant town of Washington, east of Peoria. Nearly all the settlers within seven miles were present at a preaching service, for which they had made an appointment on their way up. That day a band of Pottawattomies arived—poor and filthy, their hunting shirts ragged, their blankets short and full of holes, their children almost naked—and by invitation attended worship, filing in one by one, Indian fashion, and taking their seats on the floor at Mr. Bergen's left hand, where they

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gave an occasional grunt during the singing. At the close they filed out in the same order, at a signal from their leader.

When Mr. Bergen came to Illinois, the seven ministers and twenty-one churches in the state were connected with the synod of Indiana, which embraced all the territory in the northwest, west of Ohio. The presbytery of Missouri embraced our few ministers and churches on the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Ohio. The synod of Indiana, in October, before his arrival, divided the presbytery of Missouri, and formed the presbytery of Illinois, which they named Centre presbytery. Mr. Bergen was present at its first meeting, in Jacksonville, in March, 1829. At that meeting, Mr. C. L. Watson and Mr. Thomas Lippincott, the father of our present auditor of public accounts, were added to our ministry. Mr. Lippincott was the son of a Quaker in New Jersey, but became one of the first elders of the Jacksonville church, where he edited for a while a newspaper published at that place, which warmly espoused the side of freedom in the contest between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties, prior to the vote in 1824 on the question of a convention to amend the constitution. Mr. Bergen's first act as a presbyter was to compose a difficulty which had arisen between the Rev. Mr. Ellis and the Rev. Mr. Birch, at Jacksonville, as to which had the prior claim to minister to the church there. At this, the first meeting of the presbytery, incipient measures were also taken to found a college in Illinois,* for whose location there was a contest between Springfield and Jacksonville, which resulted in the establishment of Illinois college upon the site given for that purpose by Judge Lockwood.

During the summer of 1829, Dr. Jayne placed in Mr. Bergen's hands a copy of Dr. Lyman Beecher's six sermons on intemperance, which he read one by one to the people on six successive Sabbath afternoons. Curiosity about drunkenness in the east brought the people out. Mr. Bergen prepared the constitution of a temperance society, and after reading that well-known tract, Putnam and the Wolf, invited the congregation to sign the pledge. Eleven persons put down their names. In a short time there were more than fifteen hundred signers in the county.

*I am informed by the Rev. Dr. Sturtevant, President of Illinois college, that this statement, taken from Dr. Bergen's published recollections, is not strictly accurate.

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This was the first temperance association in central Illinois, and probably the first in the state.

During the summer, also, preparations were made for building, by the burning of brick and the accumulation of material. At the outset, our Methodist brethren had smiled at the undertaking, supposing it chimerical. When they saw that it was made in earnest, they also circulated a subscription paper, and determined to build, but not with brick. While the brick for our church was making, in 1829, they might have put up their house and gained a year's time; but for some unexplained reason they did not. Mr. Bergen always believed that they were waiting to see whether we would fail at last, and so they would obtain possession of a better house than their own was designed to be. In the summer of 1830 both houses went up at the same time, neither of them suffering from the rivalry. The brick church was finished first, and the Methodists invited to use it until the completion of their own. This was the first brick church in Illinois—there were two stone churches, both Roman Catholic, near St. Louis—and it occupied the site of the present German Lutheran church, on Third street, between Washington and Adams. It was thirty by forty-five feet. The corner stone was laid August 15th, 1829, and it was dedicated to the worship of the Triune God on the third sabbath of November, 1830. It had circle-headed windows, an arched ceiling, a pulpit with balulstrade, black walnut seats, and a large flat stone for a platform at the door.

Upon its completion, Mr. Bergen delivered in it during the winter a course of learned lectures upon church history, in which he aimed to refute a popular prejudice of the day, which attributed to the Presbyterian church a purpose to unite church and state. Allow me to call your attention again to the deep impression made upon his mind in early life, that the church and its officers have nothing to do with parties in the state. The warning of the lame Dr. Armstrong, uttered in the christian convention in New Jersey, called to consider what steps should be taken to secure the enforcement of the laws against Sunday mails and Sunday traveling, sank into his heart. "My brethren in the ministry," said the old man, with outstretched arm and finger,

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"if ever the day of peril comes to the liberties and union of our God-saved nation, it will be when the professed ministers of Jesus Christ leave their proper work of preaching Christ and his cross, and mingle in party politics, in works of strife, and set themselves to reform men by force or physical weapons." Mr. Bergen's training rendered the course of John M. Peck, and especially Peter Cartwright, exceedingly distateful to him. In closing his series of lectures, he gave voice to his disapproval of ministers of the gospel seeking political offices, and "going around the country mounting political stumps and riding political hobbies" These words created a prodigious sensation. Cartwright was then a candidate for the legislature; so was Mr. John T. Stuart; both of them in the same party—Mr. Stuart by regular nomination, Mr. Cartwright as a volunteer. Mr. Bergen, however, was not aware of the fact. An attack upon the lecturer appeared in the little sheet, the only newspaper which Springfield or northern Illinois could boast. The writer charged that these lectures against a union of church and state were only a *ruse de guerre*, to blind the eyes of the people; that these educated ministers had come from the east to throw western preachers in the shade; that they were building a college at Jacksonville to raise a heap of them to sprinkle the country all over; and that the gentleman used the withering influence of his eloquence to blast the prospects of Cartwright. The consequence was a warmly contested canvass, the election of Mr. Stuart, and great benefit both to Mr. Bergen and the Illinois college.

This was the winter of the deep snow, which began to fall on Christmas eve, and continued to deepen for nine weeks, until it averaged four or five feet in depth, bringing with it great merriment and great suffering.

I have dwelt perhaps too much at length upon the memory of these ancient times, to bring out in vivid colors the contrast between the past and the present. The time allotted to this discourse is fast slipping away, and I must be more brief during the remainder of this narrative.

The indications of growth were such as to induce Centre presbytery in less than two years from its organization, to request the synod of Indiana to take measures to have a synod of Illi-

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nois formed. The assembly of 1831 divided Centre presbytery into three presbyteries, called Illinois, Kaskaskia and Sangamon, after its three internal rivers, and ordered these three, with the synod of Missouri, to meet and organize the new synod. Synod met in Hillsboro, Sept. 15th, 1831, and Mr. Bergen was chosen moderator. Mr. John Tillson, an elder in the church and owner of a large, new, two-story double brick dwelling house, entertained twenty-five members of synod, some of them with their wives. The entire attendance was thirty-four ministers and elders.

The first settlers of Illinois organized no Congregational churches. Both ministers and members of the Congregational body united with presbytery, on their arrival here, under what was known as the "Plan of Union." There were, therefore, three elements of disturbance in the church: First, political differences, mostly relating directly or indirectly to the vexed question of African slavery; second, doctrinal differences, whose nature I hinted at a while ago; third, different views of church polity, one party favoring voluntary association for missionary and educational ends—the other preferring formal ecclesiastical action. Out of these three elements grew the division of the church in 1837-8. In all this contest, the newly constituted synod had to bear its share, and Mr. Bergen was a prominent actor in it all. At the second session of synod, in Vandalia, he was sent north to visit several Congregational brethren, who had failed to connect themselves with presbytery, and persuade them to do so—a mission in which he was successful. Chicago was then a murky swamp. At the third session of synod, in Jacksonville, a tedious litigation began, connected with a minister of combative temperament, who resided near Illinois college, and between whom and some of its professors a dispute sprang up, concerning which I need not say more. This year also a movement was set on foot for revolutionizing some of the churches and turning them over to Congregationalism. At the fourth session of synod, in Springfield, Edward Beecher, moderator, the anti-slavery agitation in the church commenced, which culminated in 1837, the year of that fatal tragedy at Alton. In 1838, the synod divided; the majority went with the new school assembly;

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Mr. Bergen, with the minority, adhered to the old, and he in his capacity as stated clerk, retained the possession of the synodical record.

During this period, in spite of these difficulties the church grew and increased. During these six years, Mr. Bergen himself organized six churches; one at North Sangamon, in 1832; one at Sugar Creek in 1833; in the same year, one at Lick Creek; one at Farmington, in 1834; and in 1835, two—one at Irish Grove, and the second church of Springfield. These were all on the ground originally occupied by the church of Sangamon. The number of presbyteries also was doubled.

The year 1834 was marked by a revival—the first in this city. More than half the members and elders of the church had been organized into new churches. But two elders were left, of whom Mr. Elijah Slater was one. A weekly prayer-meeting for the descent of the spirit of God had been maintained all winter, but it was not until May that these prayers were visibly and gloriously answered. The Rev. Messrs. Hale and Baldwin had started across the Illinois river on a preaching tour, but were detained by high water, and turned back. They called at Mr. Bergen's house one afternoon and asked him, "Brother, is there any work for us to do here?" He sent out notice through the town, and a protracted meeting commenced that afternoon, at 5 o'clock. On the third night, there were more than fifty who remained as inquirers after the benediction. At the close of two weeks, some thirty had professed conversion, and the church was greatly revived.

In June after the revival, the trip to Chicago already mentioned took place. On Mr. Bergen's return, a copy of certain resolutions was handed to him, thanking him for his past services, and requesting him to settle over the church as pastor. This he was unwilling to do just yet, on account of his interest in his missionary work. He promised to take it into consideration. Meanwhile some dissatisfaction on the part of a few of the members led to a small meeting of men only, one Wednesday night, the February following, at which it was decided to inform him that they thought they had better have another minister. He asked that a meeting of the congregation might be called, on Sat-

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urday night, to ascertain their mind, and wrote out his resignation, but the congregation with only nine dissenting votes solicited a continuance of his ministerial services. In this movement the second church originated. On the 24th of February, a paper signed by eighteen persons was transmitted to the session, giving notice of an appeal to presbytery; but before the presbytery met, the minority consented to form a new organization. Thirty persons were dismissed for this purpose; Mr. Bergen officiated; and his action was subsequently confirmed.

The period between the organization of the second church and the division in 1837–8 was marked by the acceptance on the part of Mr. Bergen of a call to the pastoral office, at a salary of $400, increased in 1837 to $600. He was installed Nov. 25th, 1835. There were some changes in the eldership. Mr. James L. Lamb and Mr. Joseph Torrey were added to the session. The venerated elder Slater was called home. Col. Mather, from Vandalia-united with the congregation—a noble hearted man—and proposed the erection of a new church and the gift of the old one to the colony. Immigration was great, money abundant, and the people over-confident. The leading men of the congregation determined to give themselves to business that year, 1836, and build on a large scale the year following. The second church decided to build immediately. Before they completed their building the crash came—and our building was necessarily postponed, which gave them a fine chance to grow.

The schism of 1837–8, combined with the influence of hard times, which now set in for several years, exerted a most disastrous effect upon Presbyterianism in this state. The new school had the American Home Society to back its missionaries, and guarantee them $400 a year. The old school Board of Domestic Missions had so many feeble churches on its hands, that it could not give more than $100 or at the outside $200 a year to sustain one missionary. The old school was seriously crippled. Its strength lay chiefly in Sangamon and McDonough counties. The college at Jacksonville fell to the New School and Congregational party. The old school temporarily adopted McDonough college at Macomb; but although it was the ambition of Dr. Ber-

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gen's life to see an old school Presbyterian college in this state, he died without the sight.

In 1840, talk of building a church was renewed. A revival of religion, under the preaching of the Rev. James Gallagher, in the new second church, was followed by a revival in the first, in which Rev. Mr. Galt and Rev. Mr. Little assisted Mr. Bergen. At the close of this meeting, the necessity for a a new house was apparant to every one, and at a congregational meeting a resolution to that effect was adopted. The ladies subscribed $1000; $15,000 was subscribed in all; and on the 23d of May, 1842, the corner stone was laid of the building which we left to come hither. Said Mr. Bergen upon that occasion, "The almighty architect who planted the foot of his compass in the centre of illimitable space—laid the foundation of the earth--spanned and spread the arc of heaven—said let there be light and there was light—also said, "On this rock," which is Christ, "I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it!" Into the copper box sealed up within the stone he cast a damask rose, as an emblem of immortality. At the dedication, November 9th, 1843, he preached his famous "banner sermon." Unfortunately, the church was not out of debt at the time of its dedication, and he afterwards put it upon record that he would not officiate again under like circumstances.

In the new house, on Sabbath evenings, he delivered a series of discourses upon prophecy, in opposition to the prevalent expectation, among many, of the instant bodily appearance of the son of God to reign on earth. Some prepared their ascension robes, some were excited to the point of insanity. The argument in these sermons was, that as many of the prophecies are unfulfilled the end is not yet. The house was greatly crowded during their delivery.

On the fourth of July, 1847, Mr. Bergen preached a sermon upon the Mexican war, which excited some opposition to him. In the winter, however, after a visit from the Rev. Mr. Calhoun, of the Beyroot Mission, there ensued a revival of religion, which was deepened and intensified by the preaching of the Rev. R. V. Dodge, in March.

Mr. Bergen was now nearly sixty years of age. He had been

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preaching to this people for twenty years. Mr. Dodge's preaching had given great acceptance, and it was felt by many that it would be well to call Mr. Dodge to be co-pastor with Mr. Bergen. This proposition so wrought upon his mind as to lead him to resign his pastoral charge. Without entering into the painful memories of that time, I may say that Mr. Bergen's diary through all this troubled season evinces no other spirit or purpose than that of a man perplexed, overwhelmed, but anxious only to know the will of God and to do it. The majority of the church sustained him. After the resignation, twice refused by the presbytery, had been renewed for the third time, it was accepted and the pastoral relation dissolved, on the 27th of September, 1848. The presbytery at the same time entered upon its minutes a resolution declaring that they considered Brother Bergen, during the long period which that relation had existed, to have held a reputation and then to hold a reputation for piety, ability, and excellence of character, which seldom attaches to any pastor.

The dissensions in the church consequent upon this event led to the organization of the Third church, in February, 1849, and the installation of Mr. Dodge as their pastor, on the 2d day of August. This position he filled to the satisfaction of his congregation for eight years.

With Mr. Bergen's resignation, now more than twenty-three years past, his active life ceased. From this time he devoted himself to writing for the press and to missionary effort among feeble churches, here and there. During the twenty years of his life in Illinois, about five hundred members had been received into the church in Springfield, and six churches organized in the county. He had expended during his ministry here more than four thousand dollars of his private property. Many wondered whether he would not live to regret his resignation; but he never did.

During the closing years of his life, he organized a number of additional churches. Several times he was chosen commissioner to the General Assembly, where, in 1861, the year of the war, he voted for what are known as the Spring resolutions.

His wife died in October, 1853. In November, 1857, he mar-

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ried again, and his widow is present with us to day as a mourner. In 1854, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him by Centre college, at Danville, Kentucky. He was for many years a director of the Theological Seminary of the Northwest, at Chicago. He took an active part in the reunion movement in the church and attended the first preliminary meeting of the two branches held in the state of Illinois, at the second Presbyterian church, Bloomington, Illinois, in April, 1865. He was again made moderator of the reunited synod of Central Illinois, in July, 1870, at its first meeting in the first Presbyterian church, Bloomington.

He received the first serious warning of his end in May, 1870, at Auburn, where he preached from the text, "In my father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you." After the sermon, he was attacked by paralysis, and supposing that he would never recover from the attack, or at least that he would never be able to enter the pulpit again, he remarked that had he known it, he would have delivered the same sermon. He did recover, however, and preached three times afterwards; the last time, on the occasion of leaving our former house of worship, near the Chicago & Alton depot, from the words, "Lo, I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me to do thy will, O God." Before his death he attended the services of the third Presbyterian church one Sabbath morning and was much gratified to see the attendance and interest of the congregation. On last Sabbath, the Sabbath before his death, he attended church twice—in the morning here, at night he went to hear Mr. Shaw. That night, he talked long about the question before the congregation, of free or rented pews, and said that although he himself preferred the system of rentals, he deprecated strife and desired to prevent the re-opening of the subject, if possible. With this feeling he designed to call the following day on the pastor and some of the leading members. After retiring, he renewed the conversation, with his wife, and was led to review the whole history of his life, recognizing the hand of divine providence at every step, and praising God for his trials as well as for his triumphs. This outburst lasted until after midnight. On Monday he rose, breakfasted, said that he felt well, and that he would

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attend the congregational meeting, he thought, that night. At nine o'clock the arrow of death struck him. In an instant, he lost control of his right side and the ability to speak or to swallow. He was heard to say in an indistinct voice, "Great grace!" and afterward, "Blessed!" showing that he understood the nature of the attack and wished to express his acquiescence. By signs and pressure of the hand and smiling glances of the eye, he endeavored to convey his meaning. When I repeated to him the verse,

"Sweet to lie passive in thy hands,
And know no will but thine,"

he nodded assent. He nodded also in reply to a question, "Do you find God faithful to his promises?" When I said to him, later, "The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your mind and heart, through Jesus Christ," he raised his head from the pillow. He clearly recognized his daughter from Alton, when she arrived, Monday night, and caressed her with his left hand. After lingering in a semi-conscious condition with labored breath and fluttering pulse for two days and part of two nights, his ransomed spirit returned to God who gave it, at two o'clock on Wednesday morning. His death was glorious.

It is needless to speak of Dr. Bergen's spirit to those who knew him. In one word, it was *love*, such love as made him willing always and everywhere to sacrifice himself, a love manifested in the most wonderful charity for those who differed in opinion from himself, and in a joyousness through life like that of a child.

The question for us as a church is, shall his mantle of christian affection fall on us? Being dead, he yet speaketh, and his admonition is that of John the apostle, "Little children, love one another!"

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FUNERAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF

REV. JOHN G. BERGEN, D. D.

IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SPRINGFIELD,

BY THE PASTOR,

REV. JAMES A. REED.

JANUARY 17, 1872.

"LIKE AS A SHOCK OF CORN COMETH IN HIS SEASON."—Job v. 26.

In the presence of these venerable remains, dear friends, I feel more like being a mourner than a speaker. In some indefinable sense I seem to rise as if to minister at the funeral of my own father. Though our acquaintance has been comparatively brief, considerably less than three years, yet in that short time I learned not only to esteem Dr. Bergen, but to love him almost as a son loves a father. Often have we taken sweet counsel together, and in most cordial agreement and confiding sincerity have had our conversation. Everything about the man; his noble, generous bearing, his unselfish character, his scholarly attainments, his clear apprehension of Scriptural truth, and above all his cheerful, winning piety that spoke out so, and so beamed from his very face, has made an impression on my mind that will not soon be effaced or forgotten. I feel to-day, as we commit his remains to the grave, that I have lost a friend, a companion and a counsellor; one whose approving smile I shall miss here in the sanctuary, and the grasp of whose friendly hand I shall feel no more.

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While under this feeling of personal bereavement, I would rather receive than give the consolations of the Gospel in this hour, yet even here I can realize that "it is more blessed to give than to receive;" more blessed to give that consolation in sorrow which goes like a soothing blessedness to the depths of the heart, and sheds an oil of gladness through the wounded spirit. Great as is the blessedness of having sympathy extended to us, there may be an equal and greater blessedness in extending it; in weeping with them that weep, even as Jesus wept in tender sympathy with the sisters of Lazarus.

The death of Dr. Bergen is, we feel, no ordinary bereavement. Though he has "come to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season," still we are loath to part with the "shock of corn." The fruit of this handful, so early planted in our midst, does wave so like Lebanon that we could devoutly wish the hours more slow that take him from our love. It is not a bereavement in which we meet to mingle our sorrow, merely with a weeping family, but one in which our grief is common; the grief of a congregation that esteemed and loved him, and of a community in which he was widely known, honored and respected. For more than forty years has this good man walked in your midst as God's servant, a living witness for his truth; a bright and a shining light. For more than sixty years he has been a watchman on the walls of Zion, most of that time in this city. He came among you in the prime of his ministerial life, when you were a very poor and a very small people; when as yet the foundations of better things were scarcely begun. He came not as the world's pioneer to lay the foundations of mere temporal things, but as God Almighty's pioneer to lay the foundations of better things, even the things that accompany salvation. He came among you with a commission to look after the interests of God's kingdom in this prairie land. And so faithfully and long has he been about his Master's business here, that he has been known for many years past as the "Old Man of the Prairie." His face and name are familiar in almost every nook and hamlet of the surrounding country. He has organized churches, and told the story of Jesus and his love in them, till this western wilder-

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ness has, in a measure at least, been made to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

What we are doing here now, as a denomination, is in a good measure reaping the fruits of this good man's labors; taking in the harvest of his own sowing.

I have not the time, nor is this the occasion to enter upon even a brief sketch of his long and useful life. This will be deferred to another occasion, and be given by one who has known him longer, and is more familiar with the history of his life and labors. I am only familiar enough with his history to know that in his death we mourn no ordinary bereavement, and experience no common sorrow.

Only a few weeks ago, he preached from the pulpit of the Old Church, as we were about to leave it, that last but logical, clear and pungent discourse, which he called his farewell to the Old Church, and possibly to us. Little did we think as we listened to his strong clear voice, and his forcible presentations of the truth he so loved, that "the silver cord would so soon be loosed, and the pitcher broken at the fountain." Little did we think as he sat in the sanctuary last Sabbath, here in the morning, and at the Second Church in the evening, that he would so soon be here cold in death.

But here to-day lies the form that last Sabbath sat upright in yonder pew. Here are the closed eyes whose gaze I caught amid the morning services, and the silent lips that I saw move to the praises of Zion. They are still now. "Asleep in Jesus, blessed sleep," that form will never rise again, till it rises a glorious form, fashioned in the likeness of its Redeemer. That tongue that has so long told the "story of the cross," will speak not again till it moves to the notes of the conqueror's song above the skies. These hands that have so often broken unto you the emblematic bread of life, will never move again till they move to heaven's harp strings, and are extended to meet us and welcome us to our Father's House. He has left us, but only like a star that is set to shine on other spheres. Only like a vessel that has sailed beyond our vision here to be hailed and welcomed on other shores.

But while we may not suppress our grief at his loss, how little of melancholy and gloom is mingled with our sorrow. How it

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helps to lift the burden of grief from the sorrowing heart, to feel assuredly that "we mourn not as those who have no hope." The death of one who has lived the life, enjoyed the experience, and given the testimony of Dr. Bergen, can have nothing of gloom about it. Taken suddenly as he was, so that he scarcely spoke afterward, appearing unconscious for the most part, what a relief to know that he was fully prepared, ready for his departure. While we mourn his loss, and feel sad that we shall see his kind, benevolent face no more, yet how all this is relieved by the assurance we have in his life and experience that all is well with him. Who doubts that religion was a reality with Dr. Bergen? While he made no claims to human perfection, yet who that knows the man, and his manner of life; his love of the truth; his faith; his devotion to the Master's cause, and his intelligent, happy, joyous experience, can doubt that his anchor of hope was cast sure and steadfast among the immutable things of God. How little the gloom and oppression of feeling, that hangs over the last end of the skeptic and unbeliever, have to do with this funeral scene. How peaceful the grave where he sleeps. How calm and undisturbed his repose. With what cheerful resignation we can give him up, knowing his well founded hope, his established confidence in the loving Saviour he so long preached, and his readiness and willingness to depart and be with Christ which is far better. We know that though his end was sudden, yet the midnight cry found him ready. He had not his preparation to make, his lamp to trim and fill with oil amid the struggles of his dying hour. Dr. Bergen was always ready. His religion was that of one who had taken to himself the whole armor of God, and with cheerful expectancy, and confident of victory, was awaiting the final conflict. Death had no terrors for him. He looked forward to it as an event that was but the opening of the door to his anticipated heavenly rest. This absence of the fear of death in his case, was no feigned effort to cover up an ill-founded hope, but that absence of fear that finds all its relief in believing the precious truths of the Gospel. It was no part of his religion to keep off the fear of death by an effort to persuade himself that his relations to God were not such as are here revealed in his word, and that his future happiness was not dependent on his acceptance

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of the faith once delivered to the saints. His calmness and resignation, in view of a change of worlds, was not the silence of that haughtiness, and proud unbelieving, stoical indifference, that disdains to quail before the Most High, and refuses to regard its destiny in the light of his truth. While he was well versed in science and philosophy, it was not in a science or philosophy that is wise above what is written. He did not calm his soul in the prospect of death and eternity, by a studied effort to banish from his mind the revealed sinfulness of the human heart and its natural penal consequences in that day when all hearts shall be judged. But accepting the clear scriptural statement of the derived and actual sinfulness of his nature, without diminishing aught from it, or attempting to relieve his intellectual conception, or his heart of an atom of its deserved condemnation, fully accepting the provision made in the Gospel for his salvation through the precious blood of Christ, he could say, with a significance, that carried conviction with it, "Oh death where is thy sting? Oh grave where is thy victory?" His peace of mind was essentially the peace of God, which passeth knowledge, and which flows from a true apprehension and a blessed experience of the Gospel.

Thus ready, he was always ready, waiting for death with a smile, as for the advance of an already conquered foe. How often has he spoken to us of the gathering infirmities that warned him of the stealthy approach of the last enemy, and yet with what composure and cheerfulness! In his religious experience he was always joyous, though not extravagant. You never found Dr. Bergen gloomy or melancholy. He was always the same. His religious life was not like an uneven, troubled sea, the waves now rolling high and dancing in the sunshine, and then sinking low in the trough of the sea, raking the sandy bottom. He was not revelling one day amid the fervors of religious enthusiasm, and the next despondent and gloomy, crying, "Who will show us any good?" Nor was he in his spiritual being like the stillness of a lake unruffled by a breeze, in which vessels lie becalmed, but rather as the living, running water of a deep, broad river, moving majestically, and flowing on steadily to the sea.

His clear intellectual perceptions of the truth made him a wise

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instructor. His devotion to the Master made him an earnest, faithful laborer, and as he now goes to his reward, it is, we feel, to "return again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." While, like Whitfield, he died silent, unable with his last breath to give his testimony for Christ, yet, like Whitfield, he could afford to die silent. He needed no dying testimony with which to supplement his living testimony. The testimony of a long and useful christian life speaks, and speaks well for him. Of him it may be truly said, "He being dead yet speaketh." Many are the monuments of his labors in this western land. These churches, not only of the city, but of the surrounding country, speak of him, and speak for him. The children of three generations may here rise up to call him blessed. The cause of Christ, the cause of temperance, of education, of morality and of humanity, all speak of him. His name is blended alike with the interests of church and State. Others may have possessed talents marked by more brilliancy perhaps, but few have possessed such a combination of valuable endowments fitted to carry them through life with usefulness to society and glory to God. His serene and venerable aspect, his overflowing kindness, his prompt and generous interest in other's wants and sorrows, and the whole bearing of his life betrayed the commerce of his soul with heaven, and left the impression on every heart, "Thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth."

This dear, good man is gone to his reward. Full of years and usefulness, he is gathered to his fathers. Life's work is done and well done. We lay him, amid the depths of his life's last winter, in the silent grave, to see his face no more. "Like the snow that falls in the river—a moment white, then melts forever," he passes from our sight. We shall miss him; miss him here; miss him in his home; miss him everywhere till we meet him on the shining shore. Till then let us remember the words he spoke while he was yet with us, and go strengthened from his tomb to live his life, and die his death, and reach his crown.

Dear afflicted friends, you know who is able in the darkness of your bereavement to give you comfort. Though the presence of this loved one will no more be with you, to cheer you in life's journey, there is a voice of a "friend that sticketh closer than a

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brother," whispering in this, your hour of sorrow, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end." "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." "Let not your heart be troubled, ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you." Oh with what winning words of comfort does that blessed Saviour meet us in our darkest hour. Lean upon him now; confide in him; lay your hand in that of his, and trust him to lead you through the shadows. Your affliction is from his hand who never afflicts willingly, but for our profit that we may be partakers of his holiness. It is his will who doeth all things well. Do not murmur or complain, but look up and say, "Thy will be done." "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." I have seen it related somewhere that a gardener was entrusted by his master with the care and keeping of a rare flower, which he watched with special affection and unwearying care. One morning, as he came into the garden, he missed it. His beautiful flower had disappeared, and he was deeply grieved. He stood in tears looking at the broken stem. Presently he was told that the master of the house had taken it. He was then silent and comforted. Dear, sorrowing friends, if husband and father is gone; if the light of your hearts and your home has disappeared; if the flower you have so long and tenderly cared for has been taken, be comforted with the thought that the Master has taken it; that your treasure is in his hands; that,

"While you weep as Jesus wept,
He shall sleep as Jesus slept;
With his Saviour he shall rest,
Crowned, and glorified and blest."

And what shall I say now, my hearers, that will add to the touching appeal this good man's death makes to us all? What a lesson we have here on the influence of an earnest, useful, christian life. See what results flow from a heart and life consecrated to the Master's service; what sheaves are to be gathered from such sowing and weeping. These cold lips, so eloquent in life, seem to speak to us in death: "Go thou and do likewise." It is the life that most blesses, that is the most blessed. "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars in the firma-

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ment forever." We may live to die old as the man that now lies before us; live till we stand almost alone, and to be numbered among the men of ancient times, carrying all the weight and dignity of years, and yet have lived to little purpose, even so little as to be unprepared to die. How the words of the sainted bard of Israel, which he struck to the sad notes of his heaven-strung harp, appeal to us in the presence of these venerable remains. "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." It is not a long life that is so much to be coveted as the life that prepares one for a better world. "Gray hairs are a crown of glory if they are found in the ways of righteousness." There are many old men here to-day, and let me say that your life, old as you may be, is but the infancy of your being. Your manhood is beyond the grave. Its rewards or punishment are beyond the tomb. This life is but the theatre for the formation and development of a spiritual life: the preparation for eternity, and,

> "That future life in worlds unknown,
> Must take its hue from this alone."

The character which can alone fit us for the highest usefulness, and the greatest happiness hereafter, is the religious character; the character which can only be formed by dethroning the mind of sin, and bringing the soul into vital contact with the elevating principles of the Gospel of Christ. This life is but the first link in the chain of an endless existence, and everything depends on what we make this first link. The character of this life connects us with the ever ascending chain of progressive joy or the ever descending chain of progressive misery. Oh, my hearer, what are you making of this little link of probationary life that determines all your future? How are you projecting your destiny? As the tree falleth, so shall it lie. It is certain that your tree of life shall fall, but which way shall it fall?

There are times when it is the part of wisdom to pause in silence and hearken to the voice of God.

As we lay the remains of this venerable man, this servant of Christ, full of years, in his grave, let us hear the Spirit's warning, "Be ye also ready." Let us remember, whether old or young, that

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"the time is short," too short to trifle; too short to waste; too short to delay or procrastinate. "Now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation."

"Our eyes have seen the rosy light
Of youth's soft cheek decay;
And fate descend in sudden night
On manhood's middle day.
Our eyes have seen the steps of age
Halt feebly to the tomb;
And yet shall earth our hearts engage,
And dreams of days to come?"

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Prayer and the Prayer-Gauge.

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, TROY, N. Y.,

DECEMBER 15, 1872,

BY

Rev. MARK HOPKINS, D. D.,

OF

WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

SECOND EDITION.

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TROY, N. Y., *28th January*, 1873.

Rev. MARK HOPKINS, D. D.:

Dear Sir—The undersigned, having listened with great interest to your discourse on Prayer, delivered in the First Presbyterian Church on the morning of December 15th, 1872, and believing that the discussion is adapted to encourage correct views of this important subject, and to counteract certain dangerous and current errors, respectfully request you to furnish a copy for publication.

With the highest esteem,

We remain, Rev. Dear Sir,

Yours,

MARVIN R. VINCENT,
Pastor First Presbyterian Church.
GEORGE C. BALDWIN,
Pastor First Baptist Church.
WILLIAM IRVIN,
Pastor Second Presbyterian Church.
CHARLES E. ROBINSON,
Pastor Second street Presbyterian Ch.
GEORGE WALSH,
Rector St. John's Episc. Church.
CHARLES S. DURFEE,
Pastor Oakwood av. Presb. Church.
ABNER DEWITT,
Pastor Third Presbyterian Church.

CHARLES DROWNE,
Director Rensselaer Pol. Institute.
MARTIN I. TOWNSEND,
NORMAN B. SQUIRES,
CHARLES L. ALDEN,
EDWIN QUACKENBUSH,
HARVEY J. KING,
JOHN H. WILLARD,
Troy Female Seminary.
R. HALSTED WARD,
Prof. Polytechnic Institute.
SILAS K. STOW,
DAVID COWEE,
and many others.

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DISCOURSE.

But for the invitation of several of the pastors of this city, and of others whose opinion I respect, and whose wishes I regard, I should not have thought of entering into the discussion on the subject of prayer that is now going on. I come now in no spirit of controversy. My simple wish is to aid candid minds on a subject of vital interest, and certainly not without its difficulties.

Let us then, first, look at the subject itself; and afterward at the special difficulties, not new, but made prominent at the present time.

The term "prayer," as it is ordinarily used, includes worship — adoration, praise, confession, thanksgiving. These may be acceptable to God, and useful to ourselves in their reflex influence, but they, together with all considerations of reflex influence, are to be excluded from the present discussion. I propose, as we are asked to do, to consider prayer solely as petition, and petition as a means of obtaining that for which we ask. If it be not that, I have no plea to make for it.

In prayer regarded as petition, we hope for some change that would not have been without the prayer.

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We find that we can change events and their issues in other ways. Despite any difficulties that may be raised about the unchangeable laws of nature, or the immutability of God, we all know that it lies with us to use means that will cause events and their issues to be different from what they would have been if we had not used those means. If not, there is an end to all rational activity. The only question is, whether prayer is one of those means at all; and if so, to what extent.

To decide this we naturally inquire how it is that changes are produced. If we notice, we shall observe that the changes around us come in two ways. They come either by what we call immutable law, or by the action of free will. Immutable law belongs to matter. There, with the exception of a miracle, we not only acknowledge that it is, but claim that it is. The law of matter, called the first law of motion, or sometimes the law of inertia, that is, that a body will continue at rest, or in a state of uniform motion, until it is caused to change its state by some external force, is an immutable law. If I lay my watch on the desk before me, it will lie there forever unless removed by some external force. If this and other laws of matter were not immutable, there would be no basis for physical science. Without this, experience would lose its value.

Free-will, on the other hand, belongs to mind, and when we come to that, we come into a different region. In matter, as subject to law, there is necessity, and only that. There is no room for an alterna-

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tive. The stone cannot roll half-way down the hill and then turn round and roll back. But in freedom there is no necessity. The very term precludes it. There is room for an alternative. Accordingly science, in the sense of the physicist, can never come into this region. The phenomena are wholly different, and I must beg you to keep these regions distinct, for the discussion will turn very much upon the relation of one of them to the other — the relation of free-will to physical law.

What the ultimate relation of will is to what we call immutable law, but which we know only as uniformity within a limited period, we do not now stop to inquire. There are those, and I am of the number, who believe that these uniformities of nature, called laws, may be ultimately resolved into will; but for the purpose of this discussion they are to be accepted as uniformities, as given quantities, and, except by miracle, immutable while the present system stands.

Changes, then, may be wrought, I will not say *by* law, for I cannot conceive of law as an agent, or by force, which is equally an abstraction, but by some agent possessing force and acting uniformly. The river runs, and the ice-berg floats downward from the pole by the law of gravitation. On the other hand, changes are produced by will. The will of man comes between these laws and their results as they would be without that will. Without his will the stream would

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flow on uniformly. By the interposition of that will it is made to set back and pour over a dam, and turn his water-wheel. He stands at the sluice-way, and by a slight movement directs the flood at his will. This you will observe he does, and knows that he can do, through the very immutability of the laws of gravitation and fluidity. It is by this only that he halters them, and breaks them into his service. Inflexible laws in their relation to will are like inflexible sticks of timber, and are all the more serviceable for their inflexibility, provided they admit of a varying adjustment among themselves. This they do admit. By the interposition of will, inflexible sticks of timber may be arranged into very different shapes, and in the same way inflexible laws may be so adjusted among themselves as to work out very different results.

But, in speaking of the inter-action of will with fixed law in producing changes and results, we have need to clear the ground by defining our terms. For want of this men have talked and written at cross purposes. There are three terms especially, the meaning of which, at least as we shall use them, we need to fix. These are nature, or natural, supernatural and miraculous.

And first, of nature. By this we mean that region of fixed law of which I have spoken, the region of necessity, the region where nothing begins to be in any thing that is not caused by some thing external to itself. There is in it no power of originating any

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thing: no choice, no will, no freedom. This, as I have said, is the region of physical science.

By the supernatural we mean, not, as some say, what God only can do; nor, as others say, what beings superior to man only can do, but we mean just what the name implies, a region above nature. We mean a region in which action can be originated, a region of will, of choice, of personality, one from which nature can be looked down upon, and comprehended and controlled. This, of course, makes the actions of man supernatural so far as they are free. There are those who object to this, but they do not seem to see that it is only thus that we can find a distinction in *kind*, and so really separate the natural from the supernatural, and the supernatural from the miraculous. When I raise this book I overcome a law of nature, a law that was holding it down. I do what nature never could have done, and therefore, as originating the action, what is above nature or supernatural. As originating in free-will that act is just as supernatural, just as much out of and beyond any power of nature, as it would be for an angel to descend and appear on this platform. That would be supernatural, but not miraculous. Unless we make a miracle merely a wonder, the appearance of the angels to the shepherds was not a miracle.

What, then, would be miraculous? What is a miracle? In the Bible the supernatural and the miraculous are not carefully distinguished. Indeed, the word

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supernaturnal is not in the Bible at all. The two are grouped as "signs," "wonders" and "miracles," but we need to find a distinction in kind. In itself a miracle is not different from any other event. That an event should become a miracle requires two things: First, there must be laws of nature previously established, and those laws must be transcended. In the beginning, before the laws of nature were established, a miracle was impossible. The creation of the world was not a miracle. And, second, the laws of nature must be transcended by a direct act of will. If I toss this book into the air it will fall by the law of gravitation. That is natural. If I suspend it from the ceiling by a cord, I counteract the law of gravitation by the stronger law of cohesion, and so change the result. This is not a miracle, because I use one law of nature to counteract another. It is all natural, except that act of intervention by which the counteraction is brought about. That is supernatural, but not miraculous. But if now I were to toss the book into the air, and, by a direct act of my will, with no means intervening, it were to remain suspended, that would be a miracle. There would be no violation or suspension of any law of nature, as some suppose there must be, in a miracle. Gravitation would act as before, as it did when the book was suspended by a cord, but would, as in that case, be overcome by a stronger force. In both cases there is an intervention of will. The difference is, that in one case the law is overcome

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by a stronger law, though an adjustment made by intelligence and will; in the other case will acts directly. A miracle, then, will be a physical effect in which a law of nature is overcome, or the elements of nature are controlled by a direct act of will. This reveals a personal power *above* nature, which a uniform law, that *is*, nature, could not do. Such was the feeding of the five thousand by Christ, and his walking on the water. According to this, so far as the dividing of the Red Sea was due to the east wind, it was not a miracle. It was a wonder, a marvel like the effects of fire and of tornadoes, which are such that but for the evidence of our senses we could not believe them. It was supernatural, and, under the circumstances, as signally an interposition of God as if it had been a miracle, but that it was not.

But is it possible that will can act thus? The physicist says no. Why? For no other reason apparently but that his own will cannot do it. Certainly it is not given us to control nature, except through her laws. We conquer her by obeying them. But, so far as we can see, our wills must have direct power over some of the matters in our bodies; and as the essence of a miracle consists in a revelation of the direct power of a personal will as a force superior in the control of matter to the laws of nature, we have only to suppose the will of God to have a relation to nature, like that of our wills to this matter in our bodies, and the power of miracles would follow of

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course. Who shall say that this is not so? What do we know of the relation of the will of God to his universe?

With the views now stated all will not agree. I give them as my own, and pass on to consider how it is that we are trained up from the first, and need to abide permanently, in connection with these two great and only methods of producing changes — immutable law, and will. The measure of a man's power is his ability to produce changes. How does nature teach us to produce them?

From our earliest recollection our wants have been supplied and our wishes met in two ways; either by our own exertions, or by our asking others to exert themselves for us. Of these, dependence on a person, which is virtually asking, comes first, and was the more prominent in our earlier years, but as we grew up, they were inseparably blended in our training. If our parents were wise they did not do for us what we could do for ourselves. They knew that the muscles and mental faculties are developed only as they are exercised, and for our sakes, even though we asked them, they refused to help us when we could help ourselves. That was the principle, or should have been, never to help us so as to encourage indolence or inefficiency. But when we could not help ourselves, when the plaything was too high, or the stick too heavy, or the knot too hard, and especially in falls and bruises and sickness, they would help us if we asked. If we

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were hungry, and asked for bread, they did not give us a stone. And so, helping ourselves, and getting help by asking it — sometimes getting it, and sometimes not, we grew up, our wants being supplied in these two methods. Can any thing better be conceived for the training of the whole man — for awakening intellect, for arousing energy, for calling out the affections?

Now observe that, when we helped ourselves, we brought about changes through the fixed laws of nature. We were trained under them. We wished to be warmed. We went to the fire, and by a fixed law of nature, we were warmed. We wished to slide down hill, and, when we had made the adjustment, by an immutable law, the sled went. Here, doing our part, we invariably got what we wanted. We knew we should. We got it ourselves, and we thanked nobody. We were in the region of invariable and impersonal law, and we could not thank that. But when we asked, all this was changed; we were in the region of will, and looked for the changes desired directly or indirectly from that. We did not suppose a miracle would be wrought, but we knew our parents had a wider range of control over the immutable forces than we had, and we hoped for aid through that. We did not appeal to "physical energy," or to any "equivalent of such energy," but to affection and will. We could never be sure that our requests would be granted. For our own sakes some of them ought not to have been; but, if they were granted, there was

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room, and a call for gratitude and love. So much for our training under law in childhood.

But now we have reached manhood. Parents have passed away; but the laws of nature abide. The ground and process of our training under them continue. As we become more acquainted with these laws the more admirable do they seem, and the training under them becomes richer in its fruits, and more beneficent. And is the other great side and element of our training to drop entirely away? Is there nothing in this universe that can sustain that also, and make it more broad and more blessed? Here comes the man of science, and says: "No, that is all passed; you are a man now. Henceforth only law remains to you. If there be a God, and perhaps there is, he must always be unknown. He is, in fact, unknowable. His plans are too vast; he is too high to regard you or your wishes." But if the man of science says this, not so says the instinct of humanity in the hour of its trouble. Not so say "they that go down to the sea in ships when they mount up to the heaven and go down again to the depths, and are at their wits' end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble." Not so says the heart of the mother when the balances tremble between the life and death of her child. If the man of science says that, not so says the Bible. Speaking through the voice of Him who spoke as never man spoke, that says, "Ask, and ye shall receive." It says, "Pray without ceasing." It says, "Praying always with all prayer." It says, "In

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every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God." It does just what we should expect a true system would do. It continues, and makes provision for our discipline on the side of the affections. It enlarges the sphere of that discipline and brings it out into grander proportions. It says, "Our Father which art in heaven." That is enough. We are not now turned over to immutable and unsympathizing law. We have a Father in heaven. While one part of our nature is trained up and permanently provided for, the other is not left to pine and wither in hopeless emaciation. Once more, if the man of science says that, not so says the broader-minded philosopher, who comprehends all the aspects and needs of our manifold humanity. The spirit of a true philosophy, its very beginning, as is well known, is a child-like spirit. It is also comprehensive, looking on all sides. The true philosopher combines in himself the philosopher and the child — the breadth of the one and the docility of the other. That aspect of life and form of culture, therefore, which belongs to science he does not neglect. He gives it its place. Looking at the constitution and the laws of nature, its balancings and adjustments, its extent and its ongoing, the philosopher that is in him, and that he is, says intelligently, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty." Looking at the constitution and laws of the moral world, more marvellous still, and at God's dealings with him in that, the child

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that is in him and that he is, says, "Just and true are Thy ways, thou King of Saints." And so the circle is complete. Trained under law to work, and under parents to ask, all the wants of our nature are met; and there is provision for their being met while God remains a Father, and His universe stands.

Thus do we reach the great positive point that I wished to make. It is, that as our training up to manhood is under persons by asking, and under law by working, so the full growth and perfection of our nature require that it should continue to be. This I fully believe; and I cannot express my sense of the unwisdom of mere scientists who place themsleves under the training of impersonal law to the exclusion of that higher and better training which is under personality.

I have now presented the ground on which, as I suppose, we may consistently pray; and not for spiritual blessing only, for I seek no shelter under them, but also for temporal blessings — for relief from sickness, and for rain. The question, as I said, turns upon the relation of the power of will to the laws of nature. If that relation be what I have stated, I see no difficulty about it. As I have stated in the chapter on prayer in "the Law of Love," it is clearly competent to any will, by what the Duke of Argyle calls "a variable combination of invariable forces," to change the order of events without deranging or in any way interfering with the order of nature. Man

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can do it; I can do it; you can do it; it is represented in the Scriptures that angels can do it; and yet we are called upon to believe that God cannot do it. Prof. Tyndall, while repelling the charge of denying that God can answer such prayers at all, yet does deny that he can answer them without a miracle. He says expressly, "that without a disturbance of natural law quite as serious as the stoppage of an eclipse, or the rolling of the St. Lawrance up the Falls of Niagara, no act of humiliation, individual or national, could call one shower from heaven, or deflect toward us a single beam of the sun."*

We now proceed, as was proposed, to look at the special difficulties made prominent at the present time.

In doing this, as my invitation referred particularly to the views of Prof. Tyndall, I shall be expected to notice them. And in looking into those views we are led, first, to inquire how far the professor is consistent with himself. In his latest communication on the subject he says: "The theory that the system of nature is under the control of a being who changes phenomena in compliance with the prayers of men is, in my opinion, a perfectly legitimate one. * * * It is a matter of experience that an earthly father, who is at the same time both wise and tender, listens to the requests of his children and, if they do not ask amiss, takes pleasure in granting their requests. We know

* Fragments of Science, 1-39.

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also that this compliance extends to the alteration, within certain limits, of the current events of earth. With this suggestion offered by experience, it is no departure from scientific method to place behind natural phenomena a Universal Father who, in answer to the prayers of his children, alters the currents of those phenomena. Thus far theology and science go hand in hand." Now I put it to you whether this language fairly interpreted, interpreted so as to mean any thing at all, does not cover the whole ground I have claimed. According to this it is not irrational, not even unscientific, "to place behind natural phenomena a Universal Father, who, in answer to the prayers of his children, alters the currents of those phenomena"—phenomena, observe, not what passes within the mind, but physical events. I ask nothing more, but I do ask on what ground he, as a philosopher, can say this and at the same time deny, as he does in this same connection, that phenomena are thus changed? Has he applied any test? He does not claim that he has. On what ground does he say here that God can change the currents of phenomena, as an earthly father can, in answer to prayer, and say elsewhere that he can do it only by doing what is equivalent to "the rolling of the St. Lawrence up the Falls of Niagara?" That question I cannot answer.

But leaving the point of consistency as of little moment, we turn to his denial of the fact of physical changes through prayer. And here, that I may not

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misrepresent him, I will state the case at length as he gives it. "The bone of contention," he says, "is *the physical value of prayer*. It is not my wish to excite surprise, much less to draw forth protest by the employment of this phrase, I would simply ask any intelligent person to look the problem honestly and steadily in the face, and then to say whether, in the estimation of the great body of those who sincerely resort to it, prayer does not, at all events, upon special occasions, invoke a power which checks and augments the descent of rain, which changes the force and direction of winds, which affects the growth of corn, and the health of men and cattle — a power, in short, which, when appealed to under pressing circumstances, produces the precise effects caused by physical energy in the ordinary course of things. To any person who deals sincerely with the subject, and refuses to blur his moral vision by intellectual subtleties" — I should like to know what moral vision has to do with it — "this, I think, will appear a true statement of the case. It is under this aspect alone that the scientific student, so far as I represent him, has any wish to meddle with prayer. Forced upon his attention as a form of physical energy, or as the equivalent of such energy, he claims the right of subjecting it to those methods of examination from which all our present knowledge of the physical universe is derived."

This is defiantly, and, I doubt not, sincerely put, but I hope to show you that it involves an entire mis-

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apprehension, and, therefore, misrepresentation of the case. For what, I ask, does he mean by speaking of prayer as "a physical energy, or an equivalent of that energy?" Let me illustrate: a man comes to me, and, to take examples given by himself, asks me to make his corn grow. I say to him, I will, and I sprinkle over it a certain fine powder called plaster, and, by immutable law, the plaster draws the ammonia from the atmosphere, and he gets two bushels where he would have got one. Again, he asks me to change the force and direction of the wind. I say, I will, and I set fire to Troy, and raise a breeze directly, and the wind comes rushing in from all directions. And what I do here is far-reaching. Not only do I change the relative position, but, according to the physicist, I change the actual position of every particle of the ocean of atmosphere that surrounds this globe. For aught I know, I may cause it to rain in China. At any rate, it only needs that Troy should be large enough, and I should cause it to rain here. Did the man, then, in appealing to me, appeal to any form of physical energy, or to any equivalent of that energy? No, he appealed to intelligence and will, to a person who might or might not, as he should choose, turn that energy in the direction desired. That is all there is to it. There is no appeal to any physical energy, or any thing like it. The professor seems to think that religious persons suppose that prayer can be applied to corn in some such way as plaster can. No, they

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only suppose that there may be more ways than one of getting down the ammonia, and that "the universal Father," to use his own words, "can change phenomena in compliance with the prayers of men," and without a miracle, quite as easily as man can.

This failure on the part of Prof. Tyndall to apprehend the question rightly, and still more his failure to find the distinction between the supernatural and the miraculous, sufficiently account for the difficulty he finds in connecting prayer in any way with physical results. He could not admit a miracle; he ought not. He could not see how such results could come without that. That he failed to draw the line between the supernatural and the miraculous should hardly be set down to his discredit since theologians are not agreed about it.

We now pass to the next point, and that is the prayer-*gauge*, as it has been called, or the scientific test of the value of prayer. In respect to this, Professor Tyndall agrees with his friend who proposed it, and complains that "it seems impossible to propose a verification of their theory which does not arouse resentment in theological minds." But it is just at this point that Professor Tyndall, together with his friend, shows most fully that he fails to comprehend the elements with which he is dealing. Such a proposal could not be made by any one comprehending those elements, because, in its very nature, the test is not applicable to the thing to be tested by it. Let me illustrate

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again. Some discourses are weighty, and some are heavy, but you would not think of testing either the weight or the heaviness by a pair of scales. We hear of great thoughts, but no one would think of measuring them by a square and compass. No one would think of selling wheat by the yard. Just as preposterous is it to think of a scientific test of the value of prayer in any of its forms. A scientific test implies necessity, and absolute uniformity. Without these it would not be a scientific test. But these can have no application to any thing into which free-will comes, as it always does and must, into answers to prayer. They belong to different regions, and if the subject were not a serious one, the attempt to transfer the tests fitted to one over into the other would be simply ludicrous. Without uniformity and necessity there can be no scientific test. With these there can be no spiritual world, no choice, no asking even, and no room for gratitude and love. All that need be said is that the test proposed has no relation to the conditions of the problem. The value of prayer can be tested by us just as the value of asking can be tested by children, and in no other way.

It may also be said, as it has been, that the application of the proposed test is impossible. It is so clearly so that the proposal of it seems like mere trifling. Who can so isolate any set of human beings from their Maker and from human sympathy as to be sure that no prayer shall go up from themselves, or from others,

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that God will accept? The application of the test is as impossible as the test itself is inapplicable. But for the indorsement of Prof. Tyndall, the proposal of such a test would probably have been attributed to a wag with a long face, and have excited no serious notice.

But it is not by science alone that Prof. Tyndall would disprove any connection between prayer and physical results, but also by that saying of our Savior that God "maketh his sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust." Can the professor really believe that in this passage our Savior means to teach a doctrine of prayer identical with his own? So it would seem. But the passage has nothing to do with prayer, and in quoting it he simply makes a false issue, evidently without intending it, by confounding character with asking, as a means of good. Christ says that God does not give certain things on the ground of character. Prof. Tyndall says, and claims that Christ says, that he does not give them on the ground of asking, which is a wholly different thing. How this is we may see by what Christ himself did. He turned none away. He wrought miracles for the evil and the good equally, just as God makes his sun to shine; but with scarcely an exception, he wrought them only for those who asked. And may not God, in the same way, hear the prayer of those who come to Him for special favors — really come whether they are good or evil? If not, it

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is sad for us. That he will is just what Christ taught, if we look at his teachings as a whole. In the same discourse, comparing God to an earthly father, he said, and without restriction, "Ask, and it shall be given you." He said that God would give "*good things* to them that ask him." He taught us, in the Lord's prayer, to pray for daily bread, and that we might be delivered from evil, both of which imply interposition in regard to physical events. Fairly interpreted, the whole teachings, as well as the example of Christ, are in direct opposition to the view in question.

There is one point more. Both Prof. Tyndall and his friend seem anxious to know what men may pray for, and what not. They are troubled at the spectacles of weakness and folly that are seen in human prayer, and talk about a "purification" — a narrowing of the field of prayer as we come to apprehend more fully the universality and the immutability of law. It is doubtless true that prayer is modified as men become better informed. Why? Not from any apprehended incompatibility of law with prayer, but for the same reason that a well-informed child does not ask for the moon as a plaything. If what has been said be correct, there is nothing in reason or in science to prevent our taking the Bible as our guide in this. That opens a wide domain to prayer; it makes it the breath of Christian life. It says, as I have said before, "In *every thing*, by prayer and supplication;" *supplication*, you see — *asking* — the apostle was not, as some seem

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to be now, afraid of that, as if it were less disinterested and dignified than worship — "in every thing by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your *requests* be made known unto God." But, doing this, it guards against any thing fanatical, or foolish, or weak, by inculcating the spirit of children. It is easy, indeed, to bring examples of weakness and folly in connection with prayer, and to hold them up to ridicule or to pity. Such examples there have always been, and not only of these, but of hypocrisy and wickedness. There were such in our Savior's time, and he rebuked them. There are such now, especially in countries where the Bible is not known, or is withheld from the people. But give a man the Bible and the spirit of a child, and there is no danger that he will go far amiss in his petitions.

To these there will be two limitations. First. Except under special direction, such a man could not ask God for a miracle, for the same reason that a child could not ask his father to burn the house down. The regular order of nature is the house we live in. It could not be disturbed by frequent miracles, and be fit for the training of rational beings.

Second. Neither could he ask for any thing, under the laws of nature, that would contravene the object of those laws. Whatever we can do for ourselves under those laws God expects us to do; it is for our own good that we should do it. We were put under them that we might do it; it is precisely here as with

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the parent and child. Is the child cold? Let him get up and go to the fire. If he will not do that, let him suffer; and beg as he may, the wise parent will let him suffer, and, perhaps, punish him too, before he will take him up and carry him. Let the man do what he can under natural law. Recognizing God in that, his work will be prayer. Let him do what he can and then pray, and God will hear him. "God helps those who help themselves," but we cannot expect him to do any thing that would encourage needless ignorance, or shiftlessness, or inefficiency. All other things such a man might ask, but he would ask for nothing absolutely except the Holy Spirit and His fruits. Other things he would ask in subserviency to the will of his Heavenly Father. And such a man would have, not only the precepts of the Bible for his guide, and the example of good men, but also the example of Him who prayed so earnestly that "His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground," and at the same time with a submission so absolute as to say, "Nevertheless, not my will but thine be done." Under such guidance, together with the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, we may hope that prayer will be as free from imperfection as human infirmity will permit any thing to be.

I have thus taken up, point by point, the difficulties presented by Prof. Tyndall, and as he presented them. The result I leave with you. I have no fear of science. I believe in it and welcome it. I have no

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fear of immutable law. Rightly understood — understood so that I can control it and turn it to my purpose — I believe in and welcome that; but I do not believe in that conception of physical law that puts it above God, or that makes it, in any way, other than an instrument flexible in his hands. I do not believe in any mode of conceiving, as is constantly done, of the attributes of God in such a way that we give infinity in one direction only to impose limits in another. This is the mistake of pantheism. Especially do I not believe in any mode of conceiving of his natural attributes, as his greatness and his immutability, in such a way as to impose limits upon those attributes of a Father by which He can hear the cry of his children, and enter with the fullest sympathy into all their wants, and supply them. "Behold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns, yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?"

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TEMPERANCE.

Adulteration of Liquors:

A SERMON

PREACHED BY REV. A. F. BOURNS,

AT THE

Broad Street M. E. Church,

ADRIAN,

ON SUNDAY, MARCH 22d, 1874.

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SERMON.

"*Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.*"—DEUT. XXXII: 33.

We have observed that there is quite a general impression among the people of our day that many of the wines and liquors which are sold are not genuine—that they are imitations only. We occasionally hear people speak in rather severe terms of what they call adulterated liquors—speak as though they are manufactured from injurious articles, and sometimes poisonous drugs. But the more unsuspecting portion of the community do not really believe this. They cannot quite believe that men will put injurious drugs into liquors, and then sell them to people who will drink them the next minute. Or, if there should be a few who are so unscrupulous as to do this, many people are very slow to believe that such a practice is at all common.

But there is another portion of community who know very well that the practice of adulterating liquors is very common—and that in the majority of cases, the compounds which are used are of a pernicious and poisonous character. While this art seems to have been brought to a higher degree of perfection by the men of our day, still history informs us that it was practiced thousands of years ago. From our text and other portions of the scriptures it appears that the Hebrews were in the habit of using "mixed wines"—wines which were characterized as the "poison of dragons and the cruel venom of asps."

Homer, who lived a thousand years before the Christian era, makes very frequent mention of the very potent drugs that were mixed with wines; and Pliny gives a long list of drugs, and spices, and fruits, from which wines were made.

Coming a little nearer to our day, we find that in England, in the 14th century, in the reign of Edward III., a law was enacted, imposing heavy fines for frauds on liquor. This same monarch, in a letter to the Mayor of London, complains of the wine merchants. He says of them: "They do mingle corrupt wines with other wines, and are not afraid to sell the wines so mixed and corrupt, at the same price that they sell the good and pure."

Addison said that in his time, 1710, there was "a certain fraternity of chemical operators, who wrought underground in holes, caverns, and dark retirements, to conceal their mysteries from the eyes and observation of mankind." "These men," he says, "are daily employed in the transmutation of liquors, and, by the power of magical drugs and incantations, raise, under the streets of London, the choicest products of the hills and valleys of France."

It is clear then that this art has been practiced in the past, but however clear this may be, it is clearer still that it is practiced in the present. You may go to the book-stores, that is, to some book-stores, and buy works which have been written expressly for the use of liquor dealers, telling them how to successfully adulterate their liquors. Such books are not generally very largely advertised, but they can always be had when wanted, and the liquor merchants generally know where they are to be found. We have two such books in our possession, bearing directly upon this business. We did not buy them because we expected to go into the trade, but because we wished to ascertain the facts concerning the trade. Let me give you a part of the title page of one of these books. "The French Wine and Liquor Manufacturer. A practical guide and receipt book for the liquor merchant. Being a clear and comprehensive treatise on the manufacture and *imitation* of brandy, rum, gin and whiskey: With practical observations and rules for the manufacture and management of all kinds of wine by mixing, boiling and fermentation, as practiced in Europe. Also rules for purchasing, reducing and raising the strength of alcohol, illustrated with descriptive diagrams and engravings. The whole being adapted for the use and information of the trade in the United States and

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Canada." You may judge pretty correctly as to what the character of a book would be bearing such a title. The other book is simply, "The wine and liquor, dealers guide." This latter author in his preface, makes a few statements which are deserving of attention in this connection. They are of the more weight because they come from a man, who is or was, engaged in the business. He says: "It is well known to the trade, and generally supposed by those not engaged in the sale of liquors, that adulteration is carried on to a very great extent in the United States, as well as in England. In France also it is conducted on an extensive scale. He admits that, "drugs possessed of a poisonous nature, have been, and are now, more or less in use," but pretends that "a change is in progress for the better." He says further that, "although the adulteration of liquors has been generally condemned as pernicious in the effect produced, still it ever has been, and ever will continue to be resorted to, *that the dealer may extend his profits.* And this of course is the object of all *imitations*, an extension of profits. A spurious article of liquor can be made for less money, than a pure one, but if it will only answer the purpose, the object of the dealer is met. This author says again, " were all liquors imported pure, and sold in the same state, the quantity sold would be a *mere item* compared with the amount now drank in this country. Indeed, France and the continental countries of Europe do not produce a sufficient quantity, if the entire products of their vineyards were exported, to supply the natural trade of New York city alone." This was about twelve years ago, and I do not think matters have grown any better since. " So great," he says, " is the demand for exportation, that the French are compelled to resort to imitations to supply the deficiency. From the extreme high price of French liquors every inducement is held out to adulterate them, and the consequence is, but few brandies or other liquors are exported to this country in a pure state." We give but one other statement from this author, which is this: That " the city of New York alone sells three times as many 'pure imported brandies,' so called, and four times as many 'pure imported wines,' so called, annually, as all the wine producing countries export." We should hardly feel like receiving this statement, if it were made by some temperance enthusiast, but as it is the statement of one who wrote expressly " for the trade," we must suppose that it is not too strong. For he would not be likely to make it appear that this counterfeiting business is carried on to any greater extent than it is.

If the people only knew the facts, their notions of " pure wines " would be greatly modified. The wine consumers of this country talk much about pure wines, port, Maderia and Champagne; whoever bought a bottle of wine, either for medical or other purposes, who was not told, and perhaps made to believe, that it was a " genuine article," " direct from France or Portugal, or the Island of Madeira." But how they are deceived. Take the facts as to Champagne wine. The whole Champagne district sends out, that is, exports only about 800,000 " baskets," as they are called, each year. Of these, Russia consumes 160,000—France 162,000—Germany 146,000—England 220,000—and, if the United States should take all that remains, it would have only 120,000; but 120,000 is not much more than one-tenth of what the United States uses; so that nearly nine-tenths of the Champagne which we use in this country is counterfeit.

Then, take Madeira wine. Dr. Nott states, on reliable authority, that the sum total of wine produced on the Island of Madeira, is only about 30,000 barrels. And yet the American people alone claim to consume 50,000 barrels, and all the rest of the nations, you know, have plenty of " Madeira wine," and so they have, if the name were any indication of the quality. But, not one in ten of the wine consumers of this country ever saw a bottle of pure Madeira wine. The same is true of what is called port wine. A writer of high authority says: " There is, perhaps, nearly a hundred times as much 'port wine,' so-called, sold and drank as can be made in the entire port wine district." Port wine takes its name from Oporto, a sea-coast town of Portugal, where the wine is shipped, and the grapes from which it is made, grow in the valley of the Douro river, which

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empties into the ocean at that point. But this is a very small valley, and, to any person who knows anything about the manufacture of wines, it is *preposterous to suppose* that the few grapes which grow there, are sufficient to furnish wine for the supply of the whole world. And yet, go where you will, and there is no scarcity of "port wine;" or, if they happen not to have it to-day, they can make it in a few hours. It is well known to the trade that the exported wines from Oporto, are adulterated to about five times their original quantity before ever they leave the country in which they are made. Another fact is, that in the year 1866 the people of London alone, drank twice as much "port wine," as was shipped from the whole Douro valley, counting the good and bad together. This shows that these wines, which had already been increased to five times their bulk before they left home, were doubled in quantity in the city of London alone. During the same year, New York city used about as much as was made in the whole Douro valley, counting the good and the bad. So that, London and New York consumed three times as much as was exported from its native conntry, and we found that there was five times as much exported as there should have been. And, as five times three are fifteen, it follows that London and New York alone, consumed fifteen times as much "port wine" as was made in the whole port wine district. And these are only *two* of the many wine markets of the world. Such is a general statement of the case, and it is a statement which refers more especially to foreign wines. But let us look at a few of the facts in our own country—let us inquire how this business is done—and what kind of materials are employed. It is not pretended that *all* liquors are adulterated, but it is pretended that *immense quantities are.* Neither is it pretended that all adulterated liquors are equally injurious. The method in some cases is to pour liquor of an inferior quality into liquor of a superior quality, because the poorer article is the cheaper article. But when this is done the strength is reduced, and something else must be put in to correct this.

In order that we understand this process of adulteration, we must remember that different sets of ingredients are used for different purposes. Some ingredients are used to adulterate the alcohol itself—others to give color—and others to give age and bead, as it is called. Then, after your alcohol has been adulterated by certain ingredients, you may use that same kind of alcohol in making different kinds of liquors by putting into it certain other ingredients. For example: if you wish to convert one gallon of corn whiskey into four gallons of peach brandy, you would use one set of ingredients. If you wish to make it into Jamaica rum, you would use another set, if into Holland gin, another, and if you wanted to convert it into ten gallons of old port wine, still another set, and so on. The *coloring* and *flavoring* would be different in these cases, though the elements which produce the intoxication might be the same in each case.

And what are some of the things which are used for adulterating the alcohol itself? Be it remembered that the alcohol is the element in the liquor which intoxicates. So that, if the liquor dealer put some cheaper article into his liquor, and thus reduce the quantity of alcohol, he must be careful to put something in which will have about the same effect that the full amount of alcohol would have had. That is, he must use some artlcle which, when a man takes it into his stomach, will make him feel as though he is drunk; indeed, which to all intents and purposes will make him drunk.

Some of the effects you know which alcohol has, is, that it irritates the membranes of the body—deadens sensation—makes people dizzy—and, in large doses, interferes with motion. There are numerous drugs which will produce these effects when taken into the stomach, and men who have given attention to the subject have studied carefully to find out what they are, and how they ought to be combined, in order to produce the most perfect result. The following are prominent among them: Strychnine, stramonium, belladonna, tobacco, cocculus and opium. Says Dr. Story: "As the action of these drugs upon the system is very similar to alcohol, it follows that when combined with alcohol so as to

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increase the quantity, by taking the place of that article, the effect will be about the same." That is, so far as the mere matter of making a man drunk is concerned, they will answer about as well as alcohol. But this is not all; they must put something in of a warming or heating nature. And quite a number of articles are used for this, some of which are the following: Pepper, cloves, ginger, tartaric acid, nitric acid, sulphuric acid, prussic acid, oil of vitriol, oil of turpentine, and these would be sufficient, if there were no others, but there are many others. Then there must be something to give taste and astringency to the liquors, and the following are sometimes used, some of them very often: Bruised raisins, orange peel, white oak bark, tannic acid, kino, copperas, sulphate of iron, and sulphate of copper.

One author mentions the fact that in the Isle of Sheppy many people are employed in picking up copperas stones from the sea beach, from which copperas is extracted, and then shipped to Oporto, to be sold to the wine merchants, and by them is mixed with the port wine to give it a particular astringent quality.

And another author who was well qualified to know says: "We know very well that the Spaniard would not touch the wine he manufactures for us, and the Portuguese would eject it from his mouth as so much poison. Then certain articles must be put in to correct unnatural tastes For this purpose lime water is sometimes used —also nitrate of potash—and very commonly sugar of lead.

Then the liquor must be of the proper color, and for coloring they use burnt sugar—oak saw-dust—husks of filbert and logwood. Such are some of the ingredients used, but how are they used? Let us see: A bushel of the best corn will make 3 gallons of pure whiskey. But since the distillers have learned how to mix strychnine in their yeast they have been able to average 4 gallons to the bushel, which is now the average. That is, 25 per cent of the strength of common whiskey is its strychnine strength.

This drug is so strong that it does not require much to make the additional gallon. Three cents worth of strychnine and a gallon of water, added to the original 3 gallons, will make 4 gallons of compound which will sell for pure whiskey. This is how they use strychnine. One drug-house in London, during the year 1867, sold to one liquor firm in that city more strychnine than the whole medical profession of the city required in the same time.

People do not talk understandingly when they talk of drinking pure whiskey.

Stramonium is, perhaps, the next most popular poison that is used. This is made from the juice of a very common weed, and is very cheap and poisonous. Stramonium is more generally used in the shop of the retailer. A retailer buys a gallon of corn whiskey, the strength of which is one-forth strychnine, and he proceeds according to his recipe to make *two* gallons out of it by adding stramonium and water. But as the stramonium is likely to cramp the stomach, a little opium must be added to prevent this; and a little potash must be added to counteract the taste and smell, and then it will be all right, the whole costing 4 or 5 cents. The compound thus made is not very good, not very reliable.

In a small town on the Ohio river, some time ago, two fishermen bought a pint of whiskey, and went up the river to fish. That afternoon they were both found on the bank of the river dead, and the empty bottle was found beside their bodies. When the retailer, of whom they bought their whiskey heard they were dead, he went straight and emptied that keg of whiskey into the ditch. He had either put too much of the poison in, or had not added sufficient water, either of which was a bad mistake. Belladonna, which is another common but poisonous drug, is much used, and its effects are said to be very similar indeed to those produced by intoxication. About two cents' worth will make a gallon of liquor, which sells in the market for, perhaps, a dollar and a half.

This is the way the matter runs: A distiller sells a gallon of strychnine whiskey to a wholesale dealer; while in his hands it is made into two gallons by adding stramonium and opium. Then it is sold to the retailer, and while in his cellar it is made into four gallons by the use of belladonna. Now when this is sold at ten cents a drink, the

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profits are somewhat handsome—six or seven dollars on each gallon! Some people call that an "honorable business," some do not.

Cocculus is another poison which is sometimes used. It is an East India plant, and very strong. It is highly intoxicating in its effects. In doses of two or three grains it produces nausea and prostration. In doses of ten or twelve grains it will kill strong animals by spasms and convulsions. In India it is used by certain tribes to poison the water in wells and tanks, to impede the progress of invading armies, and also to poison the weapons in time of warfare.

Mr. Morris, a London brewer, says: "Cocculus is used as a substitute for both malt and hops." Ten thousand pounds of it were shipped to Great Britain in a single year, and used in adulterating liquors. With this, our British Cousins made about six million gallons of beer. And the brewers of this country are now following their example, and are using it quite extensively, and would use more of it if it were cheaper.

Tobacco, also, is extensively used in adulterating liquors. Men learned 50 years ago that tobacco would intoxicate. It would not be surprising if there were some in this congregation who remember quite distinctly their first attempts in using tobacco. They were about as drunk as men commonly get by drinking alcohol. And it has the same effect, when taken with liquor. As it acts as an emetic, something must be mixed with it to neutralize its emetic properties, and druggists know that either opium or stramonium will do this, and when combined with either of these, it is extensively used.

Dr. Story mentions the case of a young man, not far from Chicago, whose father owned a brewery for 12 years, and he worked in it all that time. He stated in all good faith that the largest bills his father had to pay were not for malt, nor for hops, but for tobacco.

During the war, one of our regiments in Savannah took possession of a whiskey shop, and after they had emptied one of the casks, they smashed in the head, and, greatly to their surprise, found in the bottom 15 or 20 pounds of tobacco. They would not have been surprised had they known how extensively that article is used. There are many other articles used, but we have not time to consider them further now.

The Legislature of Ohio, a few years ago, directed Mr. Cox, a distinguished chemist of Cincinnati, to analyze and examine the liquors of that market. He labored for two years, but during this time the liquor men brought their influence to bear upon the Legislature, and his report was never published. But in some of his letters he has made a partial statement of the result of his investigations. We make one or two quotations. In writing to Mr. James Black, of Pennsylvania, he says: "I was appointed to the office of chemical inspector on the 19th of March, 1855. Since then I have made over 600 inspections of stores and lots of liquors of every variety, and positively assert *that over 90 per cent. of all that I have analyzed, were adulterated with the most pernicious and poisonous ingredients.* We have time to refer to but one case which he mentions. He says: "I called at a grocery store one day, where liquor was sold, and while there, two Irishmen came in and asked for whiskey. The first one drank, and the moment he did so the tears flowed freely, while he at the same time caught his breath like one suffocating or strangling. When he could speak, he said to his companion, 'Michael, but this is warming to the stomach, sure.' Michael drank, and went through with similar contortions, and remarked, 'Wouldn't it be foin on a cold, frosty morning, Timothy?' I then asked the proprietor to pour me out a little in a tumbler, which he did, and I went at once to my office and examined it. I found it 17 per cent. alcoholic spirits, when it should have been 50, and the difference was made up of sulphuric acid, red pepper, caustic potash, strychnine, and a few other ingredients. One pint of such liquor," he says, "drank at one time, would kill the strongest man living."

A druggist of Cincinnati, sent to New York for two hogsheads of brandy, so as to be able to supply the physicians with a good article for medicinal purposes. When they came, Dr. Cox examined the contents, and found in them sulphuric acid, nitric acid, prussic acid, fusil oil and some other in-

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gredients. Said he: "I pronounce it base common whiskey. Not one drop of wine." The jury decided that the liquor was worthless, and the New York man left town without his pay.

In answer to certain questions, Dr. Cox mentioned the following as the composition of all the port wine he had inspected that spring: As a basis either water, cider, vinegar, or a mixture of sulphuric acid, with the juice of elderberries, beet root juice and logwood, and sometimes one or two per cent of Jamaica Rum or neutral spirits added.

Dr. Nott, who has written largely upon this subject, says: "A friend of mine purchased a cask of port wine, of a New York house, who had just received it from Oporto, and, upon their *honor* and *integrity*, they declared it to be a superior article. Therefore, I drew it off," he says, "and bottled it up, and carefully secured it with my own hands, for the special use of my friends. When it had all been consumed, having occasion to saw the cask in two, what was my surprise to find that its lees consisted of shavings of logwood, a residuum of alum, and other ingredients, the name and nature of which I did not know."

In reply to a question put by the same authority, to a friend who had himself been a wine dealer, as to the truth of the startling statements then published with reference to wine brewing, he made this response: "God forgive what has passed in my own cellar, but the statements made are true, all true, I assure you."

The truth is, there is no end to the unscrupulousness with which this unrighteous business is carried on: Said a certain French wine merchant, "give me six hours notice of what kind of wine you like, and you shall have it out of those two barrels." And a certain grocer after he had abandoned the traffic declared that he had often purchased whiskey one day of a country merchant, and before he left town sold the same whiskey back to him turned into wine, at a profit of from 400 to 500 per cent.

Dr. Story, of Chicago, says he has in his possession a book which tells how to make 165 different kinds of brandies, wines, ciders, bitters and cordials out of common corn whiskey and cheap drugs. He says a whiskey man on Randolph street, who had heard of the book and knew he had it, wanted to give him $100 for it.

We should say he could well afford to pay $100 for it, though we have no idea that he got it.

"But," says the Dr. "the vilest and lowest of all these recipes are not printed at all. Their authors have not dared to print them. These are only written on paper, hidden away, and kept securely locked. These cost money. They are studied by candle light down in dingy cellars." He continues: "In these you find a depth of depravity and villainy which almost curdles ones blood. On reading these the face of a patriot flushes and pales, and the breast of an honest man becomes appalled. Are we all human? Or have some of us become demons?"

Some people seem to think that this counterfeiting business is so bad that society would be justified in putting a stop to it, either by moral suasion, or legal restraint. They seem to think that when a certain portion of our citizens sell to another portion of our citizens a poisonous compound under the pretense that it is a wholesome beverage, that it would be right to prosecute them if need be, and to make the fine so heavy, that they would stop the business. But then there are others among us who claim to be law abiding citizens, who say that this would be wrong. Wrong, because it would be an invasion of the rights of private property. The dealer buys his drugs, and pays for them, and mixes them, and they are his property; and cannot a man do as he pleases with his own property? Yes, say these men, he may. Let these men proceed with their business; let them go on with their poisoning. If, to secure a living, they wish to deal out deadly drugs to our children under the name of "liquors," we will not interfere.

If a *druggist*, with a view to make money, should sell poison under some other name, he would be arrested in less than 24 hours. Public justice would be so outraged that public sentiment would frown upon him, in its most hideous forms. He would be branded as a public murderer.

If a poor woman should appear upon the market with butter to sell, and upon examination it should be found

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to contain a small per cent. of lard, you would have her arrested and fined, or, if she could not pay her fine, would send her to the House of Correction for 60 or 90 days. And, suppose for the sake of counteracting the taste of the lard, or, for preserving the color of the butter, she should put in a little poison. How utterly horror-stricken the people would be! She would be heralded from one end of the land to the other. The pictorial papers of the country would set her forth in flaming colors, upon the first page of their paper, under the title of *The Great Female Demon*, who recently mixed lard and poison with the butter, for the sake of making money. And it would be a terrible thing, would it not. We think such a person ought to be arrested, every time. For health and life would be endangered if she continued her sales. We can see *this* well enough. But we *can not* see how it is, that it is *right* to arrest a woman for selling poisonous butter, and that it is *wrong* to arrest a man for selling poisonous liquor. *That* is one of the things we can not see.

Suppose a man should come into Adrian and open a new market, and sell to the citizens diseased meat. What would you think about it? What would you do about it? Suppose he should saturate his meat with a little poisonous water, with a view to make it weigh more. You might not be able to see the poison, or taste it. It might not produce instantaneous death —it might not produce any serious effects just now. But after a time you begin to have peculiar symptoms, and you begin to be suspicious that there is something wrong about your food. Upon investigation you find there is poison in your system, and you soon trace the poison to the meat you have eaten, and you trace the meat to the shop where you bought it, and where fifty others have bought meat. It is now soon noised abroad that that miserable man, who opened a meat market on the corner, a short time ago, has been selling to the people of Adrian poisoned meat. Would you be likely to have that man arrested? We think so.

But suppose at the trial it should be insisted that the meat was his own, and the drugs were his own, for he had paid for them; and that a man has a right to do as he pleases with his own property; *therefore* he is accquitted! What would be the feelings of the people? Their feelings would be just as much hurt in view of the decision of the Court, as they were in view of the conduct of the miserable man in the first place. And it would not be so very surprising if the people should rise, *en masse*, and demolish that man's establishment, and hang the proprietor over the ruins. There is no difficulty in a case of this kind. If a woman sell poisoned butter, or a man sell poisoned meat, the people will have them arrested at once.

But if a man sell poisoned liquor, *that* is another thing; and so much another thing that it has been done in every city in the land, and upon every day of the week. And not one man in one hundred is ever arrested, or in any way disturbed, either by moral suasion or legal restriction. We trust it will not be so, long.

There are over one hundred thousand of these men in this land dealing out poison to our citizens, to our fathers, to our sons and sometimes to our mothers, sisters and daughters. Some of these victims are dead already, others are now dying, and all the rest are in danger. They are filling drunkard's graves at the rate of 100,000 a year. And shall we neither lift our voice to warn them, nor our hand to help them, nor our prayers to save them. Heaven forbid that we should be silent.

He that hath a tongue, let him speak. He that hath a hand, let him help. He that hath a prayer, let him pray.

Widow's tears and orphans' wailing,
Seen and heard on every hand,
Deeds of dark and cruel carnage,
Stain with crimson this our land;
Wretched victims fill our prisons,
Others beg from door to door;
While the homes we build for paupers.
Scarce can hold a beggar more.

This will last, o'er burdened people,
Till you crush the leading cause,
Till you save the tempted drunkard,
By the aid of Christian laws;
Till you check the sale of "poison,"
Under every tempting name,
And redeem the sinking millions
From the rum-fiend's grasp of shame.

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The Pulpit.

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The following discourse was delivered before the late National Council of Congregational Churches, at New Haven, Conn., October 1st, 1874.

The Little Cloud like a Man's Hand.

A SERMON

— BY —

REV. ZACHARY EDDY, D. D.,

Pastor of the Fort Street Congregational Church, Detroit, Mich.

I KINGS, 18:44.—Behold, there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand.

MEN AND BRETHREN: When the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements requested me to prepare a paper for this Council, on the signs of a general and speedy effusion of the Holy Spirit, my mind instantly adverted to the memorable scene recorded in the paragraph from which the text is taken. I seemed to see the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel, bowed to the earth with his head between his knees, and his servant standing on the highest bluff, gazing out anxiously on the sea and sky, for some sign, however slight, of the promised rain. I seemed to see him descend to the prophet, again and again, with the disheartening report, "There is nothing," but as often returning to his look-out for fresh observations. At last his face brightens. He descries on the distant horizon a dot of moving vapor; it rises higher; it is

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no bigger than his hand; but it is a rain cloud. "Behold," he cries, "there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand." Make haste, Ahab! prepare thy chariot, and get thee down, lest the rain stop thee! Up, Elijah! gird thy loins, for thou must run before the king to the entrance of Jezreel! The heavens are already black with clouds and wind; there is sound of abundance of rain.

Is it not a parable? The refreshing rain causing the earth to bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater—what is it but the good Spirit of God poured forth on the thirsty church, on a famishing world? What says the promise? "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; I will pour My Spirit upon thy seed, and My blessing upon thine offspring, and they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses." The long-continued drought, when there was neither rain nor dew upon the earth—what does it signify but those times of spiritual aridity, when special blessings are withheld; when there is little apparent spiritual power and gladness in the church; when faith, hope and charity droop and wither; when the preaching of the Word seems ineffectual; when Sabbath worship and sacraments, no longer charged with heavenly grace, seem like dried up river channels, in which there is only here and there a moist reminiscence of their former fulness; when few are joined to the communion of saints, and when the ways of Zion mourn. Elijah, sitting there on the slope of Carmel with his head bowed to the earth—how strikingly does he represent all those who pray with groanings which cannot be uttered for times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord! And the servant on the mountain-top—brothers, you have said to me, Go up, now, look toward the sea, and report what you see in the distance.

Well, I obey. With such eyes as God has given me, I take my stand on Mount Carmel. There is doubtless more to be seen than I can see; but what I see, or think I see, I will tell I must report to you the result of several observations; and possibly some of these reports may be contradictory, but so also may be the signs of the times. Contrary omens may possibly appear in the same field of vision.

I must honestly confess that my first observation was, by reason doubtless of my spiritual short-sightedness, disappointing. I was

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instructed to look for signs of a great, general, and speedy effusion of the Holy Ghost, that is to say, for the signs of a world-wide revival of religion. I could, at first, see no such signs, not a cloud in the sky, not even a thread of mist on the horizon. On the contrary, I saw the millions of our country and of christendom, to all appearance, exclusively occupied with material interests, —agriculture, manufacture, commerce, railroads, telegraphs, mines, finance, politics—and God seemed to be shut out of all hearts, and plans, and enterprises. I saw politicians plotting, factions raging, corruption reeking, and nowhere any very clear traces of conscience and religion. I saw gigantic frauds and abominable vices coming to light without greatly shocking the general conscience. I saw many of the intellectual classes turning away from the faith of their fathers, not a few plunging into the bottomless pit of atheism. The world overflowed everything, engulfed everything. Earth seemed a Babel, in which an infinite hubbub of profane, blasphemous voices drowned the still small voice of God, and of His eternal truth. Amidst the roar of secular and godless excitements, I could scarcely hear the prayers of God's elect, sounding like many waters, deep calling unto deep, round about His throne. So I once sat for hours on the brink of Niagara, my ears filled with the tearing, fretful noises of the nearer, superficial rapids; and it was long ere I heard the deep muffled thunders of the infinite floods, the voice of omnipotence and eternity. The church seemed to me neither more nor less zealous and spiritual than in former years. The number of nominal Christians was indeed greater than ever, and there were many signs of outward prosperity, but so far as I could see, not more holiness or longing for holiness, than there has been for generations.

Such is a truthful report of my first observation. I saw what I had eyes for seeing; no more. I have sometimes, soon after the setting of the sun, raised my eyes to the sky, looking for the punctual stars which I knew must have become visible; but I could see nothing except the golden glow of twilight. Looking, however, again and again, the stars by twos and threes came out, and flashed down upon me a smiling rebuke for my failure to recognize them on their first appearance. What wonder that eyes, which had long been fixed on dark terrestrial objects, could not instantaneously adapt themselves to the faint though clear radiance of the early stars of evening? An observer is necessarily

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imbued, however unconsciously, with the spirit of his age; and, in a materialistic and unbelieving age, like this, he may haply discern only, in the world-movements around him, anti-Christian and godless tendencies. So it was with me. I said to myself,—"There is nothing." And now that I have gazed long and anxiously, I can descry no such omens of a great and general effusion of the Spirit, as enable me to announce with prophetic assurance its speedy approach, but only such omens as are fitted to inspire hope, to encourage prayer, and stimulate to earnest, united effort. The signs of promise, some of them slight and vague, but others more clear and assuring, taken together, cannot fail to strike us as cheering, and "very full of comfort."

It is much to be able to say, in an age when multitudes are doubting the possibility of any immediate divine influence on the human soul, that, standing at my post of observation, I see, if as yet no cloud like a man's hand, the great SEA from which it is sure in due time to rise. The servant sent by Elijah to the top of Carmel, instead of saying, "There is nothing," might have reasoned thus: "Yonder sea is fed by all the fountains, and rivers and rain falls, and oceans in the world. It leans on every shore. Its waters, ever ascending into the atmosphere, only await the requisite conditions to fall in fertilizing rains on the thirsty earth. This land, with such a reservoir at hand, cannot be left a perpetual desolation. It will again become, when the sweet west wind blows, a land flowing with milk and honey." And thus do I, defying the materialism of the times, reason touching the life-giving grace of that Spirit who is like the inexhaustible ocean.

I have here and now no controversy with those who deny that God, if there be a God, has any access to the soul of man; who resolve life and thought and conscience and the Holy Ghost, into matter and force, or, to use their own high-sounding word, *protoplasm;* who deride the faith that individual souls, and churches, and whole nations, are sometimes seized and quickened and uplifted by a secret but irresistible Divine energy. Fools and blind! The world without God would be like the earth without water, dessicated and dead. What water, in its inexhaustible abundance, is to this planet, rolling in oceans, flowing in rivers, sporting in lakes, gushing in springs, exhaling in vapors, falling in showers, circulating in trees, filling the world with life and beauty and gladness—all this, and infinitely more, is the Spirit of God to the

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world of conscious intelligences. And all the oceans will sooner be exhausted than the energy of that almighty and eternal Spirit. Alas that so few know what God is! Men say that He is a Spirit, but they know not what they say. A Spirit He truly is, that is to say, He is essential life, love, intelligence, energy, surging through all things, blessing, vivifying, filling all creatures according to the respective nature and capacity of each. A Spirit He is, animating, informing, upholding the worlds, and at the same time filling with vital gladness the tiny insects that sport in the sunbeam and the dew drop. A Spirit He is, whose "dwelling is the light of setting suns, and the round ocean, and the living air;" and not less "in the mind of man." A sober physicist, not blinded by false science, cannot trace even dead matter to its root and origin, without finding God, as the source and center of its mysterious forces: if we fail to find His life-giving, light-giving, gladdening presence in the world of mind, we are more stupid than insensate blocks and stones.

This is not all. While we assert the possibility and reality of divine visitations, while we assert that the Divine Spirit can vivify and illumine the intelligences He has made; while we assert that the soul of man is, in its spiritual nature, receptive of the Divine, and capable of conscious communion with God, we also proclaim, as a glorious fact, that the Spirit of God has been given as a special and perpetual endowment to the Church. The same Spirit that moved upon the face of the waters at the beginning, came down as the life-principle of a new and higher creation, upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost.

He comes! He comes! that mighty Breath,
From Heaven's eternal shores;
His uncreated presence fills
His Bride, as she adores.

The Spirit came into the Church,
With His unfailing power;
He is the living heart that beats
Within her at this hour.

The Holy Ghost dwells in the Church from age to age as the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of power, the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit of faith and hope and love, the Comforter. If this gift has never been revoked, if we are still living under the pentecostal dispensation, we may reasonably look in every generation, for fresh and

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wonderful manifestations of the Holy Ghost. Great and sovereign revivings are the signs of the Spirit's perpetual presence in the Church.

It may strike some that the true effect of the Spirit's continued indwelling in the Church should be, not occasional revivals, but uniform growth and fruitfulness. Both history and analogy lead to a different inference. There is, even in nature, a law of periodicity which governs the manifestations of life. In winter, when meadows and gardens, orchards and vineyards are withered, and when denuded forests stand like armies of skeletons bleaching in the freezing winds, it looks as though the great ocean of life had ebbed away to sunless caverns, never to return. But a few short weeks elapse and the vital tide again rises, dashing verdure and bloom over valley and hill even to the mountain tops. The description of spring in Canticles, is often applied with a true apprehension of its inner meaning to revivals of religion: "For, lo, the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear in the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grapes give a good smell." This is not all: the history of the church, or rather, of spiritual religion, is largely a history of great, periodical revivings. Witness the power and glory of the primitive times; witness the occasional and almost equally marvellous spiritual movements in what are usually called the Dark Ages; witness "the bright and blissful Reformation, when the Bible was sought out of dusty corners, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the rage of the old red dragon;"* witness the mighty spiritual revival, called Puritanism, and the scarcely less mighty revival of the eighteenth century, which, indeed, is still in progress, called the Great Awakening. Yes, the divine Sea, which sends up its gracious clouds to water the earth, has its ebbs and flows; but it is inexhaustible; and its existence is a pledge of the former and the latter rain.

The metaphorical language in which I have been speaking, though even intensely Scriptural, may seem to favor an error—or

* MILTON; Of Reformation in England.

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shall I call it a mischevious half-truth?—into which our modern culture is apt to betray us. When we speak of the Holy Spirit under the symbol of water, or under those other striking symbols, fire, light, and air, we naturally import into the spiritual sphere of thought the notion of force which is derived from physical science. Hence it has come about, in our time, that many think of the Holy Ghost as an impersonal, organic force working by necessary laws. Against this way of thinking I must here enter an emphatic objection. The Holy Ghost is, according to the Scriptures, to be conceived of, supplicated, and adored as a divine, personal, and sovereign Agent, working according to His own good pleasure, or, in the words of the Evangelist, "breathing where He listeth." I request you to hold this in mind as having an important bearing upon much that is to follow. For, after all, the great question of the hour is, WILL the Holy Ghost work mightily in our time? Now we shall find intimations of the Spirit's purpose, if anywhere, in the Scriptures given by His inspiration, in the church, which is the organism in and through which He works, and in the condition of the world which is to be subdued, enlightened, and new-created by His power.

What then says the word of prophecy? There are in the Scriptures two classes of promises touching a marvellous effusion of the Spirit in the last days.

As a specimen of the former class, I quote the prophecy of Joel as I find it in the sermon of Peter on the day of Pentecost:

"And it shall come to pass, in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams:

"And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit; and they shall prophesy:

"And I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke:

"The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come:

"And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved."

Of course I attach no special significance to the phrase, "the last days," as a note of time, for it evidently covers the whole period of the dispensation of the Spirit; but I beg you to mark that the prophecy only *began* to be fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, and that, in its largest sense, its fulfilment is yet future. It undoubtedly belongs to the predictions which, in the striking

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phrase of Lord Bacon, have "a springing and germinant fulfilment." We are to look for larger and larger outpourings of the Holy Spirit till "all flesh" shall have been baptized. For that wondrous baptism the Church has been waiting for eighteen weary centuries; it cannot now be very distant; it must be, as we shall see, at hand, even at the door.

The other class is composed of promises, well nigh innumerable, which foreshadow the universal triumph of the kingdom of Christ in the latter days: "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers that water the earth. In His days shall the righteous flourish; yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him; all nations shall call Him blessed. So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the west, and His glory from the rising of the sun. For the earth shall be filled with a knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together." All such promises imply a special, world-wide, irresistible work of the Spirit in the times just preceding the final triumph of the kingdom of Christ.

On what power shall we rely, for the speedy evangelization of the world, but on the omnipotence of the Holy Ghost?

There are those who augur the speedy conversion of the nations, not only from the multiplication of evangelizing agencies, but also from the forces of our secular civilization. I have even heard arguments for a forth-coming millenium based on the steam engine, the electro-magnetic telegraph, the power of the press, the ballot-box, the Fifteenth Amendment, and the general dissemination of democratic ideas. In still more glowing rhetoric the same sanguine orators are wont to expatiate on the great voluntary associations of the age for the spread of the gospel, and the extirpation of social evils. For my own part, I must honestly confess that, while I believe that God holds in His hand all natural forces, and directs the so-called "march of evangelization," I look for a millenium higher, holier, more blessed than any which can possibly result from natural evolution, however helped and guided by science. I look for the reign, not of mere cultivated intellect dominating the brute forces of nature, but of Christ governing, according to the law of love, a regenerate and blissful world. This dominion cannot be brought in and established by any power short of that which fell on the disciples on the day of Pentecost.

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I do not undervalue the agencies which have been devised for the evangelization of our own and of heathen lands. The results already accomplished are very precious; but it is time for us to see and acknowledge that those agencies, without a new and unparallelled effusion of the Holy Ghost, will fail to convert the world. Buddhism, Brahmanism, Mohammedism—these doubtless will pass away; but our missions, considered as instrumens for battering down those ancient cyclopean fortresses of error are like pellets of paper aimed by boys against the rock of Gibraltar. The infidel argues from these data that missionary schemes and enterprises are doomed to failure. He tells us that every convert costs us $1,000, and that, at the present rate of progress, it will take more than 200,000 years to evangelize the world. "At the present rate of progress;" granted. I liken our present evangelizing agencies to a vast system of electro-magnetic wires, extending through every country, to every city, to every house, with a central battery quite inadequate to charge those wires except very feebly, throughout their world-wide and web-like ramifications. But let the great cosmical currents, the concentrated lightnings of the planet, get possession of the wires, the battery will be superseded; there will be a universal shock and thrill and flash and conflagration. And let the Holy Ghost fall in pentecostal power upon the vast evangelizing machinery, on missionary societies, and missions, and missionaries, on churches and pastors the world over: how suddenly will the light of the knowledge of the glory of God cover the earth! Then nations will be born in a day. Something like this, something prophetic of this, is often witnessed in local revivals. Sometimes whole cities are lifted, for a few weeks, out of the dark, seething whirlpool of secular excitements, into the still air and clear light of eternity; and God, and Christ, and redemption and heaven and hell take possession of all minds. May we not expect that, when the set time has come, when the long preparation is completed, we shall witness, not a local, but a universal awakening?

But when? We must seek for a more precise indication of time in the present state of the Church. The Holy Spirit is imparted first to the Church, and then through the Church to the world. This is clearly declared by Christ Himself, as interpreted by the Evangelist who records His words: "He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters. This

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spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive, for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified."

Is the church ready, or making herself ready, for a great and general outpouring of the Holy Ghost? It is said that certain persons in an eastern village, happening to pass the church just as a violent thunder storm was rising, noticed that the lightning rod was broken off a few feet above the ground. They hastily fastened a rather small wire to the end of the rod, and thus connected it with the earth. Feeling of the wire while the storm was raging, they found it charged with heat, as if just taken from a furnace. Now the holy fire descends from heaven, first upon the Church, and thence to the world. To facilitate that descent there are provided certain conducting wires, and it is only when these are in good order that we can predict with assurance the celestial visitation.

1. Prayer. Is there at the present time such a spirit of believing and importunate prayer as preceded the baptism of Pentecost? I believe that a multitude of Christian people in this land are just now, like Elijah on Mount Carmel, bowed to the earth in mighty supplication. I happen to know that Christian women all over the West have been pleading many months for a great refreshing. The so-called women's temperance meetings have been, in the main, meetings for prayer that the Lord will come and rain righteousness on all the churches and all the people. And there is now a general expectation in all that region of a speedy reviving.

2. The spirit of union and fellowship everywhere apparent is another hopeful omen. That great love-feast of Christendom—I mean the late meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York—cannot but be regarded as a distinct intimation of the Lord's purpose to work speedily and mightily through His church, which is His body—that is to say, His living instrument for the salvation of the world.

3. Knowing as we do that the Spirit works in and through the Word, it is encouraging to observe that preaching is becoming more scriptural, more simple, more tender, and more effective; and all this for the very reason that it is growing less metyphysical, less dogmatic and sectarian. Some may question the fact; but the speaker is not of the number. It seems clear to me that God is now better known and better preached than in former years; and I am sure that the personal, historical Christ of the Gospels, in His purity, His beauty, His dying love, is proclaimed from thousands of pulpits as never before. Truly, brothers, Jesus of Nazareth, thus lifted up, will speedily draw all men unto Him.

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4. There is a sign of the coming blessing in the new spirit which is beginning to show itself in the laity, if that term is not misapplied to those men and women in our churches who manifest a "priestly unction" as unmistakeably as any who have been set apart by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Consider how many gifted and educated men, how many accomplished women, are engaged every Sabbath, and not a few on week days as well, in teaching the Word of God. And remember that the evangelist whose preaching has stirred all Scotland during the last few months, is a plain, homely layman, whose sole power is the gospel of Christ. I rejoice in this. There could not be a more striking demonstration of reviving life and power in the Church. Would to God that all the Lord's people were prophets!

5. I have spoken of Scotland. Churches and public halls filled to overflowing with crowds eager to hear the simple Gospel; tens of thousands congregated in streets, fields, cemeteries; Christian hymns taking the place of Burns' songs in the huts and workshops of the poor; thousands of converts in Edinburgh and Glasgow; hundreds of young men offering themselves as candidates for missionary work; a multitude of drunkards reformed; a nation throbbing with a new life; what shall we think? Is not the great revival already begun?

6. Add to this the general feeling, stronger now than it has ever been in my time, that a new era is opening, that vast and wondrous changes are at hand. May we not hope, may we not believe that God is about to visit His people? Is there not a sound of rain?

Is there anything in the present state of the world to confirm this hope? Yes, much. It would almost seem that, if God still lives, He MUST manifest Himself, and that right early. Those are blind indeed who do not discern in the present condition of the civilized world the supreme crisis of its history. I can only advert to two phenomena which lead me to expect the speedy appearance of God Himself on the stage. The first is the consummation in our day of that great mystery of iniquity, the Papacy. We have witnessed at last the deification of a creature in the person of Mary, the mother of the Lord; and now, Mariolatry in one-half of Christendom has well nigh superseded Christianity. This is not all. The Romish Church has at length openly placed the crown which belongs to Christ, on the head of the Pope, declaring a sinful and feeble old man the Infallible Head of the Church. The issue is precise and definite; we await the battle, and we know whose the victory will be.

On the other hand, the anti-Christianism of the age boldly defies and challenges not only Jesus the Christ, but God the Holy Ghost. You know how the work of the Spirit, and special answers to prayer, have been denied and derided. You know how, again and again, in the most deliberate and public manner, unbe-

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lievers have thrown down the gauntlet to Christ and His saints, and, with scornful taunts, demanded the combat. This issue, also, is fairly made up. It is felt by all that the contest is final and decisive. On this grander Carmel, in the presence of the human family, the great question of the last days is to be decided. The God who answers by fire shall be proclaimed the God, not of Israel, but of MANKIND.

God has been wont, in the ages past, to answer the defiance of infidelity by great outpourings of His Spirit. Take these striking facts and figures touching the eighteenth century, when it really seemed for a time that Christianity was to be blotted out. The anti-Christian movement was carried on and represented by Voltaire, born 1694, died 1778; by Hume, born 1711, died 1776; by Rousseau, born 1712, died 1778; by Gibbon, born 1737, died 1794; by Thomas Paine, born 1737, died 1809. A host of so-called philosophers, scientists, freethinkers, and literati followed these leaders in their crusade against the Cross. We know how utterly that crusade failed; but we do not always consider by what means it was defeated. That same century witnessed the "Great Awakening." See how the following names synchronize with those already read: Zindendorf, born 1700, died 1760; Jonathan Edwards, born 1703, died 1758; John Wesley, born 1703, died 1791; George Whitfield, born 1714, died 1770; David Brainard, born 1718, died 1747. These names stand for the great revival by which God answered the challenge of the ablest and boldest enemies which the Gospel ever encountered. And so I doubt not He will answer by fire in our own time.

To conclude this imperfect survey: When we contemplate the nature of God, as an overflowing ocean of love and life, of grace and blessing; when we consider well the fulness, freeness, and perpetuity of that gift of the Holy Ghost with which the Lord has endowed His Church; when we call to mind the manifold precious promises of larger and yet larger effusions of the Spirit in the latter days; when we listen to the cry of God's elect throughout the world, "O Lord, revive Thy work!" when we witness here and there sudden and marvellous awakenings, and, at last, one national revival; when we hear the enemies of Christ deny His power and blaspheme His Spirit; when we behold the world groaning and travailing and crying for deliverance—may we not say, without arrogating to ourselves prophetic prescience, "The set time to favor Zion is at hand;" there not only "ariseth out of the sea a little cloud like a man's hand," but "there is sound of abundance of rain?"

O brothers, why should we doubt? Surely, the Lord is about to baptize His church, to baptize the nations, far and wide, with the Holy Ghost. Methinks I hear the rushing of the heavenly wind. I seem to see the gleam of the heavenly fires. Blessed Lord let some life-drops fall on our arid souls; let tongues of flame light on our sinful heads! AMEN.

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The Pulpit.

Vol. III. NOVEMBER, 1874. No. 3.

The CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

A SERMON

Preached at the Recognition Service of a Classmate,

— BY —

Rev. NORMAN C. MALLORY,

Pastor of First Baptist Church, cor. Cass Ave. and Bagg St., Detroit.

II. Cor. iv. 2.—By manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

The text is a part of that wonderful portraiture of the Christian ministry as drawn by the chief Apostle.

It were well for every preacher of the Gospel to engrave the entire passage in deep and legible characters on the walls of his study, as the canon of ministerial character and conduct.

"Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not. But have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

What a sublime moral attitude is here portrayed! How everyway ennobling to the ministry itself! How everyway safe to society at large!

It is both a negative and positive definition of the ministry.

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The negative features are three: "*Having renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully;*" and then three positive strokes are added: "*But by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God.*" There stands before us, the ministerial character and office in comprehensive outline.

We shall confine ourselves to a survey of the positive features of the definition, as furnishing considerations eminently suited to such an occasion as this—the public recognition of a minister of the Gospel.

"By manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

I. We shall first ask your attention to the faculty addressed, *the Conscience.*

Conscience is that intuitive attribute of our nature which takes note of the moral quality of action, and pronounces upon it as being right or wrong, worthy or unworthy.

It is this faculty more especially that distinguishes man from the lower order of animals, and lifts him to the dignity of a moral subject.

It is a difficult task to draw a clear line of distinction between man and the brute, considered *simply* as intelligences, since both seem to be favored with this attribute.

What is the essence of intelligence? Is it not to foresee an end, and adjust means to its accomplishment? The *Bird* does this when she builds her nest in hidden seclusion; when she migrates to other and warmer climes. The *Beast* does this when he crouches and skulks to take his prey; when he builds his dam to insure his safety.

Man's intelligence is superior it is true, but it is superior only in degree. This process of foreseeing ends, and adapting means to their accomplishment, is carried to a higher degree of perfection in man, to meet the wants of a higher and broader nature; and this is about all that can *positively* be affirmed.

There is no sharp and well defined transition joint between the intelligence of the brute and man. It is on a higher plane that we find an abrupt severance of these two orders of life, passing up through the realm of *intelligence*, into that of *morals*, we leave the brute by a marked distinction, far behind.

The brute life is truncated at this point, while man's life goes

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towering on. It is in this realm that attributes can be predicated of the one that cannot of the other. Man is a *moral* intelligence, while brute life is only a low form of *intelligence*. Man can become a moral subject, the brute only a subject; man may be influenced to do right for righteousness own sake, the brute can only be influenced to right through fear of punishment or hope of reward.

Thus, by the addition of conscience to his intelligent nature, man is lifted to the dignity of a moral subject; he is brought into relations to God and all moral intelligences; the horizon of his being immeasurably extended, and the significance of his life incalculably enhanced; the awful extremes of heaven or hell are made possible through this faculty, by obedience or disobedience, by use or abuse.

Along the exquisitely sensitive cords of this faculty the hand of the divine Master shall move, waking unutterable harmonies or disharmonies, according as this moral instrument is in, or out of tune. Without this faculty, man's life would have been a thing of beauty, but with it superadded, it is awfully sublime.

Conscience is the highest authority in the soul. This might be inferred from the fact that by it man is brought into conscious fellowship with God, the supreme authority. This is not equivalent to saying that conscience is the strongest, most powerful attribute of man. The opposite is true; the will is stronger; the affections are stronger; the passions even are stronger.

The office of conscience is not that of an executive, it is rather that of a judge or advisor. Its decisions and council are often overborne. But when we say that conscience is the highest authority in the soul, we would be understood that the soul feels degraded whenever its voice is unheeded; while on the other hand, when the voice of this monitor is heeded, whatever the consequences may be, the soul feels that it has acted worthily, and rests in approbation.

Again, *Conscience is universal as the race.* If one of the specie is found without it, we call him a monster and not a man. It is true, conscience is a variable judge, approving in one where it disapproves in another. It is not maintained that conscience is uniform, but that it is universal. That every human soul has some standard by which he tests his own conduct and that of others.

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Again, *Conscience is enlightened or unenlightened*, according as the moral relations in which it stands are apprehended or not.

The guilt of transgression will always be measured by the degree of enlightenment of the transgressor. Resistence of definite and long-pressed conviction is the most fearful action of a moral subject. The punishment attending it even though it be *self*-inflicted, is appalling to contemplate.

The time of ignorance is winked at. The enlightened conscience must ask no favors.

Again, *Conscience is sensitive or seared*, and may be found in every possible degree between these two extremes. We may, however, speak of the susceptability of this faculty under three classifications:

We would denominate the first as the *Sleeping Conscience*;

The second as the *Awakened Conscience*, and

The third as the *Peaceful, or Approving Conscience.*

We would not be understood as asserting that these lines of distinction are sharp and well defined, but that the one class blends into the other as the colors of the rainbow.

FIRST.

(*a.*) The sleep of conscience may be the innocent sleep of childhood, the tender soul never having come to a conscious recognition of its moral relations, and its consequent obligations.

(*b.*) Or the sleep of conscience may be the sleep of intoxication. The soul has made itself drunk either with pleasure or business, and conscience is drowned in the excess.

(*c.*) Or it may be the final sleep of an abused and trampled conscience, whose next awakening will be when the long-absent, but sure-returning, husbandman will reckon with his unfaithful stewards.

SECOND.

(*a.*) The awakened conscience may be first, that which manifests itself in simple caviling.

(*b.*) Or second, it may be awakened to argumentation and investigation.

(*c.*) Or third, it may take the form of personal concern, saying men and brethren, what must we do?

THIRD.

The peaceful, or approving conscience is that which is made peaceful through the peace-speaking blood, and cries evermore, Father! Father!

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Thus we have seen that conscience is that faculty of our nature which pronounces upon the moral quality of action. That it is in possession of this faculty, that man differs chiefly from the brute. That it is this faculty which allies man to the divine, and lifts him to the dignity of a moral subject. That it is the highest authority of the soul. That every man is in possession of this faculty in some degree of enlightenment, and that in every soul it is either asleep, awakened or peaceful.

II. We wish now in the second place to ask your attention to the fact *that the minister has to do with the conscience*, to reach and develope it.

We claim that by divine appointment the ministry is addressing the conscience. It is no mere accident or fortuity. And *so much as this* the Apostle claims for himself and associates. "THEREFORE, HAVING RECEIVED THIS MINISTRY." It was not self-devised and self-originated, or self-assumed.

He *received it* while laying blind and prostrate in Damascus in in the street that is called straight, in the house of one Judas.

He is ever after careful in addressing his epistles to the churches, to state clearly and explicitly that he *received* his ministry.

In his address to the Galatians, he styles himself "*Paul, an Apostle*, not *of* men, nor *by* men, *but by Jesus Christ and God, the Father*," and this style, *in one form or another*, appears at the opening of almost every epistle.

He could never forget that his ministry was not taken up by himself, but was received.

Happy is that minister who *can* go back in his expericnce to the time he was called.

Who does not have to reflect when pressed by sore trials and temptations, that he has no commission, and is speaking simply in his own name and by his own authority.

Now this ministry that Paul received was a ministry to the conscience. Not because he choose it, but because he was appointed to it. Not because he was fitted for nothing else, for this could scarcely be true of a man of such varied ability and culture as himself, but because his commission was specific, and his field of operation was clearly defined.

The distinguishing feature of the ministerial calling is, that it addresses the conscience.

The philosophers have to do with the intellect, the poet with

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the imagination, and the demagogue with the passions, but look where you will there is no *earth-born* appointment to address this crowning faculty of the soul.

It was left to God to make this appointment, both of the man to serve, and the instrumentality he should employ, and so we have the ministry of reconcilliation specially sent to raise the conscience to its old throne of authority.

Now if the ministry fail to do this, there is nothing distinctive in their calling. They stand on common ground with other laborers, and though their service may be much needed, and every way beneficial, it has lost its distinctive feature.

The minister becomes a philosopher, a poet or a demagogue, and that too though he may still hold the office and title of the ministry.

There is a constant temptation in these directions, which, if it does not wholly divert the mind of the preacher, greatly flattens the key of his appeal to the conscienee.

With some, the temptation lies in the intellect, and their sermons are little more than appeals to the intellectual and literary taste of the congregation, while the conscience goes unwarned from the beginning to the end of the year.

And never were this class of preachers more likely to fall under this temptation than in our own time, when the pathway of the scholar is strewn with gems of intellectual beauty, and rank with the sweet herbage of a refined literature; or it may be to others the temptation lies in the indulgence of the imagination. There is to some minds a perfect fascination in the gilded frost-work of this faculty. They are borne away on its wings out of the reach of everything that is substantial and edifying.

The result upon the hearer is to train him to a powerless idealism. He has an ideal Christ and an ideal christianity, instead of a Bible Christ and a practical christianity. His whole religious life is a fairy-floating phantom, which vanishes so soon as the individual strikes the strong current of actual life.

To others the temptation lies in their love of sensation, and their consequent appeal to the passions. The preacher's appeals are crowned with success, and the raging tempest of popular enthusiasm surges around him. He arouses their indignation against sin; he excites their fears by tracing the consequence of sin; he melts them to a flood of tears in sympathy for suffering

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humanity, and especially for the dying Son of God. He may dwell upon the goodness of God till the hearer half resolves to be good; but rising from such ministrations. they are like the man beholding his face in the glass, for they go their way and straightway forget what manner of persons they were. In almost every such case the soul is left weaker than before its upheaval, and rapidly degenerates into a sickly sentimentality. It matters little at what point the preacher is detained, if it be anywhere this side of the conscience. In every case the soul is lost, and that which is distinctive in the ministry nullified. The preacher, who was sent forth to make conquest, has busied himself with the entertainment of the foe, or at best with the instruction of the foe.

We would not be understood as denying the minister all appeal to the various faculties of man, or as shutting him out from the realms of science and literature, of poetry and sentiment. We would only be understood as denying him the right to *rest* in these. We would say, let the minister have the largest liberty and the broadest culture; let him appeal to the scientific and literary taste; let him press his argument in the ear of reason; let him charm and hold the imagination; let him rouse and fire the passions, and unseal the depths of emotion, but *only* and *always* that he may gain a more favorable position before the royal citidel, *the conscience.*

Human life is valueless until conscience sits on the throne as a regnant faculty, its magnificent powers and forces are only to be dreaded by the individual possessing them, and by society against whose weal they may be turned.

A human soul is everyway, and everywhere, to be dreaded so long as it defies conscience and rushes unheeding and unrestrained by its solemn remonstrances.

Of all who are laboring for the good of humanity, none of them are succeeding if the ministry fails.

If the moral relations which man sustains to God and the universe are not happy and harmonious, all other relations are unavailing however admirably they may be adjusted.

Every well meaning individual then is interested in the minister's success, since if he fails all else that is done for man is nullified. Our success is the world's success, our failure is the world's failure.

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Who then of us, my brethren, shall dare to forsake our legitimate work?

III. We wish now in the third and last place to ask your attention *to the instrumentality employed by the minister* in commending himself to the consciences of men.

"By the manifestation of the truth," and by the term truth we suppose the apostle meant not only truth as opposed to error, but also all that craftiness and sophistry which the zealot justifies himself in resorting to.

So much is plainly stated in the negative part of the definition, "Having renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth."

But the field of truth is wide and so wide, that the theme of the preacher seems quite undefined.

Here is an *apparent difficulty* unless we turn back to the faculty addressed. Now does not the the specification of the conscience, as the point at which the preacher must aim, sufficiently mark the limit of our range on the field of truth. Yet there is only one kind of truth that appeals to conscience, and that is moral truth conscience being a moral faculty, that is, taking note of only what is moral.

There is, then, this restraint laid upon the preacher, that he shall chiefly confine himself to the manifestation of moral truth, as the proper nourishment for conscience. Scientific or historic truth could never nourish the conscience.

So then the seemingly unlimited range of the preacher is narrowed down to the sphere of moral truth. Wherever that quality is found, there the preacher may fearlessly tread. All the moral relations in which man stands are the proper theme of his discourse. All moral truth then comes legitimately into pulpit discourse.

But this even seems quite loose and undetermined, and a closer insight into the moral nature of man discovers it to be *diseased* and *weakened*. It is not a sound conscience—it is not a good conscience, of which man is possessed; it is a *weak, dark, benumed* conscience; and now the same wisdom that led us to select moral truth to feed a moral nature with, led us to seek *that part* of moral truth which is adapted to a *diseased moral nature*. Such in short is gospel truth—the truth as it is in Jesus.

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The law seemed well calculated to minister to our unfallen nature. The grandeur of the character and attributes of the deity had nothing in them terrifying—nothing over-awing, but this is very far from true of fallen humanity.

Food, that is every day congenial in time of health, must be displaced by the dainties of the nurse when the whole frame is trembling und palpitating with disease.

The Gospel is that modified form of truth to suit a diseased moral sense, and however wide the range may be, the focal joint, the radiate center, must always be the truth as it is in Jesus—that Jesus who came to bear witness to the truth, and yet whose witness was never truer than when he asserted concerning himself, that he was the embodiment of truth.

If, then, the ministry are to deal with the truth in their approaches to us, we must expect to have our quiet disturbed and character and conduct assailed; for none of us perhaps are so conceited as to assume that there is nothing morally crooked or perverse about us, even though Christian. And every man, and especially every Christian man, ought to be grateful when the revelation of his deformity is made, nor turn away in a cold alienation from the faithful minister who will not spare, though every selfish interest pleads that he should.

The ministry cannot always use opiates. They cannot always apply swathing hands—sometimes though it occasions the keenest smart, they must cut out the cancerous lust—open the swelling of pride, and blister a growing bigotry. A ministery ought to be suspected when it occasions no startling fears—no self-debasing revelations—no deep and powerful compunctions of conscience. Any other ministry is leaving us just where it found us, and just where the judgment of the last day will find us—it may be, in all our native deformity.

IV. We wish you now in the fourth and last part, to notice *the thought that hallows and consecrates this ministry.* "It is rendered in the sight of God."

Ministerial character when analyzed, discovers no added faculties over that of other Christians. They have no more inherent sanctity or virtue. Alas, they have too often proven that they were men of like passions with others. Their claim to a hearing before their fellow men is not based upon superior personal merit, nor yet upon their formal ordination and induction to their work.

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Their only claim to hold audience with men must be grounded in the fact that they represent God—that they continually seek to know and communicate the divine wisdom and will. But for this there might be a fitness and a benefit in their standing as teachers among men, in view of their advanced ideas and culture, but they would be wanting in all authority, and in faet, wanting in all that is distinctively ministerial. They must convince men that they are acting, not from motives of a mercenary character, nor yet of pride and selfish ambition, but that they recognize God as the one whom they must please in their ministrations at the altar—whose frown they dred more than that of man—and whose approbation they covet more than the flatteries of a treacherous world.

It is this feature of ministerial service that gives it its sanctity, and clothes it with authority. It is while they are commending themselves to the world's conscience *in the sight of God*, that they deserve a reverential and obedient hearing. It ought to be remembered that it is while the ministry are serving *in the sight of God*, the promise of heavenly sanction will be verified. *Then* and *only* then, "whatsoever is bound on earth shall be bound in heavan, and whatsoever is loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven." It is while the ministry is thus acting under divine superintendence, that whosoever receiveth them receiveth Christ, and on the other hand, to respect a God-fearing ministry is to respect the God who commissioned them.

Suffer me then in concluding this discourse, to commend myself to the conscience of this assembly, by the manifestation of God's own truth.

And first, *to the sleeping conscience*: "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."

To the childhood conscience, let me address the words of the wise man: "Remember thy creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh in which thou wilt say I have no pleasure in them."

To those asleep in carnal indulgence let me repeat from the same author: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."

Remember, that however thoughtlessly you may squander your magnificent powers and blood-bought opportunities, there is one

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who takes note of your daily folly, and "has appointed a day in which he will judge the world by that man whom he hath ordained to be the judge of the living and dead."

And to those who are sleeping the profounder sleep of an abused and trampled conscience, let me address those words of divine defiance so fearful in their import, revealing God as one who follows up and crushes the incorrigible: "He that being often reproved hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy."

"Because I have called and ye have refused, I have stretched out my hand and no man regarded, but ye have set at nought all my counsel and would none of my reproof, I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh: when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as the whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon; *Then* shall they call upon me and I will not answer; they shall seek me early and they shall not find me, because they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord.

"They would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof. *Therefore,* shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices."

May heaven spare you this doom!

Now in the second place, let me address the awakened conscience—awakened it may be only to cavil, and yet caviling is a sure indication of spiritual concern. It is the half-in-earnest parrying of a guilty conscience with the first rays of dawning spiritual light. To one who is thus struggling with those initial difficulties which beset one in the outset of a Christian career, let me offer this advice: *Always follow your faith and never your doubts.* The remembrance of this suggestion will save you much heart anguish.

Faith will lead you into the peopled realms and treasure stores of eternal life, while doubt—hell's first lesson—will conduct you into that unsubstantial nothing—that moral vacuum where there is not so much as an echo to your thought and life, and will make of your heart and the world, a *cold, dark, atheistical spot where there is no God.*

Hear the words of Christ:

"I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly." Christ had no thought of restricting

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and limiting man's life, but to enrichen and expand it on every side.

"If any man love me he will keep my commandments, and I and my Father will love him, and will come unto him and make our abode with him."

But perchance your awakening has passed all cavil; your own felt and desperate needs will no longer brook such trifling or delay; guilt has accumulated and rolls wave upon wave over your affrighted spirit. Your cry is, "men and brethren, what must I do to be saved?"

"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved."

"Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

"Him that cometh unto me I will in nowise cast out."

And now, and last, how gladly I commend myself to the peaceful conscienee, made peaceful by the peace-speaking blood.

"For if while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, how much more being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life."

If, while our faces were utterly away from God, he constructed his overtures of mercy, and brought his gracious designs to bear upon our hearts, how much more may we count upon his favor now that we hourly seek his face and favor as something better than life. And if to get at us in our alienation Christ must needs suffer the humiliation and death of the cross, how much more now that he ever lives and reigns in triumph, will he carry out those gracious ends for which he poured out his soul unto death.

"He who spared not his own Son but freely gave him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things."

"No good thing will he withold from them that walk uprightly."

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

"Therefore will not we fear though the earth be removed and the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.

"Yea, though I walk through the valley and shadow of death I will fear no evil, for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

May the Holy Spirit awaken the sleeping conscience, and make peaceful the awakened conscience, and sanctify all through heavenly fellowship. Amen!

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The Pulpit.

Vol. III. DECEMBER, 1874. No. 4.

The EARTH FADING and TEACHING.

A SERMON

— BY —

REV. BENJAMIN PARSONS,

Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Saline, Mich., Oct. 17, 1874.

ISAIH xxiv. 4 and 33-9.—The earth mourneth and fadeth away; the world languisheth and fadeth away. The earth mourneth and languisheth; Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down; Sharon is like a wilderness, and Bashan and Carmel shake off their fruits.

The prophets were poets. They did indeed write "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," but, at the same time, the chaste and vigorous imagination with which they were endowed gave shape, and color, and beauty to what they wrote. And they were painters as well as poets; but unlike those who, bearing this title, use pencil and brush and countless pigments to delineate on canvas pictures agreeable or painful to look upon, they make use of the pen and of words only, and the result of what is called word-painting is, a vast number of the most accurate and exquisite glimpses and sketches, and fully wrought out pictures of nature and of man.

I have chosen one of these pictures for consideration on the present occasion. It was drawn by one of the foremost, if not the very chief, of these divinely inspired artists. It is a picture of

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nature in one of her diverse moods. More particularly, it exhibits such changes as are wrought sometimes by a protracted and terrible drought, and, regularly, by the departure of summer and autumn, and the advent of winter.

To the vision of Isaish the earth seemed a thing of life, and so in his description of it he personifies it, and ascribes it to human capacities and experiences.

First, the earth mourneth, languisheth and fadeth away; then, one of the prominent features of the land he lived in, Lebanon, is ashamed and withered away; then, Sharon, an incomparably fertile, fruitful and beautiful plain, stretching along the Mediterranean Sea between Mount Carmel and Cesarea, is stricken with a paralysis and transformed at once into a wilderness; and, then, the two mountain districts, Bashan and Carmel, being seized with a sudden and violent chill, "shake off their fruits."

Thus vividly does the prophet picture the operations of nature. Most reluctantly and even painfully does she exchange the attire of summer and autumn for that of bleak and dreary winter; and we, my friends, sympathize with nature in the change she experiences. For it is with feelings of sadness that we witness the withering of the grasses and the flowers, the fading of the leaves, and their falling and wasting away. It is with profound regret that we bid adieu to the beautiful of summer and autumn, knowing that many months must elapse ere these seasons shall, if ever, come to us again. These changes in nature are so touchingly like changes in ourselves, and in those who are near and dear and precious to us, that it seems not at all surprising that poets who do not, as did the ancient prophets, lay claim to divine inspiration, should, nevertheless, like those prophets, describe these changes, and, in a great variety of verse, indicate the practical lessons which they teach. The successive changes from spring to summer, from summer to autumn, and from autumn to winter—how strikingly and impressively like those from childhood and youth to manhood and middle life, and from these to old age! And the contrast, too, between the season of foliage, flowers and fruits, and the bleakness and barrenness of winter; how well suited to make us think of and long to have an enduring home in that upper world all radiant and beautiful, concerning which we know that

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"No blasted flower
Or withered bud celestial gardens know;
No scorching blast or fierce-descending shower
Scatters destruction like a ruthless foe."

It is eternal spring time there. That land never mourns, nor languishes nor fades. And yet we can gratefully testify to the goodness of our God in giving us very much even in this world to please the eye, to gratify the taste, and to remind us of the beautiful land above. The spring and summer have, indeed, passed away,

"But there survives a tinge of glory yet
O'er all earth's pastures and her heights of green,
Which, though the lustre of her day hath set,
Tell of the joy and splendor that have been."

The buds, the birds, the flowers, the fields, the forests, the streams, the golden harvests and fruits, the balmy breezes, the bright, blue sky—these we have all enjoyed; these, were it not for sin, would do much towards making our earth a paradise. And

"If so much loveliness is sent
To grace our earthly home,
How beautiful, how beautiful
Must be the world to come!"

The Hebrew prophet and poet, David, says, "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein;" and he says of himself, (Ps. 143:5) "I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the work of thine hands." His was a contemplative mind, and I sometimes think his age was a more contemplative age than the present. Scientific study of the phenomena of nature is, indeed, just now, a very prominent study on the part of a few hundred or thousand men and women, but the great mass of the population of even our land gives little heed to the processes or results of scientific researches. The scientists are few compared with the millions that surround them. These millions are so absorbed in the pursuit of wealth, fame, power, sensual indulgences, and the objects of a manifold but sordid ambition, as to have, or take little time to observe and meditate on the beauty, and wonders of the material creation. Like passengers in an express train bound from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, these travelers who are bound towards yonder eternal shores pass through the period of their existence on the earth with fearful

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speed, and with little thought of their surroundings or relations, save as these may be made to gratify their greed for gain, or to respond to "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life." "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge," but they hear not the one, they heed not the other. They are too busy in thinking on their own projects, to seek out and meditate on God's wondrous works.

"With early day
Begins the tumult, and shall only cease
When midnight, hushing one by one the sounds
Of bustle, gathers the tired brood to rest.
Thus, in this feverish time, when love of gain
And luxury possess the hearts of men,
We, in our fervid manhood, in our strength
Of reason; we, with hurry, noise, and care,
Plan, toil, and strive, and pause not to refresh
Our spirits with the calm and beautiful
Of God's harmonious universe.
"We pause not to inquire
Why we are here, and what the reverence
Man owes to man, and what the mystery
That links us to the greater world, beside
Whose borders we but hover for a space."

Destined as we seem to have been to live in this world as it is and as we are, but once, and for a short and uncertain period at the best, it ill becomes us to pass through it without studying its marked features and characteristics enough, at least, to have a distinct impression of them fixed in our memory, and to learn important moral truths from them. Scientists study its phenomena in the interests of science, and they do well, provided their science be not "falsely so called," nor their deductions be not derogatory to the Great God, Creator of all. And we, too, do well as his creatures, as his children, to study in the interest of morals and religion the wonders of the world Himself fitted up for our habitation. At the present season of the year we do well to study the pages of the Book of Nature, and to give diligent heed to the lessons they teach.

I. "The earth mourneth and fadeth away." Thus reminding us that God did not intend it to be, in its present condition, a permanent abode for us. We were made to have an happy and everlasting home. Such the earth is not fitted to be. Earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, drought, mildew, war, famine, pestilence, sick-

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ness, suffering, and withal sin, and death by sin, are enough to render a very long stay here undesirable, if there be, as He tells us in His word there is, a world contiguous to ours from which these great and terrible evils are, and forever shall be excluded.

And yet, despite the intimations of even the material globe in its diurnal and annual revolutions and in the changes thus accasioned, how many there are who think, and feel, and speak and act as if their entire existence were summed up in their stay of a few years or days on the surface of our planet, or as if their stay here were to be forever! The present real, the future world only a fiction!

You who are making this fatal mistake, my friends, are falling very, very far short of learning the lesson which God would have you learn from his wondrous works, and well as his wondrous word. That "He is near, his wondrous works declare;" and that another world has been fitted up by Him, his gracious word abundantly affirms. Suppose a life of three score years and ten is allotted to you, and that you have lived out very nearly the whole of your little span; meanwhile the spring, and summer, and autumn of your life have fled, and the winter of old age is confronting you. My friend, my brother, my father,

> "Then lookest forward on the coming days,
> Shuddering to feel the shadow o'er thee creep—
> A path thick-set with changes and decays
> Slopes downward to the place of common sleep;"

And thou, alas! hast set thy hope on the things of the mourning, fading, trembling earth alone! And that, too, when the heavenly world is so near, and when myriad voices all about thee are repeating the divine order, "Arise, ye, and depart, for this is not your rest!"

But I am addressing some who have practically learned that we have no continuing city here, and who are seeking one to come.

Christian, thou seest the earth languishing and fading away; the forests, fields, flowers, birds, streams, winds, all things sympathizing with her in the melancholy change through which she is now passing. As thou art musing on God's works,

> "Hast thou not glimpses, in the twilight here,
> Of mountains, where immortal morn prevails?
> Comes there not, thro' the silence, to thine ear
> A gentle rustling of the morning gales;

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A murmur, wafted from that glorious shore,
Of streams that water banks forever fair,
And voices of the loved ones gone before,
More musical in that celestial air?"

Oh, Christians, what manner of persons ought ye to be, with such rich experiences, such choice foretastes of the celestial country! How ought ye to "use this world as not abusing it?" How pertinently speaks the Apostle to you: "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the father is not in him. And the world *passeth away* and the lust thereof, *but he that doeth the will of God abideth ever.*" "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth." And why do this? Because "the fashion of this world passeth away; because God did not design it for your home; because your blessed Lord and Redeemer says to you, "In my fathers house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there you may be also. Therefore, lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."

"Thou weary pilgrim"—he hath said—
"Thou faint with toil and heat,
The pleasant land of rest is spread
Before thy very feet,
And those whom thou would gladly see
Are waiting there to welcome thee."

"Region of life and light!
Land of the good whose earthly toils are o'er!
Nor frost nor heat may blight
Thy vernal beauty, fertile shore,
Yielding thy blessed fruits forevermore!"

Not so the land we live in now; for it is subject to heat, and frost, and storms, and other elements and agencies of destruction. "Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down; Sharon is like a wilderness; and Bashaw and Carmel shake off their fruits."

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The process in nature thus prophetically described, and which we now daily witness whithersoever we direct our eyes, teaches us, among others, this practical lesson. II. That we must, every one, bye and bye, part with all earthly possessions, and whatsoever we pride ourselves upon here.

The book of nature, as well as the volume of divine revelation, declares, "We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out." The winds charged with frost pass over hill-side and valley, and forthwith they are ashamed; the grasses and flowers that were their glory, wither and fade and pass away. The trees, to, stricken with ague, shake off their fruits and foilage, and enter the death-cold of winter divested of their vernal and summer beauty. What impressive symbols of human experience! "For when man dieth he shall carry nothing away; his glory shall not descend after him." "As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he return to go as he came, and shall take nothing of his labor which he may carry away in his hand."

"Among our hills and valleys, I have known
Wise and grave men, who, while their diligent hands
Tended or gathered in the fruits of earth,
Were reverent learners in the solemn school
Of nature. Not in vain to them were sent
Seed-time and harvest, or the vernal shower
That darkened the brown tilth, or snow that beat
On the white winter hills. Each brought in turn
Some truth, some lesson on the life of man,
Or recognition of the Eternal Mind
Who veils his glory with the elements."

And surely the present season of the year brings the solemn lesson, that death will speedily and effectually dispossess each of you of every idol that you have fondly cherished. Have you riches? Death will take them all away. Have you beauty? Death will take it all away. Do you sit on a throne of pride and vanity? Death will bring you down and lay you in the dust. Therefore, "Thus," saith the Lord, "let not the wise man glory in his wisdom; neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me." (Jer. 9:23.) God's works and word are the means we are to use that we may rightly know Him. So, every leaf which faded, withered, died,

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you now tread upon as a worthless thing, is a type of some earth-born and earth-bound hope, desire, or anticipation, when death has done his work upon you. However much you cherish it now, it shall be worthless bye and bye. Death will have extinguished both its life and value. Oh, how vain, therefore, is all selfish ambition! How delusive all schemes inspired by pride, whether of person, learning, might, or riches! How trivial and senseless all distinctions of office, caste and clan! How futile all projects of malice, envy, cupidity, lust, and revenge! How empty all hopes bounded by earth and time! How shadowy all that is of the earth! Death reduces all things in an instant to the condition of that dry and faded leaf; and so even that little leaf whispers in your ear,

> "Leave the vain low strife
> That makes men mad—they tug for wealth and power,
> The passions and the cares that wither life,
> And waste its little hour!"

And the flight of every bird from our cold, ungenial atmosphere to some sunny and warm clime; from our barren and bleak fields and sombre, melancholy forrests, to tropical gardens, glens and groves, where all is brightness, beauty, fragrance, and life, speaks to every thoughtful soul of another and better land, and another and better clime than ours, saying,

> "Why not spread thy wings and fly
> Straight to yonder world of joy?"

If we must, bye and bye, be stripped of all earthly possessions, why not hold them now but very slightly, and meanwhile, set our affections upon the "better and enduring substance" in heaven? Why not let our minds by contemplation, and our hearts by approbation, fix themselves upon the beauty and glory of the celestial paradise? Why not keep ourselves in such an habitude or attitude of mind and heart, that at whatsoever moment and in whatsoever circumstances the sombre shade and chilly cold of death shall be apprehended by us very near, we shall be ready, yea, eager to fly hence to yonder realm that is deathless and ever fair? Why tarry in the lowlands and murky atmosphere of worldly-mindedness, fettered and clogged by what is of the earth earthy, when the brevity of life urges, and the nearness of the eternal world invites us to "forget those things which are behind, and

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reach forth unto those things which are before, and press towards the mark for the prize of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus?" Why not rise to the height of conscious enjoyment of God's favor which is life, and of His loving kindness which is better than life?

Bashan and Carmel shook off their fruits. What those fruits were I need not try to tell. If they were good, it was well they were shaken off, when ripe, by a regular process of nature; for then they would be gathered and made useful to man and beast. If they were bad, it was well they were shaken off by drought or by some sudden or violent convulsion; for then they would the sooner be destroyed and thus prevented from working evil.

Here is a solemn lesson for every one who hears me to-day. What the fruits are that you are bearing I will not presume to catalogue in detail. If they be *truly and wholly good*, it will be soon enough for you to cease to produce them when death shall have deprived you of the power. If *they be bad fruits* that you are bearing from day to day, surely the sooner you shake them off the better. Whatever be your motive—whether an utter dearth of evidence of God's favor toward you *now*, or a certain fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignathion yet to come, which shall make your souls tremble and cast their unwholesome fruits to the earth—the sooner you cast them off and cease to produce them the better!

Christian: to-day's message from God's works as well as His word is, that you shake off "every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset you." It may be that indolence, indifference, unconsciousness, slothfulness in religion is the weight that weighs you down and impedes your progress in the divine life. It may be covetousness, prayerlessness, pride, unholy ambition, lust, malice, revenge, or some other evil spirit or practice. It may be you are a backslider in heart or life, keeping up appearances while having no real peace with God or your own soul. To you, brother, sister—come voices, oh, how many, from the world beneath you, from the world above you, from the world about you, bidding you forsake at once your evil fruits of backslidings and turn to your God!

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"There is a beautiful spirit breathing now
Its mellow richness on the clustered trees,
And from a beaker full of richest dyes
Pouring new glory on the autumn woods,
And dipping in warm light the pillared clouds."

That is the Spirit of God speaking to you through and from his wondrous works; but that self same Spirit speaks to you more directly, distinctly, and pointedly from pages of his blessed word. "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light!" Oh, see to it, Christian, that you arise, and shake off all evil fruits! See to it that, "being made free from sin and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holinesss, and the end everlasting life!" To you, too, my brother, sister, friend, who are not an avowed Christian, comes a solemn message to-day. Indicision, carnal doubt, neglect, impenitence, unbelief, skepticism, indifference, heedlessness, hostility to the Blessed Savior of men and to his religion, are bad fruits. You cannot predicate goodness of any of them. *Are you bearing them?* Verily, verily, the message is to you! It is, that you at once shake them off, voluntarily and forever! If in the process you realise, as you must, your weakness, oh, remember, there is *Divine grace* available to help you *now!* There will be an awful dearth of it bye and bye! *You cannot afford to wait* till that dreadful dearth overtake you!

Five thousand years ago the Lord said, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." That Spirit is striving with you now. If you grieve Him, He may, at any instant, cease to strive with you, and cease forever! You are joined to evil fruits now. *God bids you shake them off*, and "Behold, now is the accepted time" so to do. Oh, let it not be that *against you* shall be pronounced that terrible sentence, "Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone;" both fruits *and tree* doomed to destruction together! Rather "break off your sins by righteousness, and your iniquities by turning to God."

"O, let the soul her slumbers break,
Let thought be quickened, and awake,
Awake to see
How soon this life is past and gone,
And death comes softly stealing on,
How silently!

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Earthly desire and sensual lust
Are passions springing from the dust—
They fade and die;
But, in the life beyond the tomb,
They seal the immortal spirit's doom
Eternally!

My soul, be ready to depart!
No thought rebel, the obedient heart
Breathe forth no sigh;
The wish on earth to linger still
Were vain, when 'tis God's sovereign will
That we shall die.

O world! So few the years we live,
Would that the life which thou dost give
Were life indeed!
Alas, thy sorrows falls so fast,
Our happiest hour is when, at last,
The soul is freed!

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A FAREWELL SERMON

DELIVERED IN THE

First Presbyterian Church

Ann Arbor, Michigan

BY

REV. SAMUEL W. DUFFIELD

SUNDAY EVENING, NOV. 29, 1874.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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1874

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To the
Church and Congregation
who have joined
with me
in Labor and in Prayer
I Dedicate
this
our united story
of Struggle and Success

Samuel W. Duffield.

Dec. 1, 1874.

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CIVITAS DEI.

"For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say,
Peace be within thee!"

City of God, grown old with silent faces
Lying beneath the shadow of the clay,
Thine are the towers built up in barren places,
Thine the great bastions waiting for the day.

Dim through the night stone after stone arises,
Bold through the dawn step forth the peaks of flame,
Touched with the splendor of those glad surprises
By which the blessing of the Spirit came.

Toilers of truth are we, who at our labor
Keep the sharp sword still girded at the thigh,
Heeding no summons of the pipe and tabor,
Fighting and building till the end be nigh.

. . . . . .

Thus, then, we build through storm and pleasant weather;
Thus, then, we pray by morning and by night;
Heart knit with heart, and hands at work together—
Beset by foes until Thou givest light.

City of God! thy peace is our petition;
City of God! our brethren dwell in thee;
And for their sakes, in true and deep contrition,
We seek thy good, O dwelling of the free.

S. W. D.

From "WARP AND WOOF" (1870).

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A FAREWELL SERMON.

"These things have I told you, that when the time shall come ye may remember that I told you of them. And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you."—JOHN xvi. 4.

THE loveliest evening often succeeds the stormiest day. An obscured sun, hidden through many hours by mists and vapors, has at length shown for a moment the brightness of its light. Far peaks glow in a level splendor which stays for no descent into the vale between. The distant ocean shines in the new and unexpected glory. And you and I, pilgrims and strangers, rejoice in the coming and lament at the going of that sunny ray which

> "Smote the white sails of ships that wore
> Outward or in, and gilded o'er
> The steeples with their veering vanes."

Thus it must have been in the earthly history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Hidden by the veil—"that is to say, His flesh"—the true divinity of light was seldom seen. The rays which here and there appeared, were thought by most to be but reflections or scintillations from a pure character and a noble heart. That this carpenter's son could be God's son, was hard to comprehend. And every error which has since prevailed respecting the person and work of Christ, finds its origin in this short-sighted judgment "after the outward appearance." Seldom did He declare Himself in actual words. A Samaritan woman of no reputation, a Jewish ruler of the temple conversing with Him at dead of night, a poor impulsive disciple—such as these heard Him announce His true Messiahship. To the wise and the learned and the rich—then as now—the face was a hidden face.

But when the near approach of death renders it fittest for Him to speak, we have the sunburst and the splendor. Compressed within a few short pages of a single Gospel, we find those "thoughts which breathe and words which burn," by which henceforth we may inter-

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pret the universe of God. The far-off summits of the truth are touched from this horizon, and the great deep of human wisdom becomes as brilliant as the ocean of Apocalypse.

And amid all this—just as He had revealed the immense possibilities of His character—He was to "go away." He was to leave the conversion of mankind to a few poor fishermen, a couple of publicans, a woman saved from seven devils, and such other feeble and insignificant folk as had followed Him out upon the road to Bethany, to watch Him vanish, like a vision, within the morning cloud. If there was grief because He left them, there was greater grief because of what was left behind.

Yet He had told them, in essence if not in substance, that after the night would come the morning—that this sunset of His person would be succeeded by the dawn of His Spirit. He asked only of them truth and trust, until the trial should be ended and the cloven flame should play about their heads. He might have prophesied that

> "The new day comes, the light
> Dearer for night."

But it would seem that in this, as in almost every event of His life, He transcended or reversed our human judgment. He points them not to the time to come so much as to the *securing* of that time —not so much to glory beyond, as to that tribulation and that persecution which made the glory sure. The light upon the peak gave a lustre even to the low valley.

Better than the wonderful story which the marvelous tinker fashioned in Bedford jail, is the record of this life and this departure—the Progress of the best of Pilgrims back unto His Father's house. And it is no forced or strained attempt for us to be so involved in His personality, through all His way in the world, that we too seem, as it were, to be treading in His steps and "filling up what is behind of the sufferings of Christ, for His body's sake, which is the church." To *this* that "Follow me!" calls us as well as them; and the occasions and circumstances—the trials and temptations and tears and pain—of our own existence, can be found interpreted in His.

Even our partings come beneath the same surpassing pattern. For if we are truly making God's will our rule, and if the word of His commandment is on "fleshly tables of the heart" which beats within our bosoms, we too may discover that "all things work for good," and that the methods of the "Most High" are, like His

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guiding light, invariable and without shadow of turning. And even as we now perceive that a deeper blessing followed because of the Christ who was parted from them—so each "good gift" and each "perfect gift" which we enjoy and which is taken from us, but brings a better in its place. Yet we all hold with tremulous fingers to the health or the hope or the home or the loved and dear ones, as God removes us from them and them from us. We should otherwise sin with lip and heart, and not knowing that which was for our highest profit we should simply rest and be at ease. Yet He who makes man's labor for his mouth to be the basis of all political economy, inspires in the soul that loves Him a like hunger, not to be appeased until the beatitude is complete, that "they who hunger and thirst after righteousness * * shall be filled."

Not impiously, then, nor from any endeavor to compare small things with great, do I point you in these, the closing services of an eventful pastorate, to the language of our Lord. If the true pastor be in the stead of the visible Christ, that he may illustrate by precept and example that attractive yet unparalleled life, it follows that he must "have the Spirit of Christ or he is none of His." Born again into a regeneration which leaves no room for self-seeking and no moment for repose, he can be at best but "a pilgrim and a stranger" tarrying over-night, a soldier "fighting the good fight of faith," a herald at the entrance of the stadium, watchful "lest he himself should be a castaway." The lessons of self-dependence we learn in almost every matter better than in religion. We strangely forget that in this, preëminently, our souls must seek the wisdom which is from above, and that we must, with all our love for the brethren, be individual inquirers after that will of God affecting *us* which is our highest rule of duty.

Absence has its advantages. It appears to have done everything for Peter and John—it certainly produced Stephen, and as certainly accomplished the divine decree. And, in every sundering of human relations, it bids us remember that "the whole family in heaven and on earth" are named by one name and are laboring in one love.

I. Three years ago I came among you "because thereto I was sent." It was certainly no cheerful prospect. Here stood a great unfinished church, with the nail-heads in their naked ugliness and the walls of the audience-room orange-tawny and indescribably depressing to the sight. A cold breeze plunged down upon the head of the

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preacher, and a mocking echo wandered and played in the angles of the bare and abandoned ceiling. Some of you sat upon your own purchased cushions, and many of you had nothing but the plain pine boards. As the church stood it was evidently the result of a good brave purpose, but debt had arisen and debt must be discharged. This irksome task fell upon my predecessor, and before it was fully rounded out, he, like others, had been overwhelmed by the weight he was to carry, and had no longer the heart to bear the load. Nor was it strange that he should feel as he did.

The disadvantages were thus very great. A prejudice had somehow sprung up—a thing which I now comprehend more clearly than I comprehended it then—and the church was almost deserted by the students of the University. Its important situation as the only church of our denomination by the side of a large and unsectarian institution of learning, had not been grasped thoroughly by either Presbytery or Synod. Financially it represented no great amount of capital. Mentally it had enormous demands. Spiritually it required patient and careful training, that the strong and contemplative piety of individual Christians might be all brought into one common purpose and turned toward active work. Socially it was charged with coldness, formality, and a predisposition to run into cliques and feuds.

On the contrary, the troublesome debt had been really paid. The building, so far as it went—truncated tower, paintless stairways, unadorned lecture-room, and fenceless grounds—was, notwithstanding, a most solid and admirable structure. There had been a revival, even in the *interregnum*, and some forty young people, mostly baptized children of the church, had been received. The necessity itself had obliterated many old marks of division, and had developed a fervent spirit of prayer for God's guidance. The Presbytery had offered special petitions to this same effect.

And I, myself, hurried by the Spirit, like Philip, into the way toward Gaza "which is desert," felt that He who had brought me hither could "make the wilderness to blossom as the rose."

II. The very first thing to be done was to secure the blessing of the great Head of the Church, by giving to Him and to the communion of His body and blood, the chief and foremost place. We first met at that dear Table, and there we have this day parted, and we have found no sweeter or more solemn pleasure than in commemorating His dying love. It was here that we learned to know each other's

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faith. It was here that we were renewed by bread from heaven, and found that the blood of Christ was life unto our souls. For I have endeavored to cause this ordinance to be to all of us just what, in simplicity and earnestness, a plain honest student of God's book perceives it to have been in the mind of Christ. Theology has never intruded here, to snatch from our lips the cup or to take from our hands the bread. Art and poetry, and the noblest and highest matters, have here, in this atmosphere of heart-life and perfect consecration, found their dearest home. And how often you have come to me, and with wet eyes gazing into wet eyes and hand warmly clasping hand, you have spoken of this joyfulness and blessing, you yourselves know full well. We have often been on the Hill called Clear, nay even we have walked and talked, beholding the golden streets of the New Jerusalem from Beulah Land itself.

Thus, with this consecration of our entire morning service, once in two months, to this happiest of all privileges, we began to find God's blessing among us. We began to pause after prayer-meeting, and to shake hands. Gradually the quiet and unobtrusive praying ones made themselves known. And on the principle that "he that believeth shall not make haste," I preferred rather to follow God's guidance than to anticipate it—but I dreaded that I might lag behind the purpose of Providence by so little as a single hour.

The need for change in the very *atmosphere* of the house and worship of God, cried out for attention and energy at the start. But to change an atmosphere requires a change in surroundings. And "surroundings," to begin with, meant new cushions and something more after the fashion of a pulpit than the existing structure on that wide waste of platform, over which those curious lanceolate pieces of wood gazed so benignantly into space. To those ladies who then and since have been identified with every good word and work, must be given the praise for our present most comfortable seats.

The pulpit has its own peculiarities. It aims to offend neither the lover of the old-time desk, nor the advocate of the new-time lectern. And yet it is no compromise. And it bears in unmistakeable characters its true commission, which is to "Preach the Word." Now and then I have thought that this pulpit, and this platform, are symbolic of those principles, upon which the preaching of these three years has been based. It has been both free and firm, and first of all, it has been fixed upon the Lord Jesus Christ. Behind this desk have

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stood those brethren from abroad—whatsoever their creed—who have loved Him first and chief. Baptist and Congregationalist and Methodist and Presbyterian, high-church Lutheran and "broad-church" Church of England—all, in these three years, have had their representatives, and all have felt at home. And we never listened to words of more singular purity, originality, or devout Christliness, than those which fell from the lips of George MacDonald.

Yet this portion of the work was only premonitory. For, presently—with your good help and encouragement—we set about the reconstruction of the audience-room and building. It did not "rise into towers," mist-like, in the manner of fabled Ilium, but it rose into one tower which had never been before. It gathered its galleries about it, ribbed its ceiling with appropriate and architectural woods, and took on that new and bright appearance which every visitor so readily commends. Thanks to one generous heart, the "fair colors" of the walls and ceiling are also here, and will remain "in memorial of her" for many years to come. Presently a band of young ladies made it possible to "praise God with the organ," and a mighty bell took its place in the finished tower, and on it was inscribed:

"Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be!"

After a summer of most unclerical attitudes upon scaffolds higher than Haman's, the work for which we had so long waited was mainly complete; and at a cost far less than one could have supposed possible we were in possession of a beautiful and home-like audience-room. Paint and varnish had done their duty, and the prayer with which we began our labor had been answered, for amid all the dangers incident to many portions of the task, no accident of consequence had happened. There were narrow escapes, but there was no real injury. We could look upon it with gladness and thankfulness of heart, and pronounce it "very good." The poor man is not awed by its magnificence; the rich man cannot criticise its poverty; the man of taste cannot recoil from its incongruities; and last and best of all, the spiritual worshiper finds within it the air of home, of heart-life and of heaven. It has done more for us than anything besides the pure gospel.

Following this came the next summer's work upon lecture-room and grounds. The same atmosphere crept across them both, and if to no other care I could trust it, I think I might safely ask of our

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thrifty ivies that they should keep my memory green. And thus, quietly and steadily, we took our station as a power for the truth in this city.

It may even now surprise you to be told that this reconstruction was so utter and absolute that it involved new articles of association, a new method in finance, and a new organization in many ways. But so it was.

III. In considering this steady line of progress, it is at once evident as being the result of deliberate and careful purpose; but no purpose, however deliberate and careful, could have succeeded unless by the blessing of God and the aid of the church. The prayers of Presbytery and Synod have been, at one time and another, specially offered for us. It may, therefore, be wise and well to disclose before you, not those matters which you accepted and supported as they were each announced, but the connection of one with the other in the long chain of events. For the spiritual and mental history are equally the result of God's guiding hand, and the relation of this church to great and grave questions of principle and policy should be by no means questionable.

1. When the providence of God called me to meet the rum-seller at the coffin of his victim, it was high time to speak of Temperance, and I endeavored to conceal nothing of the counsel of God against this curse. Then and since, the trumpet has given no uncertain sound.

When the demand of blatant sciolists came like the challenge of Goliath of Gath across the plain, we went against them with sword and spear, but we much preferred at length no armor of Saul—only the smooth stone from

> "Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God."

And we are pretty generally convinced that while science and skepticism must receive attention, and true science and honest doubt deserve even more than attention, the best assault upon their ranks is not made from their low level. To rise above, to better and purer air—to breathe a strength which is not in the place of battle—to *know* science and to *appreciate* doubt, but to soar, singing, beyond them all into the eye of the day—this is the more permanently powerful work. As some look upon this method, it becomes but the subterfuge of ignorance calling for "implicit faith" as against reason. But as *we* appre-

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hend it, it proclaims faith to be the highest reason, intellect to be inferior to heart, confidence in God to be the surest road to knowledge, and Christ Jesus to be that wisdom before which this lower learning pales and fades, as the morning star before the sun. It cannot be charged upon the teachings of this pulpit, in these three years, that they have repressed thought, repelled inquiry, or disdained a state of "honest doubt." For we have believed that there are, in this community, many such uncertain, dubious minds, ill at ease, and seeking after rest within the truth. And we have even preferred their partial faith, to the thoughtless acquiescence in an unknown and unintelligible creed.

To all such, simple or subtle, we have as a church—in our public services, in our social and cottage meetings, and in our search of "wit, eloquence and poesy" in the Young People's Association—held up only Him who

> "Was nailed
> For our advantage on the bitter cross."

We have found no convincing argument so good as Christ Himself.

2. Aside from these public questions which from the state of the public mind must be as publicly met and moved, there have been other relations of vital value to us as a Society. We are associated with other evangelical churches in common labor for the common weal. We have found that by respecting our own rights and the rights of others, and by sincere and unsectarian desire for the salvation of souls, we were walking most nearly in the way of Christ. "As much as in us lay" we have "lived peaceably with all" who were of "the household of faith." May the day be far distant, when word or act of this church shall either surrender a single principle of importance to permanent Christian union, or consent to a false or factitious semblance, in the stead of that reality which now so generally exists!

3. Nor have we been able to overlook another duty—that, namely, to our own young people and, by example, to the young people of other churches. It took a considerable time before the way was clear for the organization of our Young Peoples' Association. But now it is a factor of the utmost consequence in the future of the church. Socially, intellectually, and in the matter of Christian training and aggressive work, it satisfies a want long felt in this peculiar field between the Church and the University. Here, on some sort of common ground, it is possible for us to meet all worthy and earnest young

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people, and to make a strong link between the "stranger within our gates" and those who dwell at home. A literary element has been found of admirable service as a cohesive force, and the Sunday evening and Cottage prayer-meetings are religious centres. It is by the Cottage meetings more especially that the fire of real Christian sympathy and experience is borne from home to home, and from heart to heart.

4. To an exterior view there is one relation of this church which is anomalous, and which demands thorough consideration. It is its position beside the University of Michigan.

Were this Institution denominational, any attempt on the part of those who were of a different faith and order, to affect or influence students in a religious point of view, would be a decided impertinence. Had it an organized Church within its walls, it would be unjust and unfair to compete with its religious design. Did it make Protestant Christianity a fundamental article in its method of education, it would deserve and extend a wide charity. But it happens to be a State Institution in which no religious tests inhere, whose students are under no personal religious supervision, whose morning-prayers are strictly voluntary, and whose occasional religious efforts depend for their success upon their nature, season and promoters. That a religious feeling prevails at all within its halls and class-rooms, can be directly ascribed to the personal high character of some of its instructors, and to the presence of a Students' Christian Association, which, through negation and chill and discouragement, has seen its work crowned, during the last winter, with an abundant revival of the power of the Holy Ghost.

When I happened once to make a public statement of these patent facts, I found myself drawn back from the columns of a religious journal into the columns of the daily press. To your disgust, and my own, the issue of fact was forced upon me, and I have seen reason to hope that Christian people penetrated, even in that short contest, behind the fallacious comparisons of present with past. The exact state of religion in the University was reached in a single answer to a single question, asked by one of the famous committee who came to carry through that which they felt to be a solemn farce, and to inquire into "Sectarian instruction in religion and medicine." The question was put: "Does the University teach religion?" and the answer was given, "*Negatively*, yes." Which, if it means anything, can be logically construed as "*Affirmatively*, No!" And it is to be noticed that neither creed nor sect was comprehended in the query.

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Was it, therefore, a misconception of the duty of this Church that it owed its service to those thus cast upon it? Do we differ in our feelings from the other churches of the city, when we include this as one of the main things to be reached in our work? Or should I have paid no attention to this mass of Twelve Hundred young men and women, simply culling out the Presbyterians, and holding forth no hand of welcome, and saying no word of aid to any of the rest? The attendance upon this congregation for the past two years, and the souls who have been saved, and the delight which has filled your own hearts prove the contrary.

Intangibilities are dangerous foes. To fight them is to fight "as one that beateth the air." But real and evident things are worthy of remark. Hence, called out by a desire for facts upon a given question, a word of mine spoken under the elms of Yale, and merely expressing a doubt as to the physical fitness of ladies for masculine study, was caught up and went echoing backward and forward through the land. But it encouraged me when I found, in the space of a fortnight after, that Professor Seelye, of Amherst, and Dr. Bellows, of New York, and presently, Dr. Clark, of Boston, placed their fingers on the same weak spot, and for the sake of all concerned called attention to it as I had done.

And I would be untrue to my own sense of honor, ungrateful to my remembrance of personal friendship, and dull and dead to any appreciation of deep Christianity, pure and noble lives, and high and successful endeavor, if I did not pay the tribute of sincere esteem to the womanly women of this University. That which I feared for them has been happily averted, and the future story of the Day of God will reveal that with Woman came into the University of Michigan heart, taste and a religious and social element of inexpressible importance.

In the midst of these strivings for the light, there was an unaccountable lack of cordial assistance on the part of the University authorities. Many saw it, some felt it, and some—though they were few in number—agonized over it. When, therefore, to the complete dismay of those who were nearest to the Christian heart of that institution, we were publicly informed that there was "no sympathy with this anxious solicitude" as to some of the present tendencies of Higher Education, and that this "transition-period" of student-life was to be left to run its course of skepticism that it might end in faith, it cer-

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tainly claimed and obtained a reply. All the warnings and predictions of the Evangelical Alliance as to these tendencies revived at once, because the evidence was on the ground, and the effects were present before our eyes. Thus, the case at length demanded, and your pastor used "great plainness of speech," "without partiality and without hypocrisy."

Was it because of an unanswering God that *from that very night*, the Spirit of all Truth was striving among those students? Was it an unconscious comment on a certain proud carelessness for the souls beneath their charge, that the great blast bowed certain members of the Faculty, as it swept down the skeptic, and gave breath of life to many a fainting soul?

Since then the old struggle renews itself in another form. Could there be between these churches and the authorities of that institution, the friendship and fellowship which now prevail between us and our student-friends, it would indeed be a happy thing. These faithful, earnest students, whose zeal gives to the University the best of its repute, would be educated, not merely technically, but in the love of a broad, sweet culture, wrought through the spirit of Him of Nazareth, who "spake as never man spake" before or since.

Yet it is a main part of the intense difficulty, and the source of the most wearing anxiety of the pastorate in this church of ours, that this is emphatically *not* so. And the latter will forever kill—in religion and in learning—for the spirit alone giveth life.

Unsectarian, as it professes to be, there is no outlook for a permanent constituency to the University, except in some way through religious influence. And to place any denomination evidently in power, or to place any denomination evidently under the ban, is to cast off the sympathy and support of a certain constituency of evangelical christians.

You may remember that Prof. De Volson Wood served us in the Session and in the Board of Trustees, most admirably well. His department in the University gave it and him renown. But when he left —and his printed report makes plain why he did leave—we lost the only professor in the Literary Department who was identified with us. Our work has, hence, been very trying and perplexing. We ran the risk of appearing to intrude in every move we made; but it seemed clear that we must do our full duty, and leave the rest to God. I do not disguise from you, that in all ordinary expectation of justice, the

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vacant place thus left in our working force should have been soon supplied. I refrain from criticism, but I cannot sufficiently express my regret that many should have been driven to believe that disinclination and not inability, operated against us. A consciousness of this fact has largely produced my consent to labor where I shall have, I trust, the same success without encountering forever the effect of whispers, hints, detractions, and whatever else might seek to nullify your success as well as mine. That this is no fancy, I am very sure. I have too frequent confirmation of the belief that this church, as it stands to-day in all its methods, arrangements and prosperity, is to be left to fight its battle alone for the souls of these young men and women, for me to be in doubt. I have been compelled, now and then, to step in advance of you and to take a position to which, very soon, I have secured your full consent. Once more, and for the last time, and in the presence of the Searcher of all hearts, I take before you the position that if you believe with the heart, if you love with the heart, if you go forward on your chosen path and do your chosen work, all will be well. This path may cross other paths, but there will be no collision. And if you do not share in a positive misconception of plan and labor, you shall be set free, finally, from a necessity for change which comes to whatever will not base itself upon the heart instead of the head. That this change is imminent in all education and in all religion, I have no fraction of doubt. Wisdom, whether in Christianity or in the integral calculus, is the product of a love for principles which transcends both creed and rule, useful and even necessary as they both must ever be. On this high plane you are now proceeding. Go forward upon it without let or hindrance, undismayed!

IV. This constitutes the outlook of your future work. This institution, wisely planned at the first by Christian men, shall endure undoubtedly to commemorate their christian zeal. But it may be permitted to a descendant of one of those earliest regents, to announce that the University as a fact is greater than any man, yea, than any administration or the policy of any administration. It can never remain the football of a faction, or the bema of a demagogue. Surely and steadily it will crystallize into a clear policy. The insects in the coral may perish, but the work shall live. Education is no deluded goddess—her name is rather to be called Wisdom.

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"Her open eyes desire the truth,
The wisdom of a thousand years
Is in them; may perpetual youth
Keep bright their light from tears!"

Religion and Learning should be hand in hand. It is for you—in your sphere, and within the true limits of your own demesne—to keep them truly joined. Hereafter there may be those who will cry, "Give us of your oil, for our lamps are gone out."

May I not, then, counsel you to "hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." Prayer you have proved to be a power, and therefore you must pray. Two revivals, and the addition of over a hundred persons in these three years, demonstate the fact. You have learned with gladness the "more excellent way" of love and close association, therefore, let none divide you—let there be "no schism in the body." "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."

The conscientiousness, developed by our present system of finance, must not be cast aside. But there will need to be a wiser and more generous liberality on the part of those whom God has blessed with means. The kingdom and house of God should be dear to every worshipper.

But why should I proceed as though you required a charge to do your duty? Surely, the experience of a church which two years hence should celebrate its semi-centennial, must suffice to have established what is the true way of happiness, the truest mode of peace. The same Church-Session, who have kindly and firmly administered the discipline and cared for the doctrine of this church, are at your service. The same Deacons watch over your poor. The same Trustees plan and provide. You have made it a matter of conscience to select them wisely, and I do not fear that they will fail you now.

V. And now it is time for us to part. In harmony and good-will we have lived together, in harmony and good-will we separate. We have rejoiced together with the living, and we have often wept together by the coffin of the dead. Face after face comes out upon the canvas of my thought—each face full of its story. You have made me your friend, your confidant, your counselor. You have come to me sorrowing for sin, and I have heard the first crying of your new-born souls. You have come to me with your burdened hearts, and we have placed the cares of life on "Him who careth for us." You have sought me as your spiritual physician, and I have administered to you the "Balm that is in

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Gilead." I have gone after the straying, and helped the hurt, and been happy with the whole.

Whatever may have been the faults of the preaching, the Lord has overruled its "foolishness" to the salvation of souls. I have striven to give you always the best I had, and the lecture-room has been as blessèd as the room above. That desire for knowledge which is so marked a feature of this congregation, and of its Sunday-school and Bible-classes, has been met so far as in me lay. I trust that, hid away within your heart may be here and there a thought which shall recall me to you in the days to come.

Let us be thankful, then, for these years which we have spent together—these Passovers which have celebrated our deliverance "out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage." We may not forget each other, for we are a part of each others' lives. Yet now

> "I hear a voice you cannot hear,
> Which says I must not stay:
> I see a hand you cannot see,
> Which beckons me away."

In the advancing years, you too, may comprehend that shape of duty which I alone upon my Brocken height can now behold. I hardly hope that you can yet perceive it—nor that you can, see as I see, the clear road of your own future. But, when we are together beyond these mists, within the realm of light, we shall only wonder that we sighed about the nests that were apart, while forest and blue heaven were to be filled and thrilled with song.

Like those last words of warning, of love and of regret, with which we watch our dear ones passing from our side, are these my words to you. It is I who am stationary upon that will of God, which bears me now away. To me, upon my sphere of duty, you are like a known and lovely orb, whose steady planetary movement I shall watch from the rim of my new earth. Better than any one else, I shall interpret your precessions, your retrogressions, and the shifting of your place among the stars. For I know you, like myself, to be lighted by the same Sun of Righteousness, and to hold an unvarying orbit about His throne of truth. I shall test you with the spectroscope; I shall follow you with the telescope. And I shall hear across dim wastes of air your songs of salvation, and the pæans of your joy.

They tell us of a mariner who, contrary to the custom of his class, brought to every new land the best seeds and the choicest plants.

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He tended them, and saw to their success—he taught the native islanders to trust him, and to care for what he gave. And then he sailed away, to renew on other shores his benevolent design. And thus he scattered Edens across the summer sea, blessing and being blessed—a true evangelist in the common gifts of God.

And if, to-night, like him, I leave behind me the seeds of truth, and the plants of goodly plans, I know that, like him, I shall be ever welcome back. Like him, I shall linger lovingly, now and then, beside some precious growth, and when I go on board my vessel I shall find her name to be the Good Hope, freighted with generous wishes and fervent prayers, and bound—beyond all transient harbors—for the Port of Everlasting Peace.

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS

IN REGARD TO

TURKEY.

BY

T. C. TROWBRIDGE.

NEW YORK
ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY,
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1874.

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NOTE.

My object, in republishing these papers, is simply to add to the general stock of information in regard to a country that is deservedly attracting public attention at the present time. Americans are doing much for the reformation of the Turkish Empire. I trust those who are especially interested in this work of reformation will find some ground for encouragment in these pages.

T. C. T.

ROOMS OF THE A. B. C. F. M.,
BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK.

FEBRUARY 10, 1874.

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS

IN REGARD TO

TURKEY.

ARTICLE I.

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF TURKEY.

(*From the New Englander, July*, 1872.)

In the following notes on the physical geography of the Turkish Empire, we shall have main reference to Asia Minor, and shall not attempt more than to present a sketch of that geography as it now appears to the eye of a traveler. We shall call attention to some of the prominent features of the country, leaving the reader to seek for scientific details in the valuable works that have been prepared by eminent travelers in anc ent and modern times.

In looking at a map of Turkey, one of the first things to attract our attention is the fact that the territory of the Turkish Empire lies directly in the highway that joins the western to the eastern world. It is practically impossible to reach India by a direct route from Europe without crossing that territory. The deserts of Africa on the south, and the cold climate and high mountains of Russia on the north, force travelers to the East across the soil of Turkey. This fact alone gives to all Turkish geographical questions an interest which, otherwise, it would not be possible for them to have.

In the "cipher" which is stamped upon the coinage and all the public documents of the Empire, the Sultan is called the "*Lord of two Seas.*" The reference, of course, is to the Black and the Mediterranean seas. There was a time when this title was more exactly correct than it is now, when the northern shores of the Black sea and the southern shores of the Mediterranean were under the absolute authority of the Turkish Empire. Even now, however, no one ruler can lay so good a claim

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to that title as the Sovereign of Turkey. If we apply the title to the Empire itself, nothing can be more true or more appropriate. A glance at an ordinary map of Europe shows how large a part of Turkish territory lies between these great inland oceans. This fact must be steadily kept in mind in treating of the physical geography of Turkey. The salubrious climate, the rich pasture lands, the noble forests, the multitudes of fountains and streams in many parts of the country, are due in great measure, if not entirely, to the presence of these large bodies of water. Even the elevated regions of Armenia and Kurdistan are undoubtedly affected by the seabreezes that strike their lofty mountains; those breezes are transformed into copious showers or frozen into snow, in either case falling in great abundance to enrich the earth. Some of the best natural pasture-lands in the world are in that region, made so, to a great extent, by the cause we have mentioned.

But these are not the only seas that wash the shores and affect the climate and vegetation of Turkey. The sea of Marmora, the Archipelago, the Adriatic gulf, the Red sea, and the Persian gulf, all contribute their share of influence. Few countries in the world have so much and such a varied sea-coast line as the Turkish Empire. The coast of European Turkey for two hundred miles is washed by the Adriatic gulf, for one hundred miles by the Ionian, for six hundred miles by the Ægean, and for four hundred miles by the Black sea, making a total sea-coast line of thirteen hundred miles in European Turkey alone. The sea-coast line of Asiatic Turkey has not been so accurately measured, but it cannot be less than three thonsand miles. Without including the African provinces of Turkey, the Red sea, and the Persian gulf, the Turkish Empire has a sea-coast line of nearly four thousand five hundred miles. This simple fact, in its relations to the commerce of the world, is one of special significance. Even now these inland waters are traversed by an immense number of steamers, and by thousands of sailing vessels. When these are supplemented on land by complete systems of railways, what can prevent a great development of the resources of the country?

The amount of territory included within these seas is doubtless larger than is generally supposed. The extent of Asiatic Tur-

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key, in its greatest length from northwest to southeast, is over thirteen hundred miles, while the extent from east to west, in a direct line, is about one thousand miles. The area of Asiatic Turkey is over 490,000 square miles; if we add 194,000 square miles comprised by Turkish Arabia, we have as the entire area of Asiatic Turkey 664,000 square miles. European Turkey is six hundred and eighty miles in length, five hundred and forty at its greatest breadth, and has an area of over 200,000 square miles. The entire area, therefore, of the Turkish Empire is nearly 900,000 square miles. In round numbers, that of France before the late war was 205,000 square miles; that of Austria 257,000; Spain and Portugal 219,000; that of Italy 120,000. Turkey, therefore, has a larger area than the united kingdoms of France, Anstria, Italy, Spain and Portugal. This area is about as large as one third of the entire area of the United States, and somewhat larger than that of all the States that lie east of the Mississippi river.

This territory embraces almost every variety of soil and climate to be found in the world; the surface of the country is as varied as it can be made by hills, mountains, plains, rivers, forests, deserts, and cultivated fields. When we leave the coasts and advance into the interior, the natural scenery of the country everywhere fixes the attention of the traveler. Let us first notice the mountains.

The mountains of Asia Minor are worthy of special study; in ancient times they formed the natural and impregnable fortifications of the country, and in our day they present the most serious obstacles to the construction of a general system of Turkish railroads.

We may say in general that the lofty ranges that skirt the southern shores of the Black and the northern shores of the Mediterranean seas, form the basis and hold up, as it were, the great elevated plateau of the interior of the country. At the northeastern corner of that plateau is a range of mountains that now go by the name of *Bin Gezl Dagh*, or Mountains of the Thousand Lakes; these mountains are south and southwest of the city of Erzroom, and form the highest part of Asiatic Turkey. The name seems very inappropriate when we consider that there are no lakes at all in that part of

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Turkey; the number of springs and fountains, however, is very great, and possibly the mountains have taken their names from these. These mountains and the elevated region about them are the source of some of the largest rivers in Turkey. They are not far from the centre of ancient Armenia; they are not distinguished so much for height above the surrounding region as for forming the summit or crown of the ascending ranges of Asia Minor. From whatever direction Armenia is approached, whether from the Red, the Black, the Caspian, or the Mediterranean sea, whether we follow up the Euphrates, the *Aras* (Araxes), the *Jihan* (Pyramus), the *Kizzil Irmak* (Halys), or the *Yéshil Irmak* (Iris), the traveler finds himself at last on the Bin Geol mountains.* There is something about the appearance of nature in this region of Turkey, it may be the purity of the atmosphere and the elasticity of the air, that gives a traveler the impression that he has really reached the top of that part of the world, and that it is impossible to go higher. There are not many lofty peaks, yet these are not altogether wanting. Snow is found throughout the year by the roads or paths by which caravans cross the mountains; it remains in large quantities on the summits, where the foot of man has never trod.

Tens of thousands of sheep and goats are pastured in the valleys and high plains about these mountains; in the summer months the flocks are driven from a more southern climate, and early in the fall they start on the return journey. The grass that grows in the nooks and valleys of the mountains has a special attraction for these flocks, while the salubrious climate secures their health. The pure, cold water of the mountain springs is not among the least attractions of this interesting

*Since the above was written, we have met a confirmation of this opinion in a work by Major James Rennel (London, 1831), on the "Comparative Geography of Western Asia." He says, vol. i., p. 351: "It would appear that the tract which contains the sources of the Western Euphrates, the Aras, the Iris, and Eastern Halys, is altogether the highest part of this region, since it separates the eastern and western waters, the whole way across from Cilicia to Moschica." Is the last mentioned name the same as the modern Moosh? And is not "*Moschica*" the same as "*Mesheck*" of Gen. x, 2? i. e., did not *Mesheck* give the name to the region *Moschica*, and is not this name preserved in the name *Moosh?* The objection to this supposition is that *Moosh* is too far south; yet the resemblance between the names is so striking that we cannot help observing it.

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region. The general impression made upon the mind by these mountains is that of desolation; the utter absence of forest trees, the rough, bleak appearance of the mountains, the perfect silence that everywhere reigns, the fact that you may ride days without seeing a human being, except an occasional muleteer or a wandering shepherd; all these things combine to produce the feeling that you are alone with nature as she came from her Creator's hand.

The Bin Geol mountains are really but a continuation of the Taurus range. That range begins a little north of the gulf of Atalia; after running nearly parallel with the coast of the Mediterranean sea until opposite its eastern end, the Taurus mountains gradually turn toward the north, until they join the mountains of Armenia Major. The Turkish name of the Taurus mountains is *Bin Bougha Daglar*, literally the "Thousand-bull mountains," or mountains of a thousand bulls. Thus it appears that the Turks have given them the same name that they have always had in other languages. The Turkish name is even more expressive than the English, and raises the enquiry whether there is not something in the mountains themselves that suggests this name. It is a fact that one of the distinguishing characteristics of this range of mountains is a constant succession of distinct peaks and mountains that are separated from all others. One cannot ride among them without remarking their resemblance to bold and dangerous animals. Sometimes six or eight of these lofty mountains are found so near each other that, from one, all can be plainly seen. In one instance we counted twenty separate peaks. When among them, it does not require a very strong imagination to make them seem like a group of wild bulls, standing ready to toss their enemies or each other into the heavens. One mountain stands alone, of a shape to suggest a crouching lion, ready to spring on his prey; another lifts his snowy head, like an old patriarch, far above his fellows; another rises with a perpendicular face hundreds of feet, like a solid wall, as if it had been built with lime and plummet by giants of past ages.

These remarks are confirmed by the fact that each one of these mountains has its own name, and some of the names are evidently given because of a fancied resemblance to animals.

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One of the most prominent between Albustan and Marash is called *Koch Dagh*, or Ram mountain; another is *Sakali-toutan Dagh*, or Beard-holder mountain; another is *Geoksun Dagh*, or Breast mountain; several mountains in one group are called *Yédi Karndash*, or "The Seven Brothers;" other names are *Atlas Dagh*, *Beirut Dagh*, *Bulgar Dagh*, *Ala Dagh*, *Kozan Dagh*, *Ak Dagh*, *Akché Dagh*, *Engezek Dagh*, *Daz Dagh*, *Shar Dagh*.

So far as known, the principal iron mines of the Taurus mountains are in Beirut Dagh, directly north of Marash.

The impression made by the Taurus mountains on the mind of a traveler is very different from that made by the mountains of ancient Armenia and Kurdistan. There, as we have remarked, the feeling is one of desolation; in the Taurus it is one of awe. The most unlettered man cannot travel in that region without stopping to gaze in silence at the evidence there presented of the Creator's power. "What hath God wrought?" is the language of all men as they wind around and among these mountains. Of course there are mountains in the world of greater height than these, for the highest peaks are only about ten thousand feet above the sea; it is their boldness that arrests attention. In this respect there is probably very little mountain scenery in the world that makes a deeper or more lasting impression.

The modern Turkish name of the ancient Amanus range is *Giaour Dagh*, or Infidel mountains. The origin of the name is uncertain, but it seems probable that the Turks gave the range this name from the fact that the Christian populations of those mountains were very stubborn in resisting the Turkish arms. In fact, the Giaour Dagh, the Kozan Dagh, and the region about Zeitoon, were never subdued by the Turks until about the year 1864. This fact is due partly to the inefficiency of the Turks, partly to the bold, determined character of the inhabitants, but mainly to the physical structure of the country; the rough mountains have formed natural fortifications, and rendered the approach of hostile troops very difficult.

The Giaour Dagh range is really a continuation of the great Lebanon range of Syria; this range strikes the Taurus range at nearly a right angle, a little southwest of Marash; at the point of juncture the Taurus range is running east and west, and the

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Giaour Dagh range almost directly north and south. The Giaour Dagh mountains extend from the Taurus south to and somewhat beyond the Beilan pass, a distance of about one hundred miles. In appearance these mountains differ greatly from the Taurus mountains; instead of isolated mountains of great size and height, we find a succession of thickly wooded hills; the oak, pine, spruce, hemlock, sycamore, and cedar, are found in abundance upon them. The rounded tops of the mountains, covered as they are with trees and a thick undergrowth of shrubbery, present to the eye of the traveler an ever-changing and most beautiful panorama. There are two main passes across these mountains, one at Beilan, near Alexandretta, the other the old Amanus pass, at the north-east corner of the Adana plain. It is worthy of note that the inhabitants of these mountains have had, from the earliest times, the same rough, lawless character that they have now. When Cicero was Governor of Cilicia, about 50 B.C., he was compelled to march in force against the rebels of *Giaour Dagh* (Amanus); in his contests with them he displayed no small amount of military talent. Even in the most prosperous days of the Roman empire these rebels were kept in subjection only with great difficulty. At present they are so thoroughly subdued that a traveler can go unarmed anywhere in the mountains with perfect safety. The complete subjugation of these mountaineers is one evidence of the reviving power of the Turkish government.

The Giaour Dagh mountains are but little cultivated; detached villages are poor and squalid; the people submit with reluctance to the restraints of regular authority, and long for the freedom they once enjoyed under their independent chiefs. They are guilty of one act of barbarism, from which they should be compelled to desist by the Turkish government, that of destroying the forests that cover the mountains adjoining their places of residence. Knowing nothing of the value of forests as related to the climatology of a country, and caring nothing for the future, they persist in burning over large sections of the mountains, for the purpose of sowing wheat amid the ashes on the new soil; for a year or two these fields produce good crops, but in a short time they become useless as arable lands, while the valuable trees have been utterly destroyed. We have seen thou-

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sands of acres of mountain forests thus wasted. The method of destruction is as follows: The brush and smaller trees are cut down and all the branches are cut from the large trees; these branches and small trees cover the ground sometimes to the height of three or four feet; after drying one or two months, they are set on fire and burn with the greatest fury; of course every tree and every green thing is destroyed. The tall, burnt trunks of the oaks and pines that are left standing, are a sad proof of the ignorance of the people and of the inefficiency of the Turkish government. This species of vandalism, for it is nothing less, is found especially in the Giaour Dagh mountains, but it exists also in the Taurus and in other parts of Turkey.

There is no other mountain range in Asiatic Turkey that deserves especial notice, except perhaps the Olympian range, in the western part of Asia Minor. The mountains of that section of the country, however, are not so much a regular "range" as an irregular collection of hills on the southern side of the sea of Marmora; these hills culminate in Mount Olympus. European travelers have often visited this mountain, as it is easily reached from Constantinople. It has been described so frequently that details in regard to it are within the reach of all travelers. Those who go to Constantinople, and who wish to obtain an extended and beautiful view of that part of Asia Minor, should make the ascent of Olympus. The entire trip can be made from Constantinople in four days.

One other single mountain deserves mention, Mount Argaeus, near Cesarea. This is the highest mountain in Asia Minor, being thirteen thousand feet in height above the level of the sea; it is reported to be sixty miles in circumference at its base, and to contain an area of three hundred square miles. It is isolated except on the south-eastern side, where it is connected with a spur of the Taurus chain; the highest point of the mountain is inaccessible; the lowest snow-line is eleven thousand seven hundred feet in height. The regions about Smyrna and in the south-western portion of Asia Minor are very mountainous, but the mountains are not known by any general name, and are not especially remarkable.

The common impression in regard to Asia Minor is that mountains and rough hills occupy the greater part of the earth's

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surface. Although we cannot give the exact proportions, we are confident that this impression is not correct. The mountains are numerous, almost always in sight, and add immensely to the natural beauty of the scenery. They form, however, the borders of great terraces, and inclose immense plains that are not unlike the prairies of the Mississippi valley. Even in the heart of Armenia these plains are found, especially along the upper waters of both the eastern and western branches of the Euphrates and in the vicinity of Lake Van.

There are several peculiarities about the plains of Turkey that deserve notice; one is their extent. The traveler is surprised to find himself on plains that it takes him days to cross. Some of them, however, are only wide, extended valleys. The plain between Marash and Antioch is of this sort; it is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, and, until within twenty-five miles of Antioch, not more than five or six miles wide. As it approaches Antioch, it spreads out into a broad tract of country of great extent. This plain appears to be but an extension of the valley of the Jordan up between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, down the valley of the Orontes to the neighborhood of Antioch, and thence running north north-east in almost a direct line until it reaches the base of the Taurus mountains at Akhir Dagh, at the very foot of which Marash is situated.

Other plains lie along the courses of the large rivers. Such is that of Moosh, on the eastern branch of the Euphrates; this plain we have crossed in both directions; it is about eighty miles long and twenty miles wide; the soil is a rich, black loam and capable of producing most abundant crops.

Other plains are the high plateaus that lie between the mountain ranges; of this sort are those of Konia (Iconium), Angora, Cesarea, Sivas (Sebaste), Erzroom, Kharpoot, and Van. The plain of Pasin, stretching far to the north-east of Erzroom, is similar; so also is the great plain of Adana, though in this case there is but a slight elevation above the sea; there are mountains on the north, east, and west of the Adana plain, and the Mediterranean on the south. These plains vary in length from fifty to two hundred miles, and in breadth from twenty-five to fifty miles; this is a general estimate, made from observations on passing over them.

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There is still another kind of plains in Turkey, whose area is probably greater than that of any other particular kind. These are the plains that lie on the border of the Arabian desert and in the northern parts of Mesopotamia. The plain about Aleppo is of this sort; it embraces the whole country for hundreds of miles in almost all directions; such also is the plain of Diarbekir (Amida) on the Tigris, and that of Mardin on the borders of the desert.

When the traveler has struck out for two or three days into one of these immense plains, and sometimes, owing to the undulations of the surface of the ground, loses sight of the mountains, he feels his own insignificance; the impression is much the same as that produced by the ocean in a calm; the eye stretches on and on and on, and there is still the same boundless waste.

Another peculiarity of the plains in Turkey is that they are generally very level till they reach the adjoining mountains; this peculiarity has often attracted our attention; it is mentioned also by Mr. Wm. Martin Leake, who traveled extensively in Asia Minor in the year 1800. He says: "One characteristic of the Asiatic plains is the exactness of the level, and the peculiarity of their extending, without any previous slope, to the foot of the mountains, which rise from them like lofty islands out of the surface of the ocean." A beautiful illustration of this remark is the small plain of Boondook, which lies between Marash and Hadjin. It is only about ten miles in diameter, and is surrounded by high mountains that rise, on every side, almost like walls; the plain is as level as a house floor, and it is difficult to find a stone of any sort or size on its surface.

Another peculiarity of the plains in Turkey is their natural fertility. The soil is deep, generally dark and rich. Even with the poor cultivation which they now receive, and although a rotation of crops is almost unknown, and the common American practice of seeding down fields to clover and grass is unheard of, yet the land is so good that abundant harvests are gathered from it from year to year. In the summer of 1871 we had occasion to pass over the great plain of Adana; we are confident that no prairie in Illinois could present a better display of wheat than we there saw. The entire plain seemed to be sown to

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wheat, which stood about even with the backs of our horses and as thick as it could possibly grow. As there are no fences in Turkey, the fields are not separated one from another; as far almost as the eye could reach the whole plain seemed one immense wheat-field. It is a question for agricultural chemists to consider, why does not the soil of these plains become entirely exhausted? The same process of ploughing, sowing, and reaping, that we now see, has been going on for ages. True, in many cases, owing to the sparseness of the population, the whole plain is not under cultivation; but wherever there is cultivation, even in the slovenly style of the East and without the use of manures, the result is as above stated. The plain at the head of the gulf of Nicomedia, called the Adabazar plain, and the plain of Kharpoot, are also examples of the great fertility of Turkish plains; they are mentioned here only because we have happened to see them just before harvest, when their fields were dropping "fatness."

The population on many of these plains is too small to work them properly. Millions of acres of as good land as can be found in the world are lying waste to-day in Turkey simply for want of cultivators. Where there is proximity to the sea, as in the case of the Adana plain, the greater part of the land is cultivated; but in Armenia and Mesopotamia probably not one-half is used. Even if the inhabitants succeed in raising large amounts of grain, what can they do with it? There are no railroads and no other facilities for carrying it to market; the result is that it often happens that wheat is very low in one part of the country, while, at some other point, the price is very high. What would the best wheat be worth in Wisconsin if it had to be carried to New York on the backs of horses? The consequence of this want of cultivation is a wasted, desolate appearance, which is not relieved by the few squalid villages that are scattered here and there over the plains. These villages are made of mud; there are no windows in the houses; the people sleep on the ground in one corner of the house or on a platform raised a few inches above the ground, while the remainder of the house is given up to the use of their flocks and herds. In Armenia and Kurdistan the villages are often nearly under ground, somewhat like the villages of the prairie dogs in the far West, though the houses are on a large

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scale, and not so much above the surface of the earth. A new civilization will make the plains of Turkey what they were in ancient times, the grain-producing region for all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea, and even for other and more distant lands.

In passing over these plains the attention of the traveler is everywhere arrested by a great number of artificial mounds or tumuli; they vary in size and shape, but are generally from about seventy-five to one hundred feet high, and cover from two to three acres of ground. Some are much larger; others are smaller. That they are artificial appears from their smooth, rounded shape, and from the fact that they differ entirely from the surface of the earth in the regions immediately adjoining them. We have noticed that in all cases they are located by or near a spring of living water; generally they are from three to five or six miles apart. From an elevated position we have sometimes counted fifteen or twenty of them in view at once. They are found on all the plains in Turkey, but are especially numerous in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in the region of Antioch, and Aleppo, and on the great plains of European Turkey. When, how, and for what purpose were they made? There has been no little speculation on the subject, but as yet no satisfactory answer has been given; the present population can give no information in regard to them; they have a tradition that, in ancient times, these mounds were "*kalés*" or fortifications, erected near towns and villages, and that what we now see is all that remains of the ruins of such places. One author suggests that they were built by the ancients for signalizing by bonfires. This is disproved by the fact that often they stand on the edge of a plain, near high hills, that would form much better signal stations, and were ready for use without any labor or expense, This is the case with several that are seen from the roads that connect Adana with Aintab, and Antioch with Killis. They seem at least to furnish some evidence that, in former times, these plains supported a far greater population than they do now. That such was the case is abundantly proved also from other sources. It seems strange that these tumuli have not been thoroughly examined by laying them open; so far as we can ascertain, no such examinations have

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been made, except on the sites of some of the famous cities of antiquity.

In these days, when the nations of the earth are being knit together by lines of railways, one of the first thoughts of a traveler on passing through Turkey is, "What a grand bed these plains would make for railroads, and how easy it would be to construct such roads across them!" Thousands of miles of railway might be laid down in Turkey with no more expense for grading than has to be incurred on the prairies of the far West. True, these plains are crossed and hemmed in by ranges of mountains, but the engineering difficulties that will be met in Turkey, as regards railroads, are small as compared with those that have already been surmounted in other parts of the world. The time cannot be far distant when these natural facilities for the construction of railroads in Turkey will be seized by the government, and by European capital and turned to good account.

The rivers of Asia Minor, although not to be compared with the great rivers of the world, are worthy of more attention than they have received in modern times. The most important of them take their rise in the eastern part of the great plateau already mentioned; the four largest are the Kizzil Irmak (Halys), the Arax (Araxes), the Tigris, and the Euphrates. These rivers flow in four different directions, and all cut their way through high mountain ranges to the sea. Their currents are very rapid, and in the spring of the year, when the snows on the mountains are melting, the waters rush over their rocky beds with irresistible fury. Nothing can better illustrate the low state of scientific investigation in the country than the fact that almost nothing is really known in regard to its rivers; their sources, length, breadth, the possibility of navigating them, the water power which they furnish—all these and all similar questions are virtually still unanswered by the scientific men of Turkey. We cannot learn that any reliable efforts have been made for many years to ascertain the simplest facts in regard to these rivers. With the progress of education and civilization, of course they will be carefully explored, and many interesting scientific facts will be brought to light. For example, take the source of the Jihan (Pyramus); perhaps no mod-

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ern traveler has visited it, yet the natural phenomena there presented are very singular and interesting. The source of the stream is a little lakelet by the side of a limestone rock, about two miles north-east of the town of Albustan; at first sight this lakelet presents nothing remarkable in appearance. On a closer examination, you find that the ground at the bottom of the water is full of little boiling springs; these cover the ground, throwing up the sand and water, presenting an appearance like that of a pot of boiling water. This lakelet is about sixty rods long and fifteen or twenty rods wide. After having been around it and studied it for an hour, you are impressed with the vast amount of water thus brought to the surface. That water runs with great force in a stream which is several rods wide, and too deep, even at its passage out of the lakelet, to be forded on horseback. No finer trout can be found in the world than abound in the cold water of that mountain lakelet. The Jihan runs in a south-westerly direction, cuts its way square through the Taurus, passes Missis (Mopsuestia), and empties into the Mediterranean sea between the gulf of Issus and the mouth of the Sihan (Cydnus). The Jihan is only about one hundred and eighty miles long, but it is a broad and powerful stream; at Missis we judged it to be about one hundred and fifty yards wide; it is there crossed by an old Roman bridge of nine arches, which is nearly as substantial now as when built, many centuries ago. The main tributary of the Jihan is the Aksu or "white water," which rises east of Marash, and joins the Jihan just where the Amanus range intersects the Taurus; it thus forms the dividing line between the two ranges of mountains.

The largest river in the northern part of Asia Minor is the Kizzil Irmak, the ancient Halys. It rises in the mountains east of Sivas, in Armenia Minor, flows W., then S.W., then turns N.W., then to the N.E., and finally empties into the Black sea, near Sinope; its entire length is about six hundred miles.

The "Great River" of the Scriptures and of the Turkish Empire is the Euphrates. It is truly a "great" river, not only in its history, but in its physical characteristics. Much might be said in regard to it, but the limits of this article forbid more than a brief notice.

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The Euphrates is formed by the confluence of the Kara Su (Black Water), which rises about twenty-five miles N.E. of Erzroom, with the Murad Chai, which rises N.N.E. of Lake Van; these two branches flow directly out of the mountains of ancient Armenia, and unite near Keban Maden, about thirty miles west of Kharpoot; flowing thence S.W. past Samosat (Samosata), its course is toward the Mediterranean sea, but a range of mountains turns it to the S.E., in which direction it continues to the Persian gulf, having united with the Tigris at Kurnah. Its length is eighteen hundred miles, which is six hundred and fifty miles longer than the Tigris, and only two hundred less than the Indus; its average width below Birijik (Bir), about twelve hundred miles from its mouth, is two hundred yards; below that city it is from twelve to thirty feet deep.

The old geographers state that in ancient times the waters of the Euphrates did not reach the sea at all, but were absorbed by marshes, or drawn off for purposes of irrigation. When we look at the volume of water in the river opposite Birijik, for example, this seems incredible. Mr. Rawlinson, however, states that even now the river is four hundred yards wide seven hundred miles from its mouth, while afterward it is reduced to one hundred and twenty yards in width, and its average depth is, at the same time, diminished from eighteen to twelve feet. It is also stated that the Tigris and the Euphrates formerly reached the sea by separate channels, and were only united about two thousand years ago. This is not improbable, as the two rivers run parallel and near to each other for a long distance; as they were separated toward the Persian gulf only by low, flat plains, their union was easy and not unnatural.

The Tigris rises in the Armenian Taurus mountains, on their southern slope, at lat. 38° 10′ and long. 39° 20′; its source is not more than ten, Mr. Rawlinson thinks not more than three, miles distant from the Murad or eastern branch of the Euphrates. At Diarbekir, one hundred and fifty miles from its source, it is one hundred yards wide in the dry season; this width is increased to two hundred and fifty yards during the spring floods; its average width between Mosul and Bagdad is two hundred yards; its current flows at the rate of four and a half miles per hour. The Tigris has been navigated by small steam-

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ers as far as to Mosul; its principal tributaries are the Great and the Lesser Zab and the Khabour; these flow from the east, and have their sources in the mountains of Kurdistan.

The Orontes is famous in history, and has been so often described that a passing notice is all that is needed here. It rises in North Syria, near Baalbec, runs almost due north between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, until near Antioch; it then turns west and empties into the Mediterranean, near the ruins of Selucia. Its length is about two hundred miles; its modern name is the Asi or Rebel river. The origin of this name is uncertain; the various conjectures that have been made on the subject do not appear to correspond with facts and with the character of the river. As it flows through the plain of Antioch it lies very low under its banks, its waters are dirty, and there seems to be nothing poetical or beautiful about it. It is interesting only on account of its historical associations. The Sakarius (Sangarius), one branch of this river, rises in the Olympian mountains, and the other near Angora. It runs north past the city of Adabazar, and empties into the Black sea. This river deserves notice from the fact that the founders of the present race and dynasty of Ottoman Turks made their first settlement on its banks, at the modern village of Suyud; the current is very rapid and strong; the river is about three hundred miles in length; that it has entirely changed its bed is proved by a noble Roman bridge, ten arches of which are still standing on the open plain several miles west of Adabazar, while the river now flows on the east side of that city.

All the rivers in Turkey are subject to a great periodical rise, in consequence of the melting of the snow on the mountains, in which they have their sources. This rise begins generally about the last of April, and reaches its greatest height about the first of June. As bridges are scarce and frequently carried away, this annual increase of the waters is a great hindrance to travel and commercial intercourse. At that season of the year not the large rivers alone, but the smaller streams, that are insignificant in August and September, become dangerous obstacles to travelers. Torrents are often found rushing through gorges and valleys, where not a drop of water can be found in the dry season. A great increase in the number and quality of the.

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bridges is one of the most pressing wants of Turkey, especially in the wild regions of Armenia and Kurdistan.

A notice of the Physical Geography of the Turkish Empire would not be complete without mentioning the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. These straits have well been called the "Gates of Constantinople;" if properly defended, it would seem impossible for an enemy to pass them. Admiral Farragut, however, remarked, when he was at Constantinople, not long before his death, that he would not hesitate to run through either strait in the night, even with wooden ships, whatever might be the amount and force of the opposition. It may be that Farragut was somewhat peculiar in his views on such subjects. We are sure that nature has done her share in making the approaches to Constantinople very peculiar and very beautiful, yet capable of being made immensely strong by the wit of the engineer.

The Bosphorus runs from the Black sea to the Sea of Marmora, a distance of sixteen miles. The width of the strait varies not a little, the narrowest place being between the two old "Castles of Asia and Europe." The distance here from shore to shore is one hundred rods; the water in the strait is very deep, pure, and cold; the current is rapid and powerful, especially when assisted by a north wind. The beauty of the natural scenery on the shores of the Bosphorus is probably unsurpassed in the world.

The Dardanelles are sixty miles in length, and in some places three in breadth, yet at the narrowest point the distance is about the same as that of the narrowest place in the Bosphorus; the shores are more receding than those of the Bosphorus, and there is less variety and beauty in the natural scenery.

Both of these straits greatly hinder navigation by sailing vessels when the wind is from the north. It not unfrequently happens that a fleet of two or three hundred vessels collects at the mouth of the Dardanelles, waiting, it may be for weeks, for a south wind to carry them through. When at last it comes and the vessels pass up into the Sea of Marmora, the scene there presented is very beautiful.

The lakes of Turkey are few and small, and merit but little attention; the largest is Lake Van, in ancient Armenia; the

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water of this lake is very salt and disagreeable to the taste, closely resembling that of the Dead sea. We were assured by the inhabitants on the shores of the lake that the water never freezes, although the climate is intensely cold in winter. The level of the lake is over five thousand feet above the level of the sea; it has no considerable inlet and no outlet; its length is about one hundred and its greatest breadth about seventy miles. The region about its shores is mountainous and mostly uncultivated, except at the eastern end; wild fowl, especially wild geese, abound on its waters. There are also some small lakes in the central part of Asia Minor whose waters are reported to be salt or brackish, but these we have not visited. The absence of lakes in Turkey is not to be wondered at when we consider the terrace-like configuration of the country.

The question is often asked, "Does Turkey abound in minerals?" Here we have to reply, as on so many other points of its physical geography, that a full answer cannot be given without more thorough and scientific examination. We can only report what we know from personal observation, and from the scattered notices found in the works of travelers who have passed hastily through the country. Copper, iron, and silver mines exist, and are worked in the style that might be expected in a semi-civilized country. The principal copper mines are at Bakur Maden (copper ore), the silver mines at Gumush Maden (silver ore), and the iron mines near Zeitoon, in the Taurus mountains. The supply of iron ore is reported to be very large. Deposits of coal have been often reported in various places, yet but little is really known as to whether coal is found in the country or not. The restrictions placed by the government on all attempts to develop the mineral resources of the country operate as an effectual barrier to progress in this direction. At Erzroom we were shown a beautiful specimen of native copper by an Armenian merchant; he said it came from the mountains near the city, but he assured us that the government had earnestly opposed even an examination of the mine, from a fear that the profits might, in some way, go into the hands of individuals rather than into the Imperial treasury. The same merchant informed us that deposits of coal exist in the neighborhood of Erzroom; the alleged reason for not working the coal mine

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was that the use of coal would destroy the business of the poor men who obtain their living by bringing wood into the city for sale.

Flowers are found in the greatest abundance in all parts of the country; this is due to the good soil, the genial climate, and the great supply of rain in the winter and spring. During the months of May and June, wherever you go in Turkey, the ground is sure to be covered with flowers. We have seen them in profusion amid the mountains of Armenia, on the plains of Mesopotamia, in the passes of the Giaour Dagh and Taurus mountains, and throughout the provinces of Bithynia and Cilicia. An eminent botanist some years ago traveled through Asia Minor, and made an immense collection of plants and flowers. He frequently expressed his astonishment at the great number and variety of the flowers.

The trees that are now commonly seen in Turkey are the oak, of which there are several varieties, pine, cedar, sycamore, beech, willow, spruce, hemlock, walnut, a species of ash, chestnut, mulberry, olive; and, on the borders of Syria, the orange, lemon, and palm.

Fruit abounds in almost all parts of the country, except in the higher portions of Armenia; the following are the most common varieties: Apples, pears, peaches, plums, apricots, grapes, figs, olives, pomegranates, and, in the more southern districts, dates, lemons, and oranges. These fruits are not only found, but in many parts of the country the supply is so great that the price at which they are sold is very small. Grapes of the most delicious quality can often be purchased in the interior at the rate of one cent for two and a half pounds!

The grains commonly raised are wheat, barley, and Indian corn. Cotton, tobacco, and silk are produced in large quantities in some parts of the country, but on account of the heavy export duties levied on such articles, are mostly used in home consumption. The domestic animals now found in Turkey are, sheep; of these the numbers are immense; among them are found the big-tailed sheep; goats, including the famous Angora goats; camels, in all parts of the country. The common impression, that the camel cannot be used in a cold climate, is incorrect. Great numbers of them are employed in the carrying

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trade between the Black Sea and Persia; large caravans of them may be seen entering Erzroom from Persia in the coldest weather in the dead of winter. We were told, however, that the camels that can bear the cold weather of Armenia are of a peculiar and very hardy breed. The huge, eastern buffalo, so famous for strength, is found in all parts of Turkey. The horses of Asia Minor have always been known for their capacity of endurance; bordering the desert many noble specimens of the horse may be often seen. The beautiful description of the war-horse found in Job, xxxix, 19–25, was doubtless suggested by the actual presence of a full-blooded Arab, possibly one owned by the patriarch himself. In these days the best Arab horses are owned by officers of the Turkish government and army. A beautiful horse is not an unusual present to a local governor, always, of course, as a silent acknowledgment for "favors received."

The common cattle are of a poor quality. Some handsome white cattle are raised in Bulgaria; in the region of Erzroom also some fair cattle are found. Near Aleppo and Damascus occasionally a regular "bull of Bashan" may be seen, such as would delight the eyes of the best cattle grower in Dutchess county, New York. Cattle are seldom used for beef; hence little effort is made to improve the breed.

Of wild animals there are many varieties in Turkey. The common deer, the antelope, the ibex or mountain goat, bears, wolves, foxes, jackals, hares, the mink, are found in various parts of the country. Leopards are still occasionally met with in Mesopotamia and even west of the Euphrates. Wild boars are very numerous in nearly all the hills and mountains of Turkey. Some of them become very large and savage.

Wild birds also are found in great numbers. The eagle, vulture, common hawks, storks, wild geese, ducks, quails, partridges, pheasants, great varieties of beautiful cranes, wild swans, are the birds not uncommonly met with by an ordinary traveler. The silver crane of Armenia is a noble bird. Turkey is a good country for the sportsman; but he must be willing to forsake civilized life, go to the mountain villages, and adapt himself to the habits of the people. Wild boars, bears, and deer will be his most common game of large size. Turkish waters have ever been celebrated for the quantity and quality of their fish. This

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is especially true of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora. In the interior of the country the people pay very little attention to fishing. Streams that are full of the most beautiful trout and other varieties of fish are seldom disturbed by the fisherman's rod, never by a net.

Probably there is no better climate in the world than that of Asia Minor; the atmosphere is soft, yet, for the greater part of the year, fresh and bracing. The stars shine with a bright lustre; in Mesopotamia a star-lit night is one of the most magnificent sights to be seen in the world; little wonder that the ancients of those regions made a special study of astronomy; how could they help studying it? There can be little doubt that their minds were drawn to that study by the peculiar lustre of the stars and the splendor of the starry heavens.

In some parts of the country fevers abound, as at Alexandretta and Samsoon, but these are due to local causes. The uplands of Armenia are unsurpassed for a pure and healthy atmosphere. The native people of Armenia, especially those of the Armenian race, are persons of great physical strength, such men and such women as grow only in a healthy climate. It is from that region that the Hamals (burden-bearers) of Constantinople come. These Hamals are celebrated for their enormous strength.

We have thus attempted briefly to sketch the most noticeable points in the Physical Geography of Asia Minor. Scientific details have purposely been avoided as not of special interest to the general reader. To many persons, what we have written will contain nothing new; others, we trust, will be glad to see within the compass of a single Article the information we have tried to give. Having traveled many thousands of miles, on horseback, in Turkey, we have had abundant opportunity to see the rivers, mountains, plains, forests, plants, and animals of which we have spoken.

The peculiarities of the Physical Geography of the country have always deeply interested us. In some respects Physical Geography is the basis of everything. Looking to the future, and believing that Turkey is shut up to a course of great material, intellectual, and moral progress, we have studied the physical features of the country with great pleasure. From quite an

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extensive personal survey, we are convinced that there is a solid basis for unlimited advancement. The desired progress will really begin when a railroad is built from Constantinople through the heart of Asia Minor to the river Tigris, and thence down the valley of the Euphrates to Bagdad.

The wealth of the East, the arts, the sciences, the energy of the West, will soon meet,—they are even now meeting,—on the soil of Turkey.

When man begins to appreciate Nature in Turkey, Nature will show that she has prepared a magnificent country for the residence and healthy development of millions of men. In the good time for which all hope, her rivers, mountains, plains, fountains, her iron, silver, copper, and marble, her noble forests, her pure climate, all will be found answering the wise ends for which they were designed by their Creator. That good time is sure to come; the stars in their courses fight for it. We predict that when it has really come, mother Earth will not be able to show a more beautiful spot than the very regions that were chosen as the birth-place of the human race.

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ARTICLE II.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS.*

(*From the Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Oct.*, 1872.)

THE sea of Aral is situated almost directly east of the northern part of the Caspian Sea; its centre is at about the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, and at the one hundred and thirty-seventh degree of east longitude. If we take that point as a centre, and describe a circle fifteen hundred miles in diameter, we shall enclose a portion of the earth's surface now commonly known as Central Asia. East of that line or circumference lie China and Japan, or Eastern Asia; west of it we have the Black Sea and Asia Minor or Western Asia.

Central Asia is remarkable as the birth-place of nations; thence certainly have come the Russians, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Persians, the Kurds, the Armenians, the Circassians and the Turks. Should we inquire minutely into the origin of many of the nations of modern Europe, we should find that they also are sprung from the wandering tribes that, from the earliest ages, have journeyed from the East to the West, pasturing their herds on the great plains of the region we have indicated, or defending themselves amid its mountain fastnesses. In truth, if we trace up to its source almost any one of the streams of humanity, we find that source amid the rugged mountains of Central Asia.

* In the preparation of this article we have consulted mainly Prof. Creasy's "History of the Ottoman Turks," London, 1858; a "Catalogue of Turkish Coins," published at Constantinople in 1862, by Munif Effendi, which is especially valuable for the accuracy of its dates; and Gibbon's unrivalled "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." A personal acquaintance by the writer of the article with many of the localities described, has materially aided in obtaining a clear understanding of the facts.

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We must distinguish between the Ottoman and the Seljukian Turks. Of the Seljukian Turks we do not propose to speak, except to remark that they also were from Central Asia, and were the immediate predecessors of the Ottoman Turks in occupying what is now called Turkey in Asia.

It is well known that the descendants of Othman, or Osman, do not like to be called "Turks." The reason is plain: that name connects them with the uncivilized tribes of Independent Tartary. A portion of Tartary, however, is even now called *Turkestan*, and its inhabitants *Turkomans*. It may humble the pride of the Osmanlees to have their origin traced to wandering, half-civilized tribes, yet that such is their true origin there can be no doubt. Nor should it be considered a disgrace. Who were the forefathers of the inhabitants of France? who the ancestors of the present race of Englishmen? These questions take us to the rude tribes of Franks, Normans and Saxons, who were our ancestors. Let men be judged by what they are themselves, and by what they do, and not by what their forefathers were or did. If the Osmanlees of the present day are more civilized, more humane, better educated than their ancestors were, let them receive the credit they deserve. The question of their origin is simply one of history, and one in regard to which there can be very little difference of opinion. Let us briefly trace their first entrance into Asia Minor.

Galaleddin was the Sultan or Prince of *Carizme* in Central Asia, near the Caspian Sea; repulsed from Northern India, he returned to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdom. He was defeated by the armies of the Moguls, and perished in the mountains of Kurdistan. His army was dissolved at his death; many of the chiefs went into Syria, others came westward into Iconium in Asia Minor. These last entered the service of Aladin, the ruler of Iconium; among them was Solyman Shah, whose son, Orthogrul, was the father of Othman or Osman, the founder of the Ottoman Empire. Orthogrul established himself with four hundred families near the present village of Sûyûd, on the banks of the river Sakarius, and governed his tribe with marked ability for fifty-two years. Upon his death, his own son Osman became chief of the tribe, and

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from him the Turks derive the name *Osmanlees*, by which, above all others, they prefer to be known.

The power of the rising nation rapidly increased. On the 12th of July, 1299, Osman invaded the province of Nicomedia. Having greatly extended the authority and influence of his tribe, he died in 1326, just as his son Orkhan was completing the conquest of Brusa. That conquest established the claim of the Ottoman Turks to a place among the nations. Brusa was a fortified, wealthy and beautiful city. It gave to the young nation a citadel, a capital, and a centre of influence. The first Ottoman Sultans expended immense sums in building the mosques, whose ruins are still the admiration of the curious traveler.

The inhabitants who yielded to the conquering Turks were chiefly Greeks. Many of them were treated with the greatest cruelty; tradition has preserved to this day the remembrance of their sufferings. In the provinces of Brusa, Nicomedia, Kutayah, and in many other parts of Asia Minor, there are tens of thousands of Greeks who use only the Turkish language; they say, in explanation of this fact, that when their ancestors were conquered by the Turks they were compelled to change their language and speak Turkish, the penalty of non-compliance with this law being that those who refused should have their tongues cut out. Much, therefore, as they loved Greek, they were forced to learn Turkish, and the result is that their descendants have lost the knowledge of Greek entirely and know only Turkish.

Orkhan, the son of Othman, captured Brusa in 1326; he followed up his success with determined energy. His father's troops were irregular, undisciplined cavalry, much like the Turkish "Bashi Bozooks" of the present day. Orkhan organized them into a regular standing army of twenty-five thousand men. In 1326 he captured the city of Nicomedia, and in 1330 the city of Nice. Nice was a strongly fortified place, sixty miles north-east of Brusa; its solid walls are standing now, almost as perfect as they were four hundred years ago. The possession of these walled towns gave the Turkish sovereign entire command of the whole province of Bithynia. It was during the reign of Orkhan that the famous corps of *Yeni-*

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Charés, "new aids," or *Janizaries*, was organized. They were the children of Christians who were captured in war; they were compelled to change their religion and become Mussulmans; they were trained to lives of hardihood, were thoroughly disciplined in the use of arms, and soon became the most powerful and most dreaded corps of the Turkish army. Moslem as well as Christian eventually had reason to abhor the savage ferocity of the *Yeni-Charés*. It was only by an energy and cruelty equal to their own that the corps was finally destroyed by Sultan Mahmoud II., in 1326, after having been the flower of the Ottoman army for more than five hundred years.

In the year 1336 Orkhan held the fortified cities of Brusa, Nice, Nicomedia, and Pergamos and the adjoining regions; his authority, therefore, was fully established. Three years before his death, in 1356, his son Solyman crossed the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and took possession of its western shore. This was the first entrance of the Turks into Europe. Orkhan died in 1359, after a successful reign of thirty-three years. His successor was his son, *Murad I.*, commonly known in history as Amurath. He was the conqueror of what is now known as European Turkey. With little opposition he subdued the whole of the province of Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Haemus, or the Balkan Mountains. He even marched his victorious troops to the gates of Constantinople. He made Adrianople the seat of his government; he attacked the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Bosnians and the Albanians; his contests with these hardy nations were obstinate and bloody; little mercy was shown on either side. The Christians defended their native soil with great bravery, but the result of a long series of battles, was the extension to the Danube of the northern boundary of the Ottoman dominions. The resistance of the Bulgarians and Servians to the onward march of the Turks forms the proudest epoch in the history of those nations. The brave deeds of their kings and princes are still celebrated in the wild songs of the common peasantry of those provinces.

Murad I. died by the hand of a Servian assassin, in the year 1389, having reigned thirty years. It was his boast and glory that he had established on the continent of Europe the religion and authority of the followers of Mohammed. It is worthy of

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notice that the permanent conquests of the Turks in Europe never extended far beyond the limits to which they were carried by Murad, nor have the Turks ever receded very far from the lines which were established by his military genius. The most important exception to this remark was the subsequent conquest of the Crimea and of Greece, but both Greece and the Crimea have long been free from the Turkish yoke. Sultan Murad did but little, however, toward the more complete subjugation of Asia Minor.

His son and successor was *Byazid I.* Many circumstances combined to make Byazid one of the most renowned of Turkish sovereigns. As a general he soon earned and bore the epithet of "Yildrum" or "*Thunderbolt.*" In Asia Minor he extended the limits of his kingdom east to the Euphrates, and north as far as Erzroom. In Europe he completed the conquests of his father in Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly, and imposed a regular form of government upon the Bulgarians and Servians. The discipline which he maintained in his army was almost perfect; the peasantry of the conquered provinces could pursue their usual avocations undisturbed within the immediate vicinity of his camp. Not satisfied with previous conquests he attacked the Hungarians, who were then ruled by King *Sigismond.* Authorities differ in regard to the number of Christian troops engaged. Gibbon estimated the number at one hundred thousand. It appears certain that there were present twelve thousand of the chivalry of Europe, who had come to engage in the crusade against the Turks. The decisive battle was fought at *Nicopolis* in 1396, and resulted in the entire defeat of the Christian army. The cruel character of the Turkish sovereign is well illustrated by his treatment of the Christian prisoners captured in this battle; by his special order all the prisoners over twenty years of age, except a few French noblemen, were put to death. A German historian, *Schiltberger*, was one of the captives, but was spared on account of his youth. He was compelled to be an eye-witness of the massacre, of which he has given us a graphic description. The executions began early in the morning, and continued until four o'clock in the afternoon, only ceasing at the earnest solicitation of the leaders of the sultan's army. Ten thousand prisoners were put to death! By such deeds did the

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Turks strike terror into the hearts of the nations of Europe, and thus did they earn the reputation for savage ferocity which is so universally associated with their name throughout the civilized world.

But the hour of the defeat and humiliation of Byazid was not far distant. He determined to attack Constantinople. The shape of that city is much like that of an equilateral triangle, with its base toward European Turkey, and its apex extending into the magnificent harbor which is formed by the junction of the straits of the Bosphorus with the Sea of Marmora. On the south side the city was defended by the sea and a massive wall, on the north side by a similar wall and an arm of the sea which is called the Golden Horn, and on the western or land side by a double wall and deep ditch. The cowardly inhabitants and degenerate sovereign considered themselves safe within these defenses; their security was well-grounded, for the city was not captured by the Turks until the invention of gun-powder, and the introduction of heavy artillery enabled them to batter down the wall on the land side. Byazid determined, however, to attempt its capture. He addressed the following insolent letter to the Greek Emperor: "By the Divine mercy our invincible sword has reduced to our obedience almost all of Asia, with many and large countries of Europe. Constantinople alone is exempt, for beyond its walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city, stipulate thy reward, or tremble at the consequences of a rash refusal." The Greek Emperor, however, obtained a truce by agreeing to pay an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold. The truce, however, was soon broken; the soldiers of the Sultan joined the lawful heir to the throne of the Greek Empire, the Prince of Silivria, and again threatened Constantinople. Byazid made great preparations for the siege; he was confident of success, and would have prosecuted the great undertaking with untiring energy had he not been called away to defend his eastern dominions. Tamerlane or Timour, ("*Démir*," the Turkish name for iron,) was rapidly approaching the doomed cities of Asia Minor. He first met the troops of the Turkish Sultan at the strongly fortified city of Sebaste, the modern Sivas. The place was defended by its inhabitants and by the best troops of Byazid with great courage, but no-

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thing could resist the impetuous fury of Tamerlane. He made excavations under the walls, supporting the earth above the excavations with large timbers and wooden frames; when the work was complete the wood was set on fire and soon consumed; the walls then fell by their own weight.

There were many Armenians in the city who had remained loyal to Byazid, and had taken an active part in the defence of the place; they became the special objects of the vengeance of Tamerlane; after he had captured the city he signalized his victory by burying alive four thousand of the Armenians, the flower of the Armenian population of the city.

Byazid was pressing the siege of Constantinople, when he heard of the approach of Tamerlane; he was compelled, therefore, reluctantly, to abandon the siege, and march to meet the Mogul conqueror. They met on the plains of Angora, where the decisive battle was fought on the 20th of July, 1402. The historians of that period describe the battle with great minuteness. Byazid had about one hundred thousand men; the troops of Tamerlane, however, were superior both in numbers and discipline. Of the Turkish troops, the Janizaries alone fought with resolute courage, but they were overwhelmed by the impetuous charges and the great numbers of the enemy. The result of the battle was the entire defeat of the Turkish army. The Sultan himself was taken prisoner, and led in triumph to the tent of the conqueror. There is much evidence to show that Byazid was treated with great indignity by his successful rival. Turkish historians narrate that the Sultan was put in an iron cage for exhibition like a wild beast, and was thus made to accompany Tamerlane on his subsequent marches. Von Hammer, the celebrated historian of Turkey, has suggested a somewhat ingenious explanation of the contradictory versions of this story. He says, that "when the Mogul army moved from place to place, Tamerlane took his captive with him, but in order to avoid the hateful sight of his enemies, Byazid travelled in a covered litter with iron lattice work." This explanation, though plausible, is not consistent with the well-known character of Tamerlane. A captive in his hands might be thankful if his life were spared; he could not hope to select his own means of conveyance, much less could he at pleasure hide himself from the sight

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of his hated enemies. The commonly received version of the story is probably the correct one. One thing is certain, Byazid did not long survive his defeat and capture. He died in 1403, eight months after the battle of Angora. Tamerlane delivered the body to one of the sons of Byazid, who took it to Brusa, and buried it by the side of Othman, Orkhan, and Murad I.

Tamerlane followed up his success until he had subdued the whole of Asia Minor. He captured Smyrna, then a walled city of great strength; the miserable inhabitants were delivered to the sword; the heads of those who were slain were piled up in the Médan or public square of the city in the form of a pyramid.

As Tamerlane had no boats he could not cross the Hellespont into Europe; from Smyrna, therefore, he retraced his steps to Central Asia, resolved on the conquest of China. He died while on the march to that distant and populous empire.

By the overthrow of Byazid, the Ottoman power received a sudden and terrible blow. Had this been followed by a united assault on the part of Christian nations, the Turks would doubtless have been driven out of both Europe and Asia Minor. Why was not such an assault made? The Roman Empire was near its end. After a course of prosperity and power, unsurpassed in the history of nations, having, for a period of nearly two thousand years held the civilized world united in one strong government, its downfall became certain. Gibbon, with a wealth of learning truly wonderful, has written the history of the decline and fall of that Empire. Internal divisions were among the most prominent and immediate causes of its overthrow. A house divided against itself cannot stand. We are astonished to learn that the Greeks, instead of uniting against this common foe, were engaged in bitter and deadly contests with each other. More than this: they actually obtained the aid of the Turks in those contests; the Turkish Sultans sometimes fought for one claimant of the Greek throne, and sometimes for another; they rejoiced at every event which crippled the power of their enemies, for thus were they marching slowly, but surely, towards the long coveted prize, Constantinople. To hold that city was then, as now, to hold the seat of empire and of power. The bitter and endless feuds of the Greeks paralyzed their strength and exhausted their resources, until all parties

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were buried in a common ruin. Thus, when the overthrow of Byazid at Angora crippled and nearly destroyed the Ottoman power, the Greeks were not prepared to profit by the event. Fifty years, therefore, had not passed before the Turks were again planting their standards around Constantinople.

After the defeat and death of Byazid there was a period of twelve years during which it was uncertain who would be his successor. He had six sons whose names were Solyman, Mustapha, Isa, Mousa, Mahomet and Kasimir. It will be necessary briefly to notice the history and fate of these princes.

At the time of his father's death Solyman was governor of Adrianople. Isa immediately established himself as an independent ruler of Brusa. Mahomet did the same at Amasia. Mustapha had disappeared after the battle of Angora.* Mahomet immediately attacked and captured Brusa; his brother Isa fled to Adrianople and joined Solyman. Solyman, in turn, attacked and recaptured Brusa. In the mean time Mousa had joined Mahomet, who sent him, with a strong force, into European Turkey. Solyman was therefore compelled to leave Asia Minor and march to the defense of Adrianople. In the battle that followed, Solyman was defeated and slain while endeavoring to escape to Constantinople. Mousa therefore remained master of the Ottoman dominions in Europe. He marched against the Greek emperor, who had been the friend and ally of Solyman, and even laid siege to Constantinople. The Greek emperor lost no time in calling Mahomet to his aid. The king of Servia also offered to assist him. Thus the Greeks, the Servians, and the Turks were united against Mousa. The result was inevitable. Mousa was defeated and slain. As Isa had disappeared during the contests in Asia Minor between Solyman and Mahomet, at the close of this fratricidal war of twelve years, Mahomet remained the undisputed sucessor of Sultan Byazid. It was customary to give to each Sultan a name indicative of his character. Mahomet I. was called "*Phelivan*" or *Champion*. He is praised by both Greek and Turkish histo-

* Subsequently, during the reign of Mahomet I., a certain Mustapha appeared, who claimed to be the son of Byazid. There are no means of knowing whether his claim was just or not. He was defeated and slain by Ibrahim Pasha.

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rians, but his character is stained by many deeds of cruelty. It will be remembered that Byazid had six sons; we have noticed the fortunes of only five; the name of the youngest was Kasimir. When Mahomet had attained to supreme authority, fearing lest this younger brother might become a dangerous rival, he seized him and put out his eyes; he then allowed him to occupy an estate near Brusa. It is a mark of the barbarism of the Turks and of the times that Mahomet is commended by Turkish historians because he put out his brother's eyes and allowed him to live instead of putting him to death.

Mahomet I. showed his genius for government by devoting himself to the consolidation of his own power, and the development of his own resources, before engaging in foreign wars. He avoided collisions with the Greek emperor, wisely reflecting that it was worse than useless to demand the surrender of Constantinople, until the demand could be enforced against all opposition. In this respect he differs from his father, Byazid, from his brother, Mousa, and from his own son, Murad, all of whom attempted in vain to capture that city. Mahomet died at the age of forty-seven, in 1421, after an uninterrupted reign of eight, and a partial reign of eleven years; he was therefore virtually the Ottoman sovereign for nineteen years. He built the "Yeshil Jami," or Green Mosque of Brusa, near which his body lies buried. He also completed the *Oulû Jami*, the great Mosque of Brusa, which was begun by his grandfather, Murad I. Mahomet was succeeded by his son, Murad II. Turkish historians declare that Murad II. was "a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labors, learned, merciful, religious, charitable, a good sovereign, and a great general." Christian writers also accord to him great abilities, and greater freedom from vice and passion than most of the rulers of that age. He was eighteen years of age when he ascended the throne in 1421.

The Greek Emperor had long held in confinement the pretender Mustapha. On the death of Mahomet he at once released him and acknowledged him as the lawful heir to the Turkish throne. Mustapha made a feeble attempt to establish his claim, but was captured at Gallipoli and immediately put to death. Murad resolved to punish the Greek Emperor for this insult. In June, 1422, he was before Constantinople with

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twenty thousand troops. The Sultan issued a Firman declaring that the city, with all its treasures, should be given up to the conquerers; this had the effect to bring together a large body of "irregulars" from all parts of the country, who were eager to plunder the capital of the Greek Empire. The siege was conducted with a good degree of energy and skill. On the land side of the city an embankment was thrown up from the Golden Horn across to the Sea of Marmora. This embankment formed a good protection for the troops, during the intervals of attack and while they were mining the walls. The attempt, however, failed. Murad, like his grandfather, Byazid, was called from the siege of Constantinople to defend his eastern provinces. The pear was not yet ripe; the Turks were not strong enough to capture Constantinople, and the Greeks were not yet weak and degraded enough to surrender so rich a prize to such a detested enemy.

The reign of Murad II. was especially distinguished by his wars with the Hungarians. We have seen that a Hungarian army was defeated at *Nicopolis* by Sultan Byazid in 1396. Forty-six years from that time, in 1442, Murad II. was repulsed from before Belgrade with terrible loss. In the following year, however, he sent another well disciplined army of eighty thousand men against Hunyades, the celebrated Hungarian general. This army also was put to rout by the united forces of Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. The decisive battle was fought between Philippopolis and Sophia, at the intersection of the main road with the Balkan Mountains. While the Turkish armies were thus suffering defeat in the West, the princes of Caramania invaded the dominions of the Sultan in the East. Murad was compelled to march against them in person. These accumulated difficulties forced him to make a treaty with the King of Hungary, the young and brave Ladyslaus. This treaty was signed on the 12th of July, 1444; by it Murad resigned all claim to Servia and Bosnia, and surrendered Wallachia also to Hungary. The Sultan had now reigned twenty-three years; his life had been spent amid the excitements of war; he longed for the repose of private life. Having subdued his enemies in the East, and trusting to the pledged faith of the Hungarian King for peace in the West, he abdicated his throne and retired to

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Manissa, near Smyrna. The treaty, however, was soon broken by the Hungarians and their allies, who vainly hoped that, as Murad was no longer on the throne, they might easily drive the Turks out of Europe. The capture by the Christians of Varna, and several fortresses on the Black Sea, drew the old Sultan from his retirement. The Genoese furnished him vessels in which to cross the Bosphorus with a chosen army. By long and rapid marches, and before the Christian troops were aware of his approach, he suddenly appeared before Varna with 40,000 troops. The battle that followed was one of the decisive battles in Turkish history. The Turks placed the broken treaty on a lance and carried it in the front rank of their army. At first the advantage was decidedly with the Hungarians, but, as in so many other battles, the fortunes of the day were determined by the brave Janizaries. Ladyslaus, the Hungarian king, was captured in the early part of the battle. A Janizary immediately cut off his head, and placed it on the lance with the broken treaty. The united forces of the Christians were entirely defeated. Bosnia and Servia have never recovered from the effect of that battle; they were more completely subdued by Mahomet II. in after years, but the real blow that destroyed their nationality and their power was struck by Sultan Murad II. at the battle of Varna, in 1444.

It was in the latter part of the reign of this Sultan, that the celebrated Albanian chief, "Iskander Bey," or "Scander Beg," so often repulsed the Turks and humbled their pride, amid the mountains of Albania. The true story of his life reads like a wild romance.

In 1445 Murad again abdicated his throne in favor of his son Mahomet, but he was soon called from his retreat by a revolt of the Janizaries. He did not a third time repeat the dangerous experiment.

Murad was the sixth Ottoman sovereign; during his reign the power of the Turks was greatly increased and consolidated. Constantinople did not fall, but its capture became morally certain. The stream of Turkish history has now become broad and deep, and moves on with an irresistible impulse. Murad died at Adrianople in 1451; he was forty-seven years of age at the time of his death, and had governed his empire

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with a strong hand for thirty years. His remains were taken to Brusa for burial.

He was succeeded by his son Mahomet II., subsequently the conqueror of Constantinople. We shall give a summary of the principal events of the reign of this Sultan, and then briefly speak of his character. The death of his father was announced to him at Manissa, near Smyma. He immediately mounted a fleet horse and started for the Hellespont; in an incredibly short time he had reached Adrianople and was declared sovereign with great pomp and solemnity. He had now reached the age of twenty-one; as he had twice been seated on the imperial throne, he was accustomed to the exercise of authority and to public affairs. One of his first acts was to put to death an infant brother, the son of a Servian princess; in after life he defended this barbarous custom as a necessary law of the State. It soon became evident that the mind of Mahomet was fixed on the capture of Constantinople; he was determined to push to a successful issue what so many had vainly attempted before him.

To accomplish this great undertaking it was necessary that he should be free to carry it forward, when once begun, without fear of being called away to defend other parts of his dominions. On the east the Turkish territory did not extend far beyond Cesarea and Sivas. Trebizond was an independent kingdom. In the centre of Asia Minor, just beyond the Turkish border, there were a number of petty princes who, for many years, had been a source of trouble and annoyance to the Turks. The first care of Mahomet was to subdue these princes; he therefore marched against them in person, and was entirely successful in his mission. There were dangerous enemies also on the north-western boundary of his dominions, of whom the Hungarians, the hereditary enemies of the Turks, were the most powerful. The Hungarian troops were still under the command of Hunyades, who had been defeated by Sultan Murad at the battle of Varna. With this general Mahomet made a truce for three years. Strange as it may seem, while the Turks were besieging the Christians in Constantinople, an ambassador of this famous Christian general was at the Turkish camp, in Adrianople, rejoicing at the success of the Turkish arms!

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The Sultan had nothing to fear from the Catholic powers of Europe. Spain was then a powerful nation; both France and Spain might and ought to have aided the Greeks against the Turks, but they were under the supreme influence of the Pope of Rome. The members of the Greek and Latin churches were almost as deadly enemies to each other as were the Christians and Turks.

Thus secure from external enemies, Mahomet began his great work. It was necessary first of all that he establish himself in a strong position near the city; he therefore built the Castle at Rouméli Hissar, on the western shore of the Bosphorus, just above the present village of Bebek. It was placed immediately opposite the "Castle of Asia," which was built on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus by Sultan Byazid. The walls and towers of Rouméli Hissar are nearly as perfect now as they were the day they were finished. Mahomet finished the Castle in 1452; the fall of that year and the following winter were busily occupied by him in making preparations for the siege.

The use of gunpowder had now become somewhat common. Mahomet seized the new engine of destruction as his most important aid in reducing the city. He employed a Christian engineer, who had deserted from the Greeks, to cast for him a great number of cannon at Adrianople. One of these deserves special notice; its muzzle was twelve palms in diameter, and it threw a stone ball of twelve hundred pounds weight. When it was fired the first time, in order to prevent the mischievous effects of sudden fright, Mahomet issued a special Firman, informing the people of what was about to happen. The gun was brought with immense difficulty from Adrianople, and placed opposite the gate of St. Romanus, now called *Top-kapou* or "Cannon Gate." It could be fired only seven times in a day; after a few discharges, it burst into a thousand fragments, killing nearly all who were engaged in manning it. Mahomet, however, had not staked all upon one monstrous gun; others were ready, and though not of so great calibre, they enabled him at least to make a breach in the walls.

The siege was regularly begun on the sixth of April, 1453. The number of Turkish troops engaged is variously estimated at from seventy-five to two hundred and fifty thousand. It

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seems well established that, at that time, the population of the city proper amounted to about one hundred thousand souls. Galata was occupied by the Genoese. A heavy chain was stretched across the mouth of the Golden Horn, which effectually prevented Turkish vessels from entering the inner harbor. Constantine XI., the last of the Greek emperors, filled the throne. His empire was reduced to a single city, and that was surrounded by powerful and determined enemies. Personally he was brave, but in the hour of his greatest need, the Greeks themselves deserted him. Out of a population of one hundred thousand, only six thousand troops were furnished to the Emperor; besides these he had eight thousand soldiers, some of whom were Genoese, others were from the Greek islands in the Archipelago, and others from Italy. According to the most authentic and reliable accounts, the whole number of troops under his command, for the defence of the entire city, was only fourteen thousand. The Greeks had lost their national spirit; they were avaricious and cowardly, and they detested their own Emperor, because, in order to oppose the progress of the Turks, he had favored a union with the Latin Christians; they preferred to be annihilated by the followers of the Crescent, rather than to be rescued by the Latin followers of the Cross.

The walls of the city, now in beautiful ruins, were then strong and perfect; those on the western or land side were considered impregnable until the introduction of modern artillery made them useless. The approach to these walls was defended by a wide ditch, which is said to have been one hundred feet deep. To make a passage across this ditch was one of the most difficult yet essential parts of the work of the besiegers. We will not attempt to describe the churches, the baths, the monuments, the palaces, the multiplied objects of interest that were enclosed within those walls.

For more than a thousand years Constantinople had been the eastern capital of the Roman Empire. She had gathered to herself the wealth of many nations, the learning of the Greeks, the relics and the fame of antiquity. Then, however, as now, the city was valuable not so much for what it contained as for what it was, the natural centre of a large portion of the world's commerce, the natural capital of a great empire; it was the link

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that connected Europe with Asia, the East with the West, the old world with the new, a living present with the dead past. No one who has ever visited Constantinople can have failed to see, at a glance, why the Turks were so determined to gain possession of it, or to understand why its acquisition has been the one grand aim of Russia for centuries. It is not too much to say of it as do the Turks, and giving the fullest significance to the words, "*Jihanda bir*," "*there is but one* (Constantinople) *in the world.*" No other city can be compared to it in respect to the beauty and strength of its position, the extent and depth of its harbor, the ease with which it might, in proper hands, draw to itself the commerce of Europe, Asia and Africa.

We will not dwell on the details of the siege. One feat of engineering skill, however, deserves to be mentioned. Mahomet had a fleet of three hundred and twenty-one vessels, large and small, but they were of little use to him so long as the entrance to the Golden Horn was closed to him by the great chain which we have mentioned. He therefore resolved to transport a portion of his fleet over land from the Bosphorus to the upper part of the Horn. The enterprise seemed difficult, if not impossible, but skill, energy and enthusiasm, directed by an indomitable will, accomplished it. A solid and smooth road of planks was laid across the land from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn, a distance of about six miles. "Eighty light galleys and brigantines, of thirty and fifty oars each, were drawn up out of the waters of the Bosphorus, placed on rollers, long ropes were attached to each, and in a single night the whole fleet was transported over the land and launched in the still waters of the Horn." With the aid of these vessels, Mahomet quickly constructed a temporary bridge or large raft on which he planted some of his best cannon. He was then prepared to defend his vessels and his troops, and to batter down the city walls on the side next the harbor. The Greeks were amazed and confounded at this display of the skill and energy of the enemy, but it gave to that enemy an advantage which it was impossible for them to wrest from his hands. That this advantage was very great, is shown by the fact that in the final assault the wall and gate at the "*Fénér*," in the harbor, were forced and entered by the Turks, almost at the same moment that their companions en-

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tered the city from the land side at Top-kapou, a result due entirely to the presence of these vessels in the upper harbor of the Horn.

Great credit must be given to the Genoese naval commander, Giustiniani, for the masterly manner in which he conducted his part of the defence of the city. His bravery and skill extorted the highest praise from Sultan Mahomet.

The final assault was made at day-break, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1453. The resistance of the Greek soldiers was brave and obstinate, but they could not withstand the Turkish artillery and the Turkish Janizaries. Some hours before sunset, the youthful conqueror entered the city at Top-kapou. He was attended by his most distinguished generals, pashas and cadis. He rode directly to the church of St. Sophia, and mounting the high altar of that splendid edifice, returned thanks to God for the success that had crowned his arms. According to his promise he delivered the city to his victorious troops, reserving to himself only the houses and the land. Sixty thousand of the inhabitants were bound as slaves, and removed to Adrianople, Silivria, Heraclea, and other places to which the troops were sent. The city was plundered by the soldiers, and suffered the fate of all conquered cities in that age of the world. Valuable libraries, containing thousands of rare and interesting books in manuscript, were committed to the flames. In a few days Mahomet returned to Adrianople, but before he departed the "Hippodrome," or present "Atmédan," streamed with the blood of some of the noblest Greek families.

The capture of Constantinople was the great event in the life of Mahomet II. He conducted the siege in person, and with every mark of genius for war, though he was but twenty-three years of age. By the capture of Constantinople, he destroyed the Roman, and established on a firm foundation the Ottoman Empire. He soon made Constantinople the capital of his kingdom; having accomplished this, he turned his thoughts, without delay, to distant foes. In 1454 he captured the Peloponnesus; in 1455 Sinope and Trebizond. In 1456 he renewed the war with the Hungarians; Hunyades, with whom in 1452 he had made a truce for three years, was still in command of the Hungarian troops. Mahomet was repulsed from Belgrade after his

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troops had carried the outer defences of the town. In 1475 he conquered the Crimea. In 1480 he attacked Rhodes, which was defended by the brave Knights of St. John. The Janizaries had already carried the defences, and would have carried the town, when their general announced that the spoil of the city must be reserved for the Sultan. This turned the tide of battle; the Janizaries who were ordered to support those who had entered the city, refused to obey. The result was the entire repulse of the Turks, when victory was within their grasp. In the same year Mahomet attacked Italy, and captured Otranto, an important city on the sea-coast; *twenty-two thousand* of its inhabitants were put to the sword. In the spring of 1481 Mahomet prepared another powerful expedition against Rhodes; the troops were assembled at Scutari ready to march; they were to be commanded by the Sultan in person, but before they set out a mightier conqueror met and vanquished him. He died at the age of forty-eight, after a reign of thirty years, having, it is said, conquered twelve kingdoms and two hundred cities. "Time," said Lord Bacon, "is the test of truth;" it is also the test of a man's character. After the lapse of four hundred years, what judgment does impartial history pronounce in regard to Mahomet II? He laid some claim to a fondness for literature, but in no proper sense was he an educated man. His mind was active and strong; he had a genius for projecting great and bold enterprises. He did not trust his most faithful pashas and generals with the far-reaching plans that ever revolved in his restless brain. "Secrecy and celerity" was his favorite maxim. He did more than any of his predecessors towards organizing the government, defining the laws, and systematizing the rude and complicated machinery of legislation that had long been a burden to both conquerors and conquered. His influence was long and deeply felt by his own nation, and for many anxious years his name was a terror to the nations of Europe; yet he was neither a noble nor a great man. He was cruel and passionate to the highest degree; to disobey his commands was almost certain death. Savage lust are the only proper words with which to describe his moral character. The testimony on this point is so clear and abundant that it cannot be impeached. His ear was deaf to the cry of the helpless captive, who plead for mercy and

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for life. An old man who refused to surrender an innocent child to his passions, and a fair young girl who preferred death to dishonor, were cut down at his command by his savage Janizaries, and died before his eyes in their own blood. His genius for military operations cannot be disputed, yet it was not of the very first class. If fourteen thousand of the Knights of St. John had held Constantinople, instead of the one hundred thousand Greeks who occupied but did not defend it, Mahomet II. would probably never have entered that city.

It will be proper, in conclusion, to make a few general observations in regard to the Ottoman Turks of the period which we have passed under review. The exact time was one hundred and sixty-five years, from 1288 to 1453.

(1.) They were a *warlike* race; war was their profession, their life; their treasury was replenished by the spoils of war; their armies were constantly renewed by captives taken in war; the corps that uniformly gave success to their arms, was composed of Christians who were torn from their homes in childhood, and compelled to embrace the Moslem faith, and the profession of arms. There is no evidence that the Turks were, to any great extent, fond of science, literature or art. Mahomet II. founded a few hospitals and schools, but the schools were for military discipline, and the study of the Koran.

(2.) The Turks of that period were very successful. To what was their success mainly due? We reply, to two causes: First, the military genius of their Sultans, and secondly, to the want of union among their enemies. The seven sovereigns we have mentioned were all men of great ability as military leaders, men of iron wills, energetic, enthusiastic, brave, tenacious of purpose; defeat did not dishearten them, victory did not intoxicate them; they had quick eyes to discover strong military positions, and when once a campaign was resolved upon, it was carried out with a rapidity and determination that struck terror to the hearts of their enemies. On the other hand, there was no general and permanent union among the Christian nations to oppose their progress. Had there been such a union, the result would not have been doubtful. Religious differences, doctrinal and ecclesiastical, had separated the Eastern and Western Churches by a wide chasm, and these differences entered largely

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into the politics of the times. Much as the Latin nations dreaded the presence of the Moslems in the heart of Europe, they seem to have rejoiced at the utter overthrow of their old enemy, the Eastern Church. Nor can it be doubted that if Mahomet II. had marched against *old* instead of *new* Rome, the Greeks would have held high carnival.

(3.) The Turks who conquered Asia Minor and European Turkey had a rare opportunity to establish a powerful and permanent government. Look at the natural features of the country which they subdued; at its geographical position, its salubrious climate, its rich plains, its noble rivers, its inland seas: is there in the world a country better adapted by nature to reward the industry and skill of man? In such a country the foundations of a powerful empire should have been laid, strong not only in a military sense, but strong in its internal wealth, in intelligence, in the happiness and prosperity of its subjects. Turkey to-day should have been the garden of the East; four hundred years of Turkish rule have made it almost a desert.

(4.) The sovereigns of that period did but little for the elevation of the *common people;* in fact, did much to put down and crush out the common people. Heavy taxes were imposed; large armies were sustained while engaged in distant wars; the peasantry were compelled to send a large proportion of their children into the Turkish army, thus draining the country of one great source of its strength and wealth; yet nothing was done to keep the masses of the people in a prosperous and contented condition. Agriculture was neglected, the noble roads of the old Roman Empire were allowed to go to ruin, education was abandoned. In short, the entire neglect of the common people, which was characteristic of Turkish rule from the first, and continues until the present day, was a sure precursor of the ruin which has now come upon the Ottoman race.

(5.) If we compare the early history of the Ottoman Turks with the early history of Anglo-Saxon Englishmen, we shall be struck with some points of resemblance, but more of contrast. It can hardly be said that the real ancestors of the English race were more humane, more enlightened, more civilized than were the ancestors of the present race of Turks; but as soon as the English began to emerge from barbarism, they began to lay the

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broad foundations of the future greatness of their nation. Take one illustration as showing the difference between the two races—*education*. It was during the period of which we have spoken, that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were mainly founded. Cambridge has seventeen "Colleges," nine of which were established between 1257 and 1496. Oxford has twenty "Colleges," and four "Halls," of which fifteen were established between 1264 and 1480. The influence of England's universities has been felt the world over for hundreds of years, and will be felt till the end of time. We search in vain for similar institutions founded by the ancestors of the present race of Ottoman Turks. What is the result of the two systems, one based on ignorance, the other on education? One result is, that Turkey is now mainly dependent on England for almost everything, for good cotton and woolen fabrics, good coal, good agricultural instruments, good iron, good engines, good steamers, and even for engineers to build her vessels and manage her arsenals. It is well known that the Turkish government is compelled to employ English engineers in all its important public works, and to man its valuable steam vessels of war. Turkey was more powerful than England in 1453. Add four hundred years to that date, and what do we see? We are at the beginning of the Crimean war in 1853. We see Turkey, stretching forth suppliant hands to England, to save her from her northern enemy. We find English vessels ploughing Turkish waters, English cannon defending Turkish forts, English soldiers dying in Turkish hospitals, or stretched on the bloody fields of Alma and Balaklava, or freezing before the solid defences of Sevastopol. England has grown healthy and strong every day for four hundred years, while of Turkey it must be said, that if she is saved from utter destruction, it will be because, in her hour of danger, a generous nation extended to her a helping hand.

(6.) Or compare the progress of Turkey with the progress of the United States. Columbus discovered America in 1492, thirty-nine years after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. How wonderful the march of events, and the power of ideas! Bigotry, fanaticism, religious intolerance, sensuality, oppression, despotic government, have had their full play in Turkey, with what result let the ignorant and down-trodden mil-

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lions of that country answer. In America, liberty, law, education, freedom of worship, justice, toleration, a free press, the rights of man, have had their full play, with what result let the great cities, the villages, the factories, the railroads, the telegraphs, the schools and colleges, the institutions for the blind, the deaf and dumb, the thousands of churches, the millions of happy homes answer. The early sovereigns of the Turks depended on the sword alone for all success; force and violence were the foundations on which they built their edifice. Can we wonder that it totters to its fall?

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ARTICLE III.

ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS.

(*From the New Englander, Jan.* 1874.)

As all nations are affected to some extent by the climate, soil, and other physical circumstances by which they are surrounded, some notice of the geography of Ancient Armenia becomes necessary in order to a proper understanding of the Armenian race.

The boundaries of Armenia have changed so often that it is now somewhat difficult to define them; the most accurate description appears to be that of Saint Martin in his "*Memoirés sur L'Armenié.*" According to this author, Armenia Major was bounded on the north by Georgia and the Caucasian Mountains; on the south by a line which would pass through Diarbekir, at about 38° north latitude; on the west by the western Euphrates; and on the east by the Caspian Sea. The Greek geographers frequently mention *Armenia Minor*, which lay to the west and south of Armenia Major, and included portions of *Northern Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Karamania*. Oorfa on the east and Cesarea on the west belonged to Armenia Minor. The original home, however, of the Armenians was *Armenia Mojor*. The elevation of this portion of the earth's surface above the nearest seas is shown by the fact that several large rivers take their rise in Ancient Armenia; among these are the Kizil Irmak, the ancient Halys, which flows west and north into the Black Sea; the Aras (Araxes), which flows east into the Caspian; the Tigris and Euphrates, which flow south-east into the Persian Gulf. Lake Van, which may be taken as a central point of Ancient Armenia, is more than 4,000 feet above the Black Sea. Armenia has ever been celebrated for its cold and healthy cli-

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mate, its pure water, its rich pasture lands, its fertile valleys and plains, and lofty mountains. The winters are long and severe; the summers short and pleasant; flowers abound during the months of June and July; the atmosphere is very clear and light; the heavens, at night, shine with the greatest splendor. Altogether the physical aspects of the country are well fitted to make it the home of a hardy, liberty-loving race. At present the country has a barren appearance; the villages are squalid; only a small portion of the soil is cultivated; the inhabitants have long been oppressed by Turks and Kurds; yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, there is a certain indescribable charm about the physical nature of the country, which may, to some extent at least, account for the passionate attachment which all Armenians have for the home of their race. It is worthy of notice, however, that Armenia has ever been at the confluence of several great empires; in ancient times, Persia was on the east and the Roman Empire on the west; in more modern times, the Saracens and Turks have been on the south and Russia on the north. These empires have not only contended fiercely for the possession of Armenia, but when marching their troops against each other have crossed and recrossed her territory and have fought many bloody battles on her soil. This was especially true when the Romans were contending with the Persians. In this respect the geographical position of Armenia was a great obstacle to the permanence of the Armenian kingdom.

The origin of the Armenian race is lost in the obscurity of the past, yet there are many reasons for believing what all Armenians claim, that their race is one of the oldest in the world. One of the names which the Armenians give to their country is *Ashkanzean;* this is derived plainly from *Askenaz*,, who was the brother of *Togarmah* and the son of *Gomer*. Another name which they themselves give to their country is *Doon Torkomah*, the "House of Torkomah" or *Togarmah*. Saint Martin well says (vol. i, p. 254), "If we fix our attention on the names of the people who are mentioned in Jer. li, 27, it seems very probable that the posterity of *Askenaz* inhabited a portion of Armenia."

These statements are confirmed by the traditions of the peo-

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ple. We have frequently asked uneducated Armenians, in the villages in Armenia, who was their great ancestor, and the immediate reply has always been, "Turkom," which is but another form of *Togarmah*. Without entering more fully into the subject, we may say, in general, that there seems no reason to doubt that the Armenians have occupied Armenia ever since the nations were dispersed over the face of the earth, and that they retain, to a great extent, the early characteristics of the race. This is not more remarkable in their case than in the case of the Nestorians, the Kurds, or the Arabs. The Kurds have undoubtedly the same characteristics which they had when Xenophon marched through their country on his retreat from Mesopotamia more than 2,000 years ago. Strabo tells us that the horses of Armenia were held in high esteem (xi. 529), and the prophet Ezekiel says (chap. xxvii. 14) that the people of *Togarmah* (Armenia) traded with *Tyre* in horses and mules. Herodotus (Book i. 194) describes the manner in which the people of Armenia descended the Tigris on rafts to Babylon. Another proof of the antiquity of the race may be found in their language; but upon this we will not dwell.

It may be thought that we have spoken at too great length in regard to the origin of the Armenian race; the subject, however, is not only interesting in itself, but it helps to illustrate the character of the people. It surely is worthy of note that, amid all the revolutions of the eastern world, they have preserved their existence as a people, and have retained their national characteristics, and form to-day one of the links that connect the immediate present with the remote past of human history.

In physical structure the Armenians are of medium height, squarely built, complexions rather dark, hair a glossy black, dark and beautiful eyes, their frames firmly knit, so that they are capable of a great amount of physical labor. Many of the men have great strength. The marriage relation is guarded with the greatest sanctity; illegitimate births are almost unknown among the Armenians; marriage ties are seldom broken or marriage vows violated; for many centuries intermarriages of relations have been prohibited both by law and custom. These causes, combined with a bracing climate, have produced

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a people remarkable for health and physical strength. Many of the females of the higher classes, especially in youth, are very beautiful.

The Armenians have a high degree of mental capacity; this is shown in their ready mastery of the details of business; in the rapid progress they make in study whenever the opportunity is presented to them; their young men generally take a high stand in scholarship when admitted into the schools and colleges of Europe and America. Though fond of pleasantry, as a rule they are sober, thoughtful, somewhat suspicious and jealous of each other, but all animated by a true national pride, which often degenerates into national vanity and conceit. They are strong and tender in their attachments, while, under the hard discipline of the Turks, they have learned to suppress their feelings of hatred and dislike to a remarkable degree. They have a sincere reverence for the aged, and delight in recounting the deeds of the great heroes of their race. In comparing them, in respect to their mental characteristics, with the civilized nations of the west, we should remember their history, a history which, for several hundred years, has been one sad tale of oppression and sorrow. If we bear this in mind, we shall wonder at the great amount of mental life and activity now existing among this interesting people. They enjoy social life to a greater degree probably than any other race in Turkey; their habits are simple, the family relation is maintained with religious sacredness; the great masses of the Armenians, in the interior of the country, are poor, and obliged to earn their support by hard labor; but they are industrious, frugal, temperate, and virtuous. Of course, exceptions to all these statements may be found; we speak, however, not of the few exceptions, but of the great mass of the people. If we turn to the religious history of the Armenians, we shall find it one of peculiar interest. It is difficult now to ascertain the precise form of ther religion previous to their conversion to Christianity. According to St. Martin (vol. i. p. 305), the Armenians who preceded Tiradates had a religion which was the same as that of the *Parthians*, a mixture of the opinions of *Zoroaster*, somewhat changed, with the worship of Greek divinities, and with certain superstitions brought in from *Scythia*. "The gods whom the Armenians

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regarded as most powerful were *Aramazt*, the same as *Ormuzd* of the Persians and Jupiter of the Greeks; the goddess *Anahid* or *Venus* and *Mihir* or *Mithra*." That they were idolaters is admitted by all, but what was the precise form of their idolatry is not well understood. This much is certain, that the nation never returned to idolatry after it had once embraced Christianity. No greater insult can now be offered to an Armenian than to call him a "Gurabashd" or "*Pütparest*," i. e., a worshiper of idols.

Christianity was known in the country in the second century, but did not obtain a firm foothold until the beginning of the fourth century.* In 302 *Tiradates*, an Armenian king, the last of the Arsacidæ, and many Armenian nobles, were baptized by *Gregory the Illuminator*.† Mr. Gibbon says (vol. ii., p. 275), "The renowned *Tiradates*, the hero of the East, may dispute with Constantine the honor of being the first sovereign who embraced the Christian religion."‡ And Dean Milman adds,

* There was a Christian church at *Edessa*, the ancient Ur and the modern *Oorfa*, as early as 202 A. D., and this church was probably *Armenian*. In 170 the symbols of *Baal* had disappeared from the coins of *Abgar*, the Armenian king of Edessa, and the cross was substituted in their stead.

† The following appear to be the well authenticated facts in respect to this eminent Reformer. He was born at *Vagharchabed*, the ancient capital of Armenia, in 257 A. D., and died about 332. He was the son of *Anag*, a prince of the royal family of *Arsacidæ*. Anag had assassinated *Chosroes I.*, king of Armenia, and was therefore put to death with all his family except Gregory, who was then two years of age. He was taken to *Cesarea*, in *Cappadocia*, by a Christian nurse. On becoming of age he married a Christian woman, but after three years they separated by mutual consent, as he wished to devote himself to an ecclesiastical life. He went to Rome, and without disclosing his religion or his parentage, he joined Tiradates II., the king of Armenia, who was then in Rome. Gregory accompanied Tiradates to Armenia; there he refused to sacrifice to idols, and was cast into a dungeon near *Antaxala*; here he remained fourteen years; at the end of this time the king became a Christian, and received baptism at the hands of Gregory. Gregory afterwards went to Cesarea, and was made *Metropolitan* of Armenia; he then returned and preached the Gospel both east and west of the Euphrates, destroyed many idol temples and built many Christian churches. Having made his son *Aristarchus* his successor, he withdrew from public life.

‡ Tiradates was the son of *Chosroes*; when an infant, his father was assassinated; he was saved by his friends and educated under the auspices of the Roman emperors. Armenia was then in the hands of the *Persians*. In the third year of Diocletian, or A. D. 287, Tiradates was restored to the throne of Armenia by the Romans; he was received with great joy by the Armenian

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"St. Martin has likewise clearly shown that Armenia was the first *nation* that embraced Christianity." There seems no reason to doubt that the Armenian Church for several centuries was thoroughly orthodox and evangelical; so late as the twelfth century the Armenians were not reconciled to the sight of images; in theology they were *Augustinian;* they adopted the *Apostolic*, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanasian* creeds. In the sixth century, a majority of the church accepted monophysitical views; at that time the following may be said to have been the doctrinal position of the Armenian Church; the majority at least held that the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine; that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father alone, in this respect differing from the Latin and agreeing with the Greek Church; that man is redeemed from original sin by the sacrifice of Christ, and this redemption is *appropriated* by *baptism*; that redemption from *actual* sin is secured by penance and auricular confession; they hold the seven Sacraments of the Roman Church, the mediation of the Saints, the doctrine of transubstantiation. They give the communion in both kinds to the common people; deny the doctrine of purgatorial penance, yet think that prayers for the dead will help the departed. The Armenians rejected the authority of the Council of Chalcedon in 536, and renounced all connection with the Greek Church. In 1145 the Armenians were for a short time connected with Rome; in 1323 a portion of the church united with Rome, and again in 1441 there was another attempt at a union of Armenians and Jacobites with Rome. With these slight exceptions, the Armenians have kept themselves resolutely independent of both the Greek and Latin Churches. At the present time there may be 300,000 Roman Catholic Armenians out of a population of about 3,000,000. The Roman Catholic Armenians are wealthy and influential; they are found mostly

people. He became a Christian in 302, and was baptized by Gregory the Illuminator. In a few years he was expelled a second time from his kingdom by the Persians. He took refuge in the court of the Roman emperor. Diocletian resolved to support him; he came to Antioch, and the decisive battle was fought east of the Euphrates on the plain of *Carrhæ;* the Romans were defeated, but were subsequently victorious under *Galerius*, who confirmed Tiradates in his authority. "He died at length," says Gibbon, "after a reign of fifty-six years, and the fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with him."

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in the large cities, as *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, *Erzroom*, and *Adrianople*. The Roman Catholic Armenians are restless under the Papal authority; of late years very serious divisions have existed among them, that have called for the active interference of the Turkish Goverment.

One feature in the religious history of the Armenians is worthy of special notice; we refer to their profound reverence for the Word of God. The Bible was translated into their language in the fifth century. As Armenian scholars did not know Hebrew, the translation was made from the *Septuagint*; so well was the work done, however, that some biblical scholars have called the Armenian Bible the *Queen of the Versions*. This ancient version of the Scriptures has doubtless been the instrument in preserving whatever of Christian life has remained among the Armenians; certain it is that they have the most sincere regard for God's Word, and have ever held fast to the idea that every man is at liberty to read and understand that Word for himself.

Besides the Bible they have an extensive Liturgy in the ancient language; this Liturgy was prepared at an early day and is still used in all Armenian churches.* Many of the Arme-

* Those who are anxious to pursue this subject will be interested in a pamphlet prepared by the eminent linguist, the *Rev. S. C. Malan*, M. A., and published in *London by David Nutt*, 270 Strand, 1870. It is entitled, "*The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church, of St. Gregory the Illuminator*;" translated from the Armenian; with an introduction and notes. From this pamphlet we quote the following prayer, as a specimen of the ancient prayers of the Armenian Church. This is a prayer to the Holy Ghost, and is to be offered by the ecclesiastic who officiates at the communion service.

"O Almighty, beneficent God of all things and Lover of men, Creator of things visible and invisible, Saviour and Preserver, Protector, and Giver of Peace, Mighty Spirit of the Father, we entreat Thee with open arms, with humble, earnest prayer, in thine awful presence. We draw nigh in great fear and trembling, in order to offer this reasonable sacrifice; first to thine unsearchable power, being as Thou art, equal in throne, in glory, and in creative energy, with the unchangeable Majesty of the Father; and Searcher as thou art also of the hidden, deep counsels of the Almighty Father of Emmanuel, who sent Thee, He who is Saviour, Verifier, and Creator of all things. Through Thee was made known to us the threefold personality in one essence of the Godhead: of which Three Persons Thou art known as one and incomprehensible. By Thee and through Thee did the first race of the patriarchal house, called seers, declare aloud and clearly the things past and to come. The Spirit of God announced Thee to Moses, even Thee, whose moving on the surface of the

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nian prayers in the ancient language are not only very evangelical in sentiment, but very beautiful in style. The chants also of the ancient church are greatly admired by all Armenians. The national acceptance of Christianity by the Armenian people was followed by many bitter and bloody contests, in which the Christian party was generally supported by the Roman and the pagan party by the Persian power. At the beginning of the sixth century the greater part of Armenia had come under the Persian yoke; the Persian kings found Christianity so firmly rooted among the people that they were compelled at last to allow to the Armenians the free exercise of their religion. In the minds of most Armenians the period of these earnest contests for the "faith once delivered to the Saints" is the brightest epoch in their whole history. We could not expect that the Armenian Church would escape the general darkness and corruption of the Middle Ages; it may be fairly claimed, however, that she emerged from that darkness less corrupt than the great mass of the Greek and Latin Churches. At the beginning of the present century her condition may be described generally as one of *ignorance;* with minor exceptions her doctrinal position might have been called Orthodox, while the morals of both priests and people were certainly not as bad as those of other professedly Christian nations both in the East and on the continent of Europe. The church seemed ready for a reformation; little did its leaders anticipate that

waters, as an energy which no one can restrain, and by thy solemn going to and fro while brooding over them, and under thy sheltering wings fondly calling new beings into life, didst foreshadow the mystery wrought at Holy Baptism; who after this pattern, and ere the vault of the firmanent above was spread on high, like a veil, didst, as Absolute Ruler, create the complete natures of all beings that are, from all things that are not. In thy creating power shall all men by Thee be renewed at the Resurrection, at the last day of this existence, but the first of heavenly life. Thee also did the Father's first-born son, Thy fellow and of the same essence with the Father, in one likeness obey Thee with oneness of will, as of the same substance as his Mighty Father; He declared that blasphemy against Thee should never be forgiven, thus cutting short the railing accusations of Thine impious gainsayers, while He, the just and innocent Creator of all, forgave his accusers; He, who for our sins was betrayed to death and rose again for our justification. Unto him be glory through Thee, unto Thee praise, blessing with the Father Almighty, for ever and ever; Amen."

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those who should sound the first notes of that reformation would come from a land beyond the seas and oceans, a land whose very existence was unknown to Europe for a thousand years after the baptism of the first Armenian king! so wonderful are the shiftings and changes in the great drama of the world's history.

The first American missionaries to Palestine were sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the year 1821–2. When at Jerusalem their attention was arrested by a class of pilgrims of whom they had not before heard. "Who are these good looking men," they asked, "with black hair and dark eyes and with such thoughtful, intelligent faces?" The reply to this question was the seed corn that has since multiplied into the rich harvests now ready throughout all Turkey for the Christian reaper. We shall state, in the briefest possible manner, the results of the operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions among the Armenians.

In the year 1831 the Rev. Wm. Goodell and wife took up their residence at Constantinople as the first missionaries to the Armenians; they were soon followed by *Schauffler*, *Dwight*, *Riggs*, *Schneider*, *Powers*, *Ladd*, *Benjamin*, *Hamlin* and others. Some of these excellent men have fallen asleep; others are still living, actively engaged in the work and witnesses of results which could not have been anticipated when they began their labors. The first great obstacle that met the missionaries was the profound ignorance of the people, and the first question presented to them for solution was, how can this ignorance be removed? How can the people be enlightened in regard to the simple and fundamental doctrines of the religion of which they are so proud? The answer to this question shaped the first and all subsequent efforts of the missionaries. The Bible must be given to the common people; tracts must be distributed, schools must be established, the Gospel must be preached not only to congregations but to men by the way-side, in their homes, in the khans; men must be invited to visit the missionaries, the truth must be pressed home in private conversation; religious newspapers must be published; a Christian literature must be created; men must be trained for the ministry. At the end of the first ten years no evangelical church had been formed, no separate civil community of Protestants had been organized, but many Armenians

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had become convinced of the errors of their church. Some of these had been driven from their homes into exile; at *Constantinople*, *Nicomedia*, *Brusa*, *Trebizond*, *Erzroom* and other places men had been aroused to seek after the truth; fourteen missionaries and their wives had joined the mission; Mr. Hamlin had begun that work of education in Turkey to which he has devoted his life. In 1841, after ten years of missionary labor, the state of the Armenian mind may be described as in a *ferment*; the opposition of the ecclesiastics was strong and bitter; persecution only awakened a new interest and stirred up greater inquiry.

If we pass over another ten years to 1851, we find that the current of new ideas has become broader, deeper, more irresistible in its course. The battle for religious liberty in Turkey has been fought and won; the death-penalty for apostasy from the Mohammedan religion is forever abolished by a Royal Firman; eight evangelical churches have been organized among the Armenians, and the Gospel has been preached throughout *Bithynia*, in ancient *Armenia*, in *Cilicia*, in *Mesopotamia*, and *Kurdistan*. The Press has begun to pour forth its flood of light; the number of missionaries has increased to twenty-four; a Female Seminary has been established at Constantinople; the missionaries have begun to ordain native pastors over the churches; the Protestants have begun to receive civil protection from the Turkish Government, though not yet recognized as a separate Christian community. The translation of the Scriptures is going forward prosperously; hymns are prepared and sung in many languages. Passing over another period of ten years to 1861, we find that missionaries are living and working throughout the whole of Asia Minor, at *Nicomedia*, *Brusa*, *Smyrna*, *Trebizond*, *Erzroom*, *Sivas*, *Tocat*, *Harpoot*, *Arabkir*, *Marash*, *Oorfa*, *Aintab*, *Antioch*, and *Adana*. We find that the one mission to the Armenians has expanded into the three missions of *Western*, *Eastern* and *Central Turkey*. We find that forty-two churches have been organized, that one hundred and nine common schools have been established, that forty-six men have been trained for the ministry, of whom ten have been ordained as pastors of churches; that the entire Bible has been translated and published in both the Armenian and the Armeno-

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Turkish languages; that Theological Schools for the education of young men for the ministry have been established at *Aintab* and *Harpoot* as well as at *Constantinople*. We find that the policy of *self-support* has been inaugurated in all parts of the country, and that the evangelical churches and communities begin nobly to bear their share in the work of evangelizing the empire. The number of missionaries has increased to forty-four; the newly organized churches begin to think of forming ecclesiastical associations or "*Unions*," that they may work together for the common cause. Hundreds of women have learned to read the Bible intelligently for themselves; a Female Seminary has been established at *Aintab* in Central Turkey; public opinion begins to favor and demand the elevation and education of women. Missionaries have established themselves in the very heart of Kurdistan; others have faced death itself at the hands of the robbers of the Taurus Mountains. In 1861 the contest has become a pitched battle in which the native Protestants, led by missionaries, native pastors, preachers, and teachers, boldly attack the enemy everywhere. The principal weapon is "the sword of the Spirit;" it appears more and more evident that the whole Armenian nation is becoming enlightened, at least intellectually, and that the real work of reformation is going on *outside* of the Protestant churches and communities.

If we pass over another period of ten years, to the end of 1871, we find that there are *seventy-six* evangelical churches among the Armenians, with *four thousand and thirty-two church-members;* that there are *fifty* ordained native pastors, and *fifty-six* educated licensed preachers; that 222 common schools contain 5,080 scholars, and that the number of registered Protestants has increased to 19,471; that there are 202 places where the gospel is regularly preached, and that 128 Sabbath-schools are attended each Sabbath by over 8,000 persons. We find that during this ten years, from 1861 to 1871, 305,700 copies of the Bible and portions of the Bible have been sold in Turkey for nearly $90,000 in gold. We find that the whole number of bound volumes issued from the press from the time of its first establishment is 711,700, besides all the books and tracts published in the languages of Turkey by the Bible and Tract Socie-

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ties of England and America. We find four schools for the training of young men for the ministry at *Marsovan*, *Harpoot*, *Mardin*, and *Marash;* that there are eleven well organized schools exclusively for the education of girls under the care of ladies from America, and that in these schools several hundred Armenian girls are fitting themselves to exert a silent but mighty influence in the work of reformation.*

Stated in their baldest form, these are some of the results of the operations of the American Board among the Armenians. To our minds these facts are very suggestive; they show that the Armenians were prepared for reformation, and were quick to appreciate the advantages placed within their reach by the missionaries; and the same facts give us hope for the future.

Much is said just now about working for the *permanent* races. Here is a race that can trace back its history as far as history goes, and that appears to have a noble future before it. The geographical position of this race is such as to give it the widest possible influence in *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *Russia*. The dangers that threaten the Armenians in the future are internal rather than external; unity of action in securing the results of their newly-acquired freedom and intelligence is essential to their prosperity, yet they seem slow to realize this fact. The wealthy and influential Armenians at Constantinople seem jealous of each other and quite unwilling to act together for the national good. In other parts of the country there seems among the Protestants to be quite a disposition to break away from the leadership of the American missionaries. It would be foolish to claim that those missionaries have made no mistakes; no one can assert for them that they are all men of the profoundest wisdom and of the gentlest manners; the campaign in which those missionaries have, for forty-two years, been engaged, has taxed heavily the patience, the endurance, the tempers of the officers in command. Taking a broad view of the results of the campaign, the officers have no reason to be ashamed of their

* No one can become acquainted with the recent religious history of the Oriental churches without examining the exhaustive work of the Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., entitled "*Republication of the Gospel in Bible Lands*," or "*Missions to the Oriental Churches*." Congregational Board of Publication, 1873.

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record. Much, however, remains to be done; the battles are not all fought; in fact, the great contest with the giant system of Mohammed has only begun. In the great battle of the future the evangelical Armenian churches ought to be in the very front. Will they be? Much will depend on the training which they receive, but more on the spirit which actuates them. If our words could reach all the parties concerned, we would urge the missionaries among the Armenians to give to the native *pastors, preachers, and teachers* the most thorough training possible; they are to be the leaders in the work of evangelizing Turkey; the native churches are beginning to demand well-educated ministers; many of the native pastors themselves feel that they are but poorly qualified for their work; it seems morally certain that if this demand for a more thoroughly trained ministry is not met by the American missionaries, the native churches will apply to other sources for aid. Do not the real interests of the reformation in Turkey require that this movement in the direction of a higher education be guided and kept under the control of the practical sense of Americans? We are glad to know that many Armenian youth are pursuing their studies in the Robert College at Constantinople, and that the missionaries and the officers of the American Board are aiding the evangelical churches in Central Turkey to establish a first-class college at *Aintab.**

* We cannot forbear quoting the following recommendation of the proposed college at Aintab. It is from the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., President of Robert College at Constantinople. No man is better qualified to speak on such a subject than Dr. Hamlin.

Constantinople, Sept. 1, 1872.

"The present is the era of education in the Turkish Empire. After the conquest of Constantinople there was a long period in which Turkish fanaticism, not without some excellencies of administration, bore sway; then followed a still longer period of decay and death. The missionaries came in at the right moment to commence their work. The Greek revolution had given a rude arousing shock to the empire. European modes of warfare must be learned. Four centuries before, Turkey had taught Europe the art of war, Europe must now teach her; the steamboat also appeared in Turkish waters. The dense stolid mass of ignorance and self-conceit was riven here and there. The missionaries gave to the empire common schools, with beautiful intelligible school books in the spoken languages; they gave also the Word of God. Attentive observers know how silently, widely, and mightly these new forces have wrought, where neither missionaries nor their agents have ever been.

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We would urge the Armenians themselves to remember that, notwithstanding all their real or supposed defects, the best and most thoroughly tried friends of the Armenian race are the American missionaries; the dust of many of those missionaries is now mingling with the dust of the ancestors of the Armenian people. Many an American mother has buried her loved children in the sacred soil of Armenia. Ethnologically the Armenians and the Americans are second cousins; they ought to regard each other with mutual respect, to love each other, and to labor for each other's good. Considering what has been accomplished for the Armenians by their transatlantic cousins, especially by such men as *Hamlin*, *Riggs*, *Dwight*, *Schneider*, *Bliss*, *Pratt*, and others, it ill becomes that interesting people to attempt to disparage or belittle the work of the American missionaries in Turkey. The reformation of the Turkish Empire is one of the great enterprises of modern times; those in charge of this enterprise cannot afford to waste their time and spend their strength in contending with each other. Those Christian friends in England and America who seem disposed to encourage distrust and jeaously in the minds of native pastors and preachers towards the missionaries, can hardly realize what a vital blow they are striking at the very life of the whole enterprise. For many centuries the Armenians have been an oppressed people; in lifting them from darkness into the light let us be patient, hopeful, forbearing. We should remember that they are a people justly proud of their antiquity, their native country, and the heroic deeds of their ancestors. Scattered throughout *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *Southern Russia*, there can be little doubt that they are to exert an important influence in those countries during the next century. The officers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have shown true wisdom in extending a sympathizing hand to that people in their hour of need. We believe that the name of that Board will be mentioned with heart-

The intelligence of all these many peoples has been wonderfully aroused. But now another great step has been taken—the people everywhere demand a higher education—the highest that can be had. The history of the college in Central Turkey, now proposed, is proof of this. In great poverty and depression a noble beginning has been made. Those who aid it will throw the transforming power of a high Christian education right into the heart of this great and dark empire. To what nobler purpose can wealth be applied?"

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felt gratitude by generations yet unborn among the mountains and valleys of Armenia.

This old yet ever young nation appeals to its brethren beyond the seas in the words of the Macedonian cry: "Come over and help us." Shall they appeal in vain? It will require many years of patient toil for *America* to perfect the reformation of *Armenia*, but the work is well begun and can be accomplished; that reformation has a solid basis in the physical strength, the virtue, the mental ability of the Armenians. Let, then, the youngest of the nations stretch out its hand to the oldest; let the blood of the new world flow into the veins and arteries of the old. Once reformed and educated, why should not the Armenians become the pioneers of a Christian civilization that shall renew the youth of the dead empires of the East?

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ARTICLE IV.

TRAINING AND SUPPORT OF A NATIVE MINISTRY IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

(*From the Princeton Theological Review, Oct.* 1870.)

In the following essay on the training and support of a native ministry in Turkey, several things are taken for granted, as the importance of this branch of missionary work, the scriptural authority for it, and the fact that there is not perfect agreement among missionaries in regard to the general principles involved, and in regard to the details according to which those principles should be carried out. Our design has been to offer such hints as will bring the whole question fairly before us, and aid us somewhat, perhaps, in arriving at practical conclusions for future guidance, not only in the Turkish empire, but in other countries where native Evangelical Churches are springing into life. Let us look in the first place at

1. Some of the difficulties to be overcome.

The one that first attracts our attention is the small number of proper candidates for the theological schools. In many places the number of candidates who are ready to enter such schools is large, but many of them are men who are not called of God; influenced by worldly motives, they profess to wish to study for the ministry; they can easily display great zeal for Christ and His cause, but the sequel too often shows that their zeal was not inspired by the Holy Spirit. It is not easy for missionaries to decide who are in earnest and who are not. Experience, however, shows that the number of those really called of God to the ministry is small, while the number of those who run of themselves is often large.

Another great obstacle is *ignorance*. Men sometimes present

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themselves as students of theology who can barely read; nor can it be always said that such men are not hopeful candidates If called of God they may soon become able ministers of the Word; but they are ignorant. Many children in America, at the age of nine years, have more and better general information than some of these men when they present themselves at the door of the theological seminary. The causes of this ignorance are manifest. These men were born, it may be, in mountain villages, where there are no schools, no newspapers, no books; where, perhaps, not a man can be found who knows how to read, where the people have almost no connection with the outer world. The mind of a young man born and reared in such circumstances may be naturally good; so is the uncut marble over which he plays in childhood; buried in darkness its beauties are unknown. The nature and extent of this ignorance is almost inconceivable to one who has never visited such mountain villages, or conversed with such candidates for the ministry.

The want of good common schools is another great obstacle to the training of native pastors. Throughout the Turkish Empire this difficulty is deeply felt. What can a young man do who feels called to the ministry? How can he prepare himself to study theology? In his native village, if there is any Protestant school at all, the teacher can only take him through the simplest rudiments of an education—reading, writing, the first elements of geography, grammar, and arithmetic: rather a scant preparation for a theological seminary; yet the common schools are very few where more than these are taught.

Another great want is that of good school-books. Even where there are comparatively good schools, there is generally such a scarcity of school-books as makes it almost impossible for men to prepare for the theological schools. And even after they have entered such schools, what mission in Turkey can show a good set of text-books in any one department of theological study? Not one. If it be asked why are there not good common schools and good school-books, we mention in reply another great obstacle to the training of a native ministry, which is, the small number of missionaries as compared with the work to be done. This number is so small that two men are generally all

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that can be allowed for the theological school. These two missionaries are expected to give instruction at least in *Moral Philosphy*, *Biblical Exegesis*, *the Evidences of Christianity*, *Pastoral and Doctrinal Theology*, *Church History*, and *Homiletics*. They are also expected to be missionaries at large, to visit out-stations, superintend churches, attend meetings of native preachers and pastors—in a word, to look after the thousand and one things that constantly arise at a large mission station. If two or three men are spared for literary work, their time must be given mainly to translating and editing the Scriptures, and religious tracts, newspapers, and books. However able men may be, and however willing to work, simple want of time makes it impossible for them to do well all that is required of them. Where there are but two men at the station where the theological school is located, how can they make proper preparations for their lessons? With both teachers and scholars will there not be weakness where there ought to be strength? There ought to be at least three men connected with every theological seminary in Turkey, who should give their full strength, certainly during term time, to the care and instruction of the students.

2. The kind of men needed.

In the great scarcity of pastors and preachers, men are often put into the theological schools who ought not to enter them. Perhaps more serious mistakes are made just here than in any other branch of missionary work. The reason is plain; a good native pastor is above all price, while one who enters the ministry from improper motives, who is not qualified for his work, and who takes little or no interest in it, is far more of a hindrance than a similar man in America or England. We say, in general, that no man shonld be advised or allowed to study theology who does not give clear evidence of piety. This caution may be thought unnecessary; experience has proved that it is not. Theoretically, probably, all missionaries are right on this point; practically, there are few who have not made serious mistakes. We believe the history of nearly every Christian mission of modern times will show that many young men have been encouraged to study for the ministry who have not been renewed by the Holy Spirit. What have been the results? Just what

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we might expect them to be. Such men become in time great obstacles to the Lord's work—often bitter opposers of that work. Churches die under their influence. Even when they do not oppose the Gospel, they substitute other things for it. Moral philosophy, natural science, human learning, take the place of the "Word of God." Men, therefore, of earnest piety, men whose piety has been proved, and they only, should be trained for the ministry.

Men are also needed who are *called of God.*

It does not follow that every young man, because he has real piety, should study theology. Here, too, all missionaries are liable to be in too great haste. Native pastors are needed; the Lord's work languishes because they are not to be found. What more natural than to advise young carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and farmers to leave their daily toil and enter the service of Christ as preachers of the Gospel? Very natural, but not always very wise; for men who enter the ministry should be men called of God—men moved by a Divine impulse—men who have heard the Redeemer's last command addressed especially to themselves, "*Go ye* into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Men of good natural ability are needed; even earnest piety will not make up for a want of intellect. It is a great mistake to suppose that Christian converts in heathen and semi-heathen lands, cannot distinguish between those who are able expounders of God's Word and those who are not. Such converts discover the difference as quickly as the most intelligent audiences in America or England. The idea that any young man, if very pious, with a tolerable education, will answer for a missionary, is now pretty thoroughly exploded; it is equally a mistake, often made by good missionaries, to suppose that every young man of particularly earnest piety in their congregations, should be encouraged to enter the native ministry. Earnest piety makes up for many defects; but when men are to be selected for native preachers, there is a degree of stupidity which it should not be allowed to cover.

Here an interesting question arises: at what age should men be received into the theological schools in our Missions? Perhaps no definite answer can be given; yet we may say, in gene-

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ral, that, if good in other respects, for ordinary native pastors, it matters not if they are somewhat advanced in years. Young men make the best scholars, but they lack experience in dealing with others, and are more apt to be governed by their feelings than by their sober judgment. It is also true that young men are more pliable than those who have reached mature years, more easily moulded into the right shape; impressions made on their minds sink deeper, and are more lasting. A man at thirty-five or forty sometimes wakes up with wonderful energy under the new impulse given to his mind by the Gospel; if such a man wishes to preach the Gospel and seems truly called of God, who shall hinder him? We have been assured that, at one time, one of the most hopeful men in one of the theological seminaries among the Armenians, was the father of eleven children, most of whom were living. If others at the age of sixteen or seventeen give evidence of true piety, have the proper qualifications, and are anxious to preach the Gospel, let them do so. The churches on missionary ground need good scholars in the ministry as well as those in America and England; and really good scholars, as a rule, can only be made of young men.

Men are needed who are ready to deny themselves. Self-denial should be one of the foundation-stones of every church and of every Christian character; the preachers and pastors should be leaders in this respect. Whenever it appears that a man is in the seminary in order to obtain a living, the sooner his connection with it ceases the better.

3. When all other obstacles are removed, and a suitable number of young men are collected to form a theological school, the question arises, "*What shall they study?*" This question calls up the whole subject of the proper course of study in a seminary for the training of native pastors and preachers on missionary ground. We are aware that we are here treading on disputed territory, that many of the wisest and best men have differed widely on this subject. Without attempting to defend, in detail, the suggestions we shall make, we shall state what appear to be the most essential things in such a course of study. And, in the first place, we think the young men who are preparing for the native ministry should study thoroughly the language which they are to use as preachers and pastors.

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The universal corruption of the East shows itself in nothing more plainly than in the corruption of language; this appears not only in words of an immoral meaning, but in imperfect words whose original form has been changed, in ungrammatical expressions, and in wrong pronunciation. Many Armenians, for example, have not only no knowledge of the Armenian language, but a very imperfect knowledge of the Turkish, which they use. The wrong grammatical forms and the wrong pronunciation, which they learn in childhood, cling to them in after years. What we urge is, that all students of theology should be taught to read, write, and speak correctly the language which they are to use as preachers of the Gospel.

They should study mathematics as a mental discipline. The main question here is, that of the extent to which mathematical studies should be carried. Much will depend on the mental capacity of the students. Algebra and geometry, at least, should form part of a four years' course. The importance of natural science, mental and moral philosophy, cannot be disputed; the question of the amount of time that should be given to such studies, is the only one on which there can be a great difference of opinion. Students should certainly acquire a knowledge of the general principles of these sciences, yet such studies should not be allowed to exclude the more important study of the Bible and systematic theology. Natural science and mental and moral philosophy should be studied with special reference to their relations to Christianity. Shall the students study English? We answer, yes; at least they should learn English well enough to use English text-books in preparing to preach. The study itself is a good mental discipline, while the knowledge acquired, to the extent mentioned, opens to a native preacher a treasure-house filled with the ripe results of sanctified scholarship. A high authority * in such matters has well said: "In the providence of God the English race occupy much the same place *now* in history which the Romans did in the time of Christ. They are the standard-bearers of the *thought* of all ages; their flag is in every sea; their influence brought in immediate contact with the life of every people. The English languge is the store-house of all the best thought

* Rev. N. G. Clark, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.

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of the world. This *thought* is a divinely appointed instrumentality of culture, of intellectual growth and power for the race, steadily accumulating as the fruit of study, prayer, experience, observation. Whether we will or not, this influence will be exerted, in its baser elements or in its better; it cannot be hindered." We may add, that whether the missionaries favor the study of English or not, the most active and intelligent of the native pastors and preachers will learn it: they will surmount every obstacle in order to avail themselves of the commentaries and theological treatises found in the English language. And they are right; every young man who has brains enough to go through a course of theological study, is able to learn enough English to use English commentaries, and he should not only be permitted, but required to do it. The Evidences of Christianity, Natural, Doctrinal, and Pastoral Theology, are, of course, essential. The impression prevails, that young men in theological seminaries in our foreign missions cannot grasp these subjects very thoroughly; this impression is probably not correct: from all we can learn on this point, we are inclined to think that such young men compare favorably with the same class in our own country. True, they have never studied systems of logic, but they can see the force or weakness of an argument, and can appreciate a systematic and thorough presentation of a subject. Biblical and Church history, Homiletics and Church Polity, must receive their proper share of attention. Much practical instruction in regard to public speaking, the composition and delivery of sermons, is necessary in order to make good preachers of the ordinary students in the mission theological seminaries. Throughout the whole course, the Bible should be made the most important of all text-books. All other discipline and all other acquisitions should be made to centre, as in a focus, on the Word of God. A sustained interest in the study of the Scriptures can only be secured by earnest and persevering efforts. Oriental minds are fond of speculation; the East is the hot-bed of wild fancies and dreams. Special care, therefore, should be taken to bind the attention of students to the *revealed Word*. To master thoroughly the divine revelation is the essential thing in preparing for the ministry. Just in proportion as native preachers attain this end, will they be able

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ministers of the New Testament; if they come short here, all their other attainments will be of litle value.

Thus much in regard to the course of study; in putting this course to a practical application, of course mental discipline should be made of primary importance rather than the imparting of information.

4. We come now to another important question, viz.: What training shall candidates for a native ministry have, apart from that which they receive through the medium of books?

We reply, they should be trained to *regular habits of study*. Such habits are worth more than volumes of information imparted to a student, yet few things are more difficult to secure in dealing with Orientals; they like to spend their time in idle talk; they need to be taught the value of time in reference to mental growth, and the importance of devoting a portion of each day, sacredly, to hard study.

They should also be trained to self-denial while they are pursuing their studies. How this can be accomplished always may be a difficult question, but it is a matter of the first importance, and should be carefully weighed by those who have the immediate charge of our mission theological schools. Students in such schools are too apt to look upon missionary boards as their nursing mothers, mothers who are only too happy to supply their every want. If the young men in such schools are to become hardy soldiers of the Cross, they must begin when in the theological schools. Such students should also be trained to aggressive work for Christ. By this we mean more than the preparation of good sermons, more than the care of a single flock. In the present state of God's work in the Turkish Empire, the evangelical churches should be emphatically aggressive, should be ready to send out their members everywhere preaching the Gospel and compelling men to come to the marriage feast; but the churches will not have this character unless the pastors have it, and if the students do not catch something of this spirit while in the seminaries, the probability is that they will never catch it at all. Christ not only taught His disciples by word of mouth, but He sent them out, and led them out, and showed them *how* to go about their great work. How did Paul deal with the young men whom he wished to make leaders in Christ's cause?

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He taught them, by example as well as by precept, that they should not always act on the defensive; that they should attack the enemy on his own ground, and attack him without fear and asking no favors. The pastors, who are to guide the churches now springing up where Paul labored, should be men of the same spirit.

Students should also be trained to intelligent *self-reliance*. In Eastern countries, where might too often makes right, men of really independent judgment are not often found; people look up to their superiors. The first question is not, what do truth and duty require, but what is the opinion of those in authority. It is hard to bring even Christian men to think intelligently and act deliberately for themselves. The right kind of self-reliance is an important part of the education of a native ministry, especially among subject races like the nominal Christian races in Turkey.

Candidates for a native ministry should be taught also to regard the *preaching of God's Word* as the great business of their lives. They are very liable to get mixed up with secular and political affairs. In the infancy of the churches, such a result is almost inevitable, and, to a certain degree, is not to be deplored. Native pastors are the real moulders of opinion on almost all subjects, and they ought to be wide awake to all public questions. The danger is, that the political and secular interests of their flocks will so crowd upon their time and thoughts as to throw the preaching of the Word into the background. This result is almost sure to be fatal to the ultimate and highest usefulness of a pastor. Shallow sermons, thinly attended prayer-meetings, a decline in spirituality in the church, coldness, divisions, backbitings, these and similar things are quite sure to follow when a native pastor declines in devotion to *preaching* as his one great work.

Such students should be trained also to look to the churches, over which they are to be pastors, for their support. This is now so generally acknowledged that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon it. We may remark, however, that the seminary is the place to lay right foundations on this subject. Students should be made familiar with the idea that their relations, after leaving the seminary, are to be with the *churches* rather than

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with missionaries from a distant land, or with the treasury of a foreign Board. Failure here has led to sorrows innumerable.

5. On what scale shall students be supported while pursuing their studies?

Practically, this is an important question. Strict economy should be the general principle for the guidance of the missionaries. Nothing more quickly demoralizes native Christians than a free use of money; nothing makes the work of a native pastor more irksome than constant anxiety about his salary; and nothing is more sure to create and keep up that anxiety than a liberal support while in the seminary. It seems plain that students in our mission theological schools should not be supported in a style above that which they will have to adopt when they become preachers and pastors. The poverty of the native Christians, and the weakness of the native churches, should ever be kept in mind by those in charge of such schools. So far as possible, the students should be required to earn the money they receive; the best good of the students themselves requires this. To accomplish this end they may, in many cases, be furnished with work during term time, and in other cases be employed as colporteurs, teachers, and preachers during vacations. Such students are generally accustomed to hard labor before entering the seminaries; health, alone, requires that their active habits be kept up. If this is not done, they may become good scholars; but with weak, dyspeptic, diseased bodies they can never be active, robust preachers and pastors. Habits of industry, a proper appreciation of the value of money, their future happiness, all require that students have no more aid than is actually necessary for real wants.

6. How shall native pastors be supported after they have entered on their work? We have already touched upon this point; a full examination of it properly belongs to the more general question of the self-support of mission churches, yet a few additional words will not be out of place here. The only safe principle seems to be to throw the native pastors, for their support, upon the churches at the time of ordination. Whatever aid is rendered toward the support of the pastors should be given *to the churches*, and not directly to the pastors. No native preacher or pastor should draw his salary from

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the treasury of a foreign Board. Pastors and preachers should be taught from the first to look to the churches for their support, and taught not only theoretically but practically, by actually placing this responsibility upon the churches. Native churches are often unwilling to pledge themselves to support their pastors, and newly ordained pastors are often unwilling to commit themselves to their churches; but we are convinced that any other course than the one here recommended is fraught with evils and embarrassments that will only increase as time passes. Whenever foreign aid is rendered to a church in the support of its pastor, it should be done only with a definite understanding that such aid shall cease at the earliest possible moment. If a native pastor is not willing thus to be thrown on the church over which he is ordained, it is generally indicative either that there has been a serious defect in his education, or that the man is not fit for the pastoral office. Those pastors who perseveringly insist on being supported by a foreign Board are really not worthy to be supported very long by anybody. Moreover, we think this position is fully sustained by the history of the Protestant evangelical churches in the Turkish Empire. We learn from the report of the American Board for 1869, that there are seventy-three evangelical churches under its care in Turkey, and that forty-three of these have native pastors over them. From private sources of the most reliable kind, we happen to know that the missionaries of the Board among the Armenians in Turkey have devoted much attention to the training up of a native ministry, according to the suggestions contained in this article. We know, also, that their efforts have been attended with marked success. The most promising pastors in the country are those who have been educated on these principles; the strongest and most flourishing churches are those that have for years supported entirely their own pastors, and those pastors and churches that have most thoroughly tested this principle of self-support are the most thoroughly in favor of it; in fact, they could not be induced to return to their former relation as recipients of foreign benevolence. There are four theological schools in the three missions of Western, Central, and Eastern Turkey. These schools are located at *Marsovan*, *Marash*, *Harpoot*, and *Mardin*. The gen-

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eral principles on which these schools are conducted are the same, and are substantially those we have recommended. The work of evangelization is extending among the Copts of Egypt, the people of Syria, the Bulgarians in European Turkey, and the Kurdish-speaking Armenians of Kurdistan. For these different nationalities a native ministry must be provided. It is important that there should be agreement and united action among the missions and missionaries of the whole Turkish Empire in regard to the principles and method according to which that ministry shall be trained.

If evangelical missions in Turkey are to succeed, the whole work of evangelization will eventually pass into the hands of native Christians; if they are to fail, it matters little on what principles they are conducted. We believe they are to succeed. Unity of plan, therefore, in the organization and development of native churches becomes a matter of the first importance. Such churches will be a power in the land in proportion to their ability to work together for Christ and His cause. If the missionaries are agreed in regard to the general principles on which they will train up a native ministry, the future pastors of the evangelical churches throughout Turkey will be on the same level, will take substantially the same views of their duty, will work alike and *together* for the evangelization of the whole conntry. When the pastors are thus agreed, the churches will be trained accordingly. We write not in the interest of any particular Board or denomination or system, when we say that the missionaries in Turkey should seek after real unity in the plan of that spiritual building which is rising, under their direction, to the honor and glory of God. United action in training a native ministry will secure substantial unity in all else. Sectarian interests should be made to stand aside if they attempt to prevent or hinder this desirable consummation.

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DANCING AND PIETY.

A DISCOURSE,

SHOWING THE

Incompatibility of Dancing with Spiritual Religion.

BY REV. E. W. BORDEN.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry."—ST. PAUL.
"Little children, keep yourselves from idols."—JOHN, THE APOSTLE.

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DANCING AND PIETY.

OPENING REMARKS.

My Dear Friends:

The subject to which I call your attention this morning may not be entirely interesting to all of my hearers, and yet it would seem that all persons ought to feel interested in hearing what the minister regards as Gospel truth. I am called to this pulpit to teach the principles of religion, as set forth in the Bible; and, as a minister of the Gospel, I am to draw all my authority from the teachings of Christ and His apostles. Were I, by my voice or silence, to give any encouragement to a course of conduct out of harmony with the spirit of the Gospel, my people might suffer spiritual loss, and I should be held accountable to God. This Church employ me as their spiritual guide, and as such a guide the people come to hear me preach, and give of their means toward my support. I, therefore, take it for granted, that I am expected to teach the spiritual truths of Christianity, and to show the people what they must do to be saved, and what they must avoid doing. Then, it is for me to show what will tend toward the spiritual good of the people—what will serve to increase, in the heart of each, true piety, and to bring us all into fellowship with God. Now, if my people are anxious to know these things, then they will be willing to hear what the Gospel teaches; and should it appear that they have inadvertently indulged in some things that are detrimental to a life of piety, they will be both willing to hear and take advice. It is to this class of persons that I direct this discourse. It is not in my heart to make your pleasures less, but I would have you live a more spiritual life, and find

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your pleasures in spiritual things. It is not of choice that I preach on themes not entirely agreeable to all my hearers, but sometimes necessity seems to be laid upon me. Sunday before last, I made but a passing remark, in my morning sermon, on the impropriety of social dancing ; and in the next issue of our leading village paper there appeared a long list of Scripture texts, interspersed through a column of local items, all of which, it was to be inferred, encouraged the social dance. To this column of Bible texts my attention was called by others, with an intimation that I had better explain those texts if I could. This seemed to me like a fair and honest challenge, and I now propose in the following discourse to show what the Bible says about dancing, and in what light the social dance is held by the teachers of Christianity.

I shall take for my text one of the most prominent Scripture passages that was placed by our village editor in the columns of the Midland *Times :*

DANCING AND PIETY.

"And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing ; and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and break them beneath the mount." —Exodus 32 : 19.

The incident of which this text speaks took place in the camp of Israel, while they were encamped at Mt. Sinai. It was at this place that the Israelites received the ten commandments, and on the fiftieth day after their departure out of Egypt. They left Egypt in the beginning of the spring months, and in the month answering to our May they received the moral law from God by the hand of Moses. At Mt. Sinai they remained encamped for about one year ; and during this time the Tabernacle was constructed by Divine command for the purpose of religious worship. Moses received instructions from God how to make the tabernacle, and we are told that he was in the mount, while receiving these instructions, forty days and forty nights. During this long absence of Moses, the people became uneasy about their leader, and they were tempted to adopt their old methods of worship to which they were accustomed in the land of Egypt. Under the name of *Apis*, the Egyptians worshiped the bull, an image of which was the symbol of their chief deity. The Israelities had been a long time accustomed to these idolatries, and, no doubt, they had taken part in them. It was scarcely to be expected that two millions of people would be turned in

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less than one year's time from one system of religious belief to another. They had an ardent love for the traditions of their fathers, and this, together with the rigorous oppressions which they experienced at the hands of their Egyptian masters, had made them ready to receive Moses as their leader and deliverer ; and, thus receiving him, they accepted his religious teaching. But, so soon as they thought their leader was really gone, they became bewildered in their new and strange situation, and began to clamor for a return to their former methods of worship. Said they in much heat to Aaron : " Up, make us gods which shall go before us ; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what has become of him." Such was their noisy clamor, and violent protestations, that Aaron thought it best to yield to their demands ; and it is no uncommon thing for a minister of religion to yield to the idolatrous wishes of his people. Aaron became the mere tool of the people, and he was ready to do what they required; and taking the gold ornaments that were worn by the women, these were fashioned into the form of a calf, representing the Egyptian god, Apis. And they set up the calf, and burnt incense, and offered the various offerings, eating and drinking to the honor of the idol, and then rose up to play. On such occasions, it was the custom of the Egyptians to have music and dancing, which was performed before the idol ; nor was this peculiar to the Egyptians ; all heathen nations have the music and the dance to accompany their idolatrous devotions. We are told by travelers that, in almost every feast among the Hindoos, dancing takes place before the idol. On this occasion, in the wilderness, the Israelites simply did what they were accustomed to see done among the Egyptian idolaters.

On coming down from the mount, Moses heard the noise of the music and the dance, and he at once felt the most painful suspicions of what might be going on in the camp. And as he came near, he saw the calf and the dancing ; then he burned with righteous indignation, and in despair of being able to lead this people out of idolatry into the knowledge and worship of the true God, he cast the tables of the law out of his hands, and they were broken at the foot of the mount. We have now a brief history of the case before us; but, we want to know the peculiar nature of this whole affair ; what was it all about ? What was the serious wrong on the part of the people ? Was Moses, himself, excusable for his heated indignation against the people on this occasion?

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And can there be any justification for that religious teacher who, seeing his own professed friends and adherents turning a deaf ear to his teachings, shall show great warmth and earnestness in his efforts to turn them from delusive follies back into the way of truth? As to the peculiar nature of the doings among the people, on this occasion, it is beyond all doubt that they were performing religious devotions. The idol they had made and set up they accepted as an object of devotion. They had made the customary offerings to the idol, they had eaten and drank to his honor, and now they were having the customary dance before the idol, accompanied with the music. The dance, in connection with religious worship, was not ordered of God. God gave His people full instruction concerning religious rites and ceremonies, but the dance is not mentioned in these instructions. The first mention of the dance among the Jews is a case of triumph over their enemies. On leaving Egypt, they were pursued by Pharoah and his men of war. Israel was brought into great straits. It seemed impossible for them to escape destruction. In their rear were their oppressors, full of cruel wrath against them. In their front rolled the waters of the Red Sea. At the command of God the Israelites formed rank, with their faces toward the sea. Moses, with his rod in hand, led the people to the water's edge. Here was a brief halt. But soon the word of the Lord came to Moses, saying, "Speak to the children of Israel, that they go forward; and do thou lift up thy rod, and stretch it out over the sea, and the waters shall divide, and give you a dry passage through the sea." It was done; and Israel passed safely through the sea to the other side; and the Egyptians, attempting to follow them, were overwhelmed by the returning waters, and drowned in the sea, Pharaoh and all his host. Then all Israel rejoiced; and Miriam, Moses' sister, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. This kind of rejoicing was what they had seen practiced among the Egyptians on occasions of exultation and triumph over their enemies. The Israelites very innocently adopted this method of giving expression to their joy, turning the dance into an expression of religious thankfulness to God for His wonderful deliverance. In the days of the Judges, Jephthah led the hosts of Israel against the Ammonites, and in battle proved victorious; on his triumphant return from the field of battle, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels, and with dances. Another instance of the dance is mentioned in

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connection with the triumph of the Hebrews over the Philistines, when David, being a mere youth, slew Goliah. Saul was then king of Israel; and when David, in company with the king, returned from the battle in triumph, the women came out of the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet the king, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. On all these occasions it will be observed that the women led the dance, and that it was performed in broad day-light, and in the open air. These were not cotillion parties, not the ordinary balls of our day, they were not fashionable hops. These dances were not a promiscuous commingling of the sexes; but the men and women danced apart; a woman led out her own sex in the dance, and in like manner a man led out his own sex; thus performing their parts separately. These dances were simply the ovations of conquerors, similar to the ovation of George Washington, when on his way to New York city, after the war was over, and Peace was declared; he was met by a large company of women, dressed in pure white, and bedecked with wreaths of beautiful flowers; and as they went forth to meet that noble hero, they spread garlands of flowers in his path-way; and, forming an arch of roses, they caused that good man to drive with his carriage and his six noble greys through that beautiful arch of posies. That was an ovation, indeed! That was an expression of the triumph of Christian freemen, in the 18th century of Jesus Christ; but the other cases that I have noticed occurred in the days of old Judaism, when Divine revelation had not yet fully delivered God's chosen people from the sensualisms of heathenish idolatry. The spiritual religion of the Gospel lifts us out of, and above sensualism, and gives us more refined and elevated tastes. Spiritual religion cultivates the intelligence more than it does the lower emotions of humanity. In the Bible the word *dance* is sometimes used to denote gladness, or great joy; as in the 30th Psalm: "Thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing." This is the language of king David; and it seems very expressive of his conduct on a certain occasion, when the ark of God was brought back after a long absence among the Philistines. The ark was taken away in the last days of king Saul. The Philistines held the ark in captivity; but they became alarmed at their keeping of it, and regarded themselves as sufferers in consequence; so they sent it back to the Hebrews. And when the ark was brought into the city of David, David received it with gladness, and he danced before the Lord with all his might. From the account

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here given, we are led to suppose that this dancing of David was simply an outburst of excessive joy and gladness. It is said: "And as the ark of the Lord came into the city of David, Michal, Saul's daughter and the wife of David, looked through a window and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart; and she said to David: "How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who threw off his royal mantle in the presence of the multitude, to dance as one of the vain fellows, doing it openly!" "But," said David, "it was before the Lord, who chose me, instead of thy father, to be king in Israel; and I will be yet more vile in thine eyes, and base in mine own sight, also, if pious zeal for the Lord makes me vile." Now, this dancing of David was somewhat like that of the lame man whom Peter healed. He was looking to receive some gift from Peter and John, as he sat begging at the gate of the temple; but Peter told him he had no money to give; nevertheless he would give such benefit as he could. Then said Peter: "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up, and walk. And he leaping up stood, and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God." That poor fellow might surely have said as did David: "Thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing." In the parable of the prodigal son, it is stated in evidence of the joy in the father's house, on the return of that son, that music and dancing were heard. The reference in this place to music and dancing is simply expressive of the prevailing gladness in that house. The word, *dance,* is sometimes used as a synonym for joy or gladness; as in Ecclesiastes: "A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to *dance.*" In this place to *mourn* and to *dance* are put in antithesis; just as to *weep* and to *laugh* are put in opposition in the foregoing clause. The word *dance,* as here used, does not mean a measured step to music, but simply gladness of heart in opposition to sorrow. But there were among the Jews various dances on great festal occasions. In the last chapter of the book of Judges we read of a yearly feast in Shiloh, on the north side of Beth-el. At these festivals it was customary for the young women to dance; not for men and women to dance together, in a mixed company; but the women danced alone; one led out, and the others followed her. On one of these occasions, we are told that the Benjaminites, who by war had been nearly destroyed,—their wives and children being killed—the men were permitted, by consent of the other

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tribes of Israel, to catch each man a young woman at the dance in Shiloh, and she should become his wife. If we read this passage understandingly, it will clearly appear that this dance in no way resembled one of our modern balls. In our day, it is true, a young man may catch a young woman at a dancing party, who becomes his wife; but it is generally by mutual consent that she is caught. And sometimes, in our day, the commingling of the sexes in the dance leads to the mutual consent of the parties to take part in some very criminal associations. Our dances are too often mere night revels; those of the Jews were in open day. This transaction in Shiloh—the stealing of the maidens—is said to have occurred when there was no king in Israel; every one did what was right in his own eyes. However, it does not appear but that the Benjaminites, who at this time stole for themselves wives, treated those wives well, and the relation, thus formed by an act of violence, became a mutual satisfaction. In classic story, we have a very similar transaction related by Livy, in connection with the early history of Rome. We are told that Romulus, the founder of Rome, having laid the foundations, and built the walls of that city, in order to secure a population, he proclaimed it an asylum, and invited thither those who had shed blood, and those who, as slaves, had fled from their masters. In a short time, he had gathered together quite a large population of men, but there were no women in the city; and the character of the men was such that the women of the neighboring Latin towns would have nothing to do with them. To remedy this evil, Romulus resorted to stratagem; he appointed a time for a great celebration in honor of the god Consus; and he invited all the contiguous Latin towns, and the Sabines in particular, to witness the games at the celebration. The people came in great crowds, and while they were witnessing the games, and were very intent on seeing the show, the young men of Rome rushed into the crowd, and seized all the marriageable maidens, and kept them as wives. This violent proceeding was cause of war, for a time, but entire harmony was afterward restored; and we are told that, the marriage relation, which was in vain sought by the Romans with the *Sabini*, on friendly terms, was now fully established by mutual consent, after this violent transaction. The two cases are very similar; and, according to history, the stealing of the maidens, at the feast of Shiloh, was about 1,400 before Christ; and the stealing of the Sabini maidens was about 750 before Christ. These incidents bear evidence of a very rude state of

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civilization; it was, indeed, a period in the history of those nations when the lower emotions of men predominated. It was not the *spiritual*, but the *carnal* age of Humanity.

But, in the Bible, we have also some accounts given of dancing at feasts of a much later date, even as late as the days of the Herods. Matthew and Mark give substantially the same account of a dance that took place on Herod's birth-day. This was Herod Antipas, son of Herod the great, and brother of Herod Philip. He was at this time living with his brother Philip's wife, in violation of marital laws; and the young woman who danced, and so greatly pleased Herod Antipas, was the daughter of his brother Philip, by Herodias, the woman with whom he was now living in illicit intercourse. Such were the parties, who made a great feast, and in connection therewith had a royal and fashionable dance. The daughter of Herodias was true as steel to her accomplished mother. The mother was a high-bred lady; and she belonged to the highest circles of fashionable society. Of course she knew how to dance; and so did her daughter; and when this fashionable lady got the foolish king into a spot where he thought it would compromise his dignity to refuse the request of a young girl, urged on by her cruel and libidinous mother, then said that accomplished lady: "Now John Baptist, your head has got to go for your impudence in telling Herod Antipas that it is unlawful for him and me to live together!" And this resolution she carried out; nor was she as fickel in this as in her marital relations. John the Baptist did not attend that dance, but his head was brought there, in order to increase the pleasures of the mistress of that royal and fashionable dance. That was a select, social dance! We have now seen, according to the Holy Scriptures, that the dance was, to some extent, practiced among the Jews; it was common on occasions of great joy and gladness; as when David danced before the ark of the Lord. It was common in celebrating triumphs; as in the case of Miriam, when Israel was delivered out of the hands of the Egyptians; and as when David returned from the battle-field with the head of the great Goliah. It was common at certain feasts; as that we have mentioned in Shiloh; and another, of which the prophet Jeremiah speaks, in the following: "Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry."

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This has respect to the promise of God to restore the desolations of Israel, and that the former times of prosperity, joy and gladness shall return.

There is also a clear intimation that the dance was sometimes employed in religious service; as when the Israelites worshiped the calf in the wilderness; and in the 149th and 150th Psalms, where it is said: "Let them praise His name in the dance. Praise Him with the timbrel and dance." But, it must be considered that all this was in an age when the animal emotions predominated over the spiritual. The whole system of Jewish worship consisted in outward rites and ceremonies. For every truth they required an outward visible sign. In this regard the Hebrew worship resembled heathenism. What chiefly distinguished the Hebrew religion from that of Paganism was the fact that it taught *one* God *only*, while the religion of Paganism taught a great multiplicity of gods. It was, therefore, quite easy to engraft upon the Jewish forms of worship some of the Pagan acts of devotion. Israel had no similitude of a God before which to bow, and sing, and dance; but they had the visible tokens or symbols of God's throne, of His presence, His glory, and of His mercy-seat; and before these symbols David danced with all his might; and he wanted others to do as he did. Said he: "Let them praise His name in the dance." But David's notion of worship is no guide for us, nor are the social manners and customs of the Jews any guide to Christian people. The Gospel of Jesus Christ has cast its spiritual light upon us, and has set us far in advance of that fleshly age, when even religious service largely consisted of merely carnal ordinances. But it should not be lost sight of that the dance among the Jews never admitted the commingling of the sexes. And while it is manifest that the dance, by men and women apart, was common among the Jews, it is also manifest that they recognised the fact that dancing was sometimes employed in a *sinful* manner. The dance, in itself, is innocent enough, but it indicates a turning of the mind and heart toward worldly pleasures, which is idolatry. It was not the *dancing* of Israel that angered Moses, it was their *idolatry*. They left the one true God to dance before a calf. Idolatry is the opposite of piety. A choice of one turns us from the other. To both we cannot hold. Idolatry, now, under the Gospel, is a name denoting the carnal or worldly tendency of the spirit in man. Piety is a name which denotes the spiritual and heaven-ward tendency of the spirit in man; and, since the Gospel system has

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abolished carnal rites and ceremonies, the dance has no more place in religious service; it was brought in from Paganism, and was simply tolerated during the old system of outward signs and material manifestations, as expressive of our grosser and basilar emotions; but now it is to be cast out as an element entirely foreign to the spiritual religion of Jesus Christ. Henceforth, the dance has no part with Christianity. It does not, nor is it possible that it should, aid piety in its spiritual exercises and heavenward tendencies. Idolatry, which is earthward,—a grasping of sensual pleasures, a setting up of idols and rejoicing in them —this may be, and very largely is, served by the dance. Here, then, is Piety on the one hand, to be served by cultivating the intelligence and the spiritual aspirations of the immortal soul; and on the other hand is Idolatry—love of the world, its riches, honors, pleasures; and this idolatry is sensualism, and is served only in the gratification of the carnal appetites and passions. This kind of service calls for the dance, and for whatever tends to animal excitement; the animal emotions delight in physical excitements, but the higher emotions, belonging to our spiritual nature, are fed only by mental, moral, and religious exercises. These last named exercises lift us up from the world, and join us in delightful fellowship with spiritual pursuits; but, the feeding of the carnal appetites and passions carries us downward in thought and feeling, and joins us in fellowship with the things that are earthly. And to mind earthly things—looking with desire on the things which are seen—setting the affections on things on the earth—*this*, according to the spirit of the Gospel, is *Idolatry*. Now, what I feel concerned about is, how to turn idolaters from their idols to the service of the *one only living* and *true God*. It is not the dancing, in itself, that troubles me, it is rather the fact, of which their dancing is evidence, that they *know not* God. For, as soon as they fully turn their hearts to God, in obedience to the words of Jesus, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit enter those hearts, and make their abode there. Then, in fellowship with God, and delighting in the pure spiritual religion of the Gospel, they will have no further use for the dance, and it will cease of itself. But sometimes idolatry forces itself upon the attention of Christ's disciples, and a controversy is begun, similar to that which ensnared our mother Eve in Paradise. The question is urged: "What harm is there in dancing?" "And then, is it any worse than kissing plays, or gossiping and senseless laughter?" This line of argument is simply

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calculated to divert the mind from the one all important consideration. The thing to be kept in mind is, that there are two tracks to follow; one leads upward, to spiritual life, to God, and heaven; the other leads downward, to a life of mere sensualism, and the end thereof is death. When Christians give their attention to the arguments of sinners, and, themselves, take up those arguments, and repeat them to themselves, or to others, then there is danger of unholy alliances being formed between Christians and mere worldlings. Christianity speaks to us on this wise: "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the friendship of the world is enmity with God. Therefore, whosoever will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God." The world is toward sensualism, but true religion is toward God and spirituality. For this reason, Paul admonishes us as follows: "If ye be risen with Christ, set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth; for ye are dead to the world, and your life is hid with Christ in God. Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry." That is, flee from all those sensual pleasures that have a tendency toward worldliness and sin. The apostle Peter says: "Let the time past of our life suffice us to have done as mere worldlings do; we walked with them for a time in revellings and banquetings, and they now think it strange that we run not with them to the same excess of riot as aforetime; and so they speak evil of us," thinking thereby to induce us to return to our old worldly pleasures and associations. But it should be carefully considered that, whatever worldlings may say or do to turn Christian people from piety, and to have them do, as they themselves do, it is, nevertheless, a conscientious firmness, on the part of Christians, that leads the ungodly to respect religion, and to feel the need of it themselves. It is no uncommon thing to hear the irreligious say: "I like to see people decided, and be something positive, on one side or the other." To preach the Gospel, the minister must of necessity show that to become disciples of Jesus, we must come out from the world, and be separate from sinners. Says Jesus: "Ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world; therefore, the world hateth you. If any man will be my disciple, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me. If any person love father, mother, brother, sister, husband,

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wife, child, or even his own life, better than me, he cannot be my disciple." It was under this kind of teaching that the Gospel Church took its rise; and it was this same teaching that caused the Church to grow into a mighty power of moral and religious reform. The world was compelled to acknowledge that, through the Gospel, a moral power had been introduced into the world that, in spite of all opposing influences, was actually separating mankind into two distinct classes; the one being left in grovelling sensualism, while the other is taken and lifted to higher planes of life and usefulness. The fact of *human character* being made separate from sinners first attracted notice in the person of Jesus Christ, "who was holy, harmless, undefiled, *separate* from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." This Jesus is set forth as *our* example, that *we* should walk even as *He* walked. That we may thus walk, Paul admonishes us to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. "Be not ye unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from the world, and be ye *separate*, saith the Lord, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Such were the teachings of Christ and His apostles; and, in these teachings, there was an element of moral power that shook carnal ordinances from their connection with spiritual religion, and made manifest to all men that there is a difference between those who serve God, and those who serve him not. Let that professing Christian beware, whose manner of life gives the lie to Gospel truth! But I wish to call attention to a few other Scripture texts on dancing, and to some remarks thereon by some of our best biblical scholars. On the passage, in connection with the parable of the prodigal son, which speaks of music and dancing, Mr. Barnes says: "In this case it was an expression of rejoicing. Our Lord expresses no opinion about its propriety. He simply states the fact, nor was there occasion for comment on it. His mentioning it cannot be pleaded for its lawfulness or propriety, any more than his mentioning the vice of the younger son or

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the wickedness of the Pharisees can be pleaded to justify their conduct." Mr. Barnes further says: "If the example of persons in Scripture be pleaded for dancing, it can be only for just such dances as they practiced—for sacred or triumphal occasions." Job, in speaking of the ungodly, says: "They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance." On this, Mr. Henry remarks: "Their children are not taught to pray, and seek religious knowledge, but they dance. Sensual pleasures are all the delights of carnal people; and as men are themselves, so they teach their children to be." "They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ." This is translated by Mr. Good as follows: "They trip merrily to the sound of the pipe." Mr. A. Clarke says: "The original is intended to convey the true notion of the gambols of the rustic nymphs and swains on festival occasions; and let it be observed that this is spoken of the children of those who say unto God: Depart from us; for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways. What is the Almighty, that we should serve him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto him? Is it any wonder that the children of such parents should be living to the flesh and serving the lusts of the flesh? neither they nor their parents know God, nor do they pray unto him." That music and dancing were sometimes employed for encouraging sensual delights is manifest from the following passage in Isaiah: "Take a harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered." On this passage, Sir John Chardin, an eminent oriental scholar, says: "The old prostitutes do nothing but sing, while the young ones dance; and animate them both by vocal and instrumental music."

"Nor harlot minstrel sings, when the rude sound
Tempts you with heavy heels to thump the ground."

It was a saying of Cicero, the greatest orator of Rome,—"No one dances unless he is either drunk or mad." Cicero was not a Christian, but he was a remarkably intelligent pagan; and it was on other ground than that of strict piety that he despised the dance; he thought it incompatible with an elevated and cultured intelligence.

The christian Church furnishes us with no examples of dancers in her communion, as patterns of piety. About the year 1760, a class of persons sprung up among the Methodists of Wales, who were called

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"*Jumpers.*" Their method of worship was a wild leaping upward in honor of the Lamb. Christ being called a *Lamb*, they would bound and leap like the animal lamb. This sect is now known as the "Shakers" or "Shaking Quakers." But, aside from this religious sect, no forms of dancing have been recognised in the Church of God, as compatible with true piety, since the passing away of Judaism and the establishment of the pure spiritual religion of Jesus Christ.

I have now pretty thoroughly canvassed the subject of dancing, so far as it has any connection with the social customs, or the religious worship of Bible times; and, in the course of the argument, we have shown what excited the indignation of Moses on the occasion referred to in the text. It was not the music and the dancing, but it was the *idolatry* unto which the people had turned. This was the great wrong in connection with that occasion. It had seemed to Moses that this people ought by this time to have been well established in the doctrine of one only living and true God. Had they not heard and seen enough to convince them? Had they not experienced enough of God's gracious deliverances to assure them that He alone is God, and besides Him there is no being to be called God? But here is Israel in acts of gross idolatry! The people have gone back to the gods of Egypt; and that, too, right in sight of the mountain where God revealed His awful majesty, in the lightnings that flashed and blazed, and the thunders that rolled about and shook the mountain! They have forgotten the plagues that fell on the Egyptians. They have forgotten their passage through the Red Sea. They have forgotten the Rock that gave them drink. They have forgotten the Hand that gave them bread and meat in the wilderness. Yes, forgotten all; and, now, they are dancing before a calf! Moses comes in sight of this folly, and he is seized with a feeling of despair; and he gives vent to his feelings in a burst of indignation. But was this thing in Moses excusable? We answer, yes. There are times when a religious teacher may be justified in a feeling of righteous indignation at the perversity of those who attempt to compromise religious truth, and to bring the cause of God down to strike hands in fellowship with the world. We have seen, too, in the course of the argument, that, whatever use may have been made of the dance in olden times, it was adapted only to the cultivation of the lower and less worthy emotions of our nature, while it left the higher and more spiritual emotions not only unimproved, but really made worse. Under the Gospel, we have seen

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that the worship of God is made more spiritual; carnal ordinances are abolished ; and we are taught not to live after the flesh, but after the spirit. "For they that are after the flesh, do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit." Now, if I see professing christians turning away from these Gospel truths, and going after carnal things, I am alarmed; I am alarmed for their own safety, and for the influence they will exert against spiritual religion. The dance is not a christian, but a pagan service; and, as such, it properly belongs to the idolaters of this world; and to join in their dance, is to be partakers in their idolatries. For this reason, I would sound an alarm against christians taking part in the dance. It is the beginning of a departure from spiritual religion. It is giving up a life of faith to walk according to the spirit of this world. It is withdrawing from the fellowship of the Three-One-God to walk in fellowship with the lovers of this world, and the enemies of God. If my manner appears earnest, it is because I have a zeal for the Lord, and for spiritual religion. But I have scarcely yet shown the heat of Moses, nor even the severe indignation of the lowly Jesus, who, with authority, drove the worldlings out of God's temple. His only apology was : "The zeal of the Lord's house hath eaten me up." Let persons who are disposed to charge ministers of religion with too much heat, consider whether they themselves have not provoked it; and whether the preacher could be held as innocent, if he did not cry aloud against the aggressions of Idolatry.

But it is often suggested that times are changing; that public sentiment *now* is not what it has been; and ministers ought to keep up with the times. In this active age, these seem to be very plausible suggestions; but I would have you consider whether the simple fact of change is any evidence of improvement. There was a change when the simplicity of pure Christianity gave place to the idolatries of Romanism; and in those days the great majority of the ministers of religion kept right up with the times. Was the Church of God, or the world, made any the better by this change? and was it any advantage to education, to morality, or to religion, that the ministers of the Church were obedient to the spirit of the times? Nay, but the opposite is true. When the change is toward improvement, then let ministers of the Gospel push to the front, and lead on; but, if the change is tending toward degeneracy, it is their business to beware of it, and sound the alarm. The

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great majority of Christendom now regard the days of Luther as the beginning of changes for the better; but those changes were begun by a return to primitive Christianity; it was a *going back* to Divine authority for the law of moral obligation. In times past, the people had turned away from God; away from God's word; away from Jesus Christ; they had made to themselves a pope, and they put him in the place of God, and would take his word rather than the word of God. Their idolatry was no better than that of Israel when they danced before the calf. This unholy union between Idolatry and Christianity was what brought in the *Dark Ages.* God and Mammon could not be wedded. Light and darkness would not intermingle. When the people made themselves a god, then the God of heaven left them; and the light of spiritual truth was hid within the dark folds of God's displeasure, to await a favorable opportunity for the showing of truth to men. When that period arrived, then came the word of the Lord to Luther, saying "Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the *old paths,* where is the *good* way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." They had gone out of the *right* way; they had made other paths, and the people and the priests were alike in darkness. Now they *must go back* to the old paths of *Bible* truth; and they *must walk* therein. This was the beginning of brighter ages. God again came down to dwell among men. Since then science has improved, and the entire literary world has been lifted to higher and grander planes of mental activity. But the spirit of idolatry is still in the world; and now, as ever, it is ready to offer a helping hand to such feeble Christians as want other pleasures than communion with God can give. But whatever revelations have been made in the advancement of science and general learning, it has as yet appeared from no source whatever that the spirit of the world is *now* in friendship with God. Nor is the love of the world, at this time, any more in harmony with true piety than it was when the Apostle John wrote these words: "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. Little children, keep yourselves from idols." But the following propositions are often urged with great persistence: "Young people are warm blooded, vivacious, and must have exercise; and they will seek amusements. Many of them are not Christians, yet they are well disposed, and very respectable young persons. Now, is it right for us to attempt to compel them to give up the pleasures which they delight in, because we ourselves do

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not delight in those pleasures?" But I submit these propositions have no bearing on the question under consideration. The question I have been presenting is not whether Christians should not *compel* all others to leave off idolatrous manners and customs, and conform to Christianity; but, whether those who profess to be Christians, may, with entire impunity, live and do according to the customs of the idolatrous world? As Christians, we may urge our religion upon the attention of the irreligious world, and persuade as many as we can to become Christians; not by showing them that the difference between a Christian and a worldling is so slight that no sacrifice is required; but, by making manifest in our lives that the elevating influences of true piety are more than a mere compensation for the required sacrifices. Christians are not made by force, but by persuasive teaching. Even religious parents cannot make Christians, *by force*, of their own children. But it is expected of Christian parents that they will bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Worldlings educate their children after the customs of the world; and it is expected of Christians that they will educate their children after the knowledge of Christ. But, if professing Christians school their children after the rudiments of an idolatrous world, it is likely they will dance.

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SERMON.

by Rev. G. H. Magoun, D.D., Bro. Iowa Co.

THE LOGIC OF OUR MISSIONS TO ALIEN RACES IN AMERICA.

"And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us."—Acts 17 : 26, 27.

The logic of our missionary work rests securely upon data contained in this passage. Five great propositions are here which sustain it—five great biblical propositions. They are found in no other book than the Bible, in no other religion than that which is at once both Jewish and Christian, which had long had an Old Testament, which was now coming to have a New Testament. The apostle who embodied these propositions in the "new doctrine" he preached to Epicureans and Stoics occupying for the time the council-seats of stone on Mars Hill, along with market-men and Athenian idlers, and here and there an Areopagite, had learned them from Moses and from Jesus. His discourse then and there was of a spiritual deity and a spiritual worship. His inference, two verses later, was against idolatry—the stately and glittering idolatry that crowded the market porticoes from which they had brought him, the hill, the Acropolis on his right, and summit and plain on every side with temples, altars, and statues. The sweep of his great argument takes in these two verses on its way. It has been said to embrace theology, anthropology, and Christology, and these two verses contain its anthropology. We take just so much out of the centre of his argument to show how it supports all missionary work, and especially the peculiar missionary work of this Association.

The first proposition affirms the common and equal divine origin of all men.

The words, "and hath made of one blood all nations," have been taken to mean our common essential humanity merely—that the race is one, and but one. They signify much more, the divine authorship of this—that the Godhead which is not like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven with art and man's device, *made* it of one. Paul takes in his hand here the flag Moses planted, and sets it up farther on. The au-

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thor of Genesis had written, And God said, Let us make man. The apostle to the Gentiles declares, And hath made of one blood. And he declares it to men who had no idea of complete national unity even, howsoever at any time or by whatsoever their tribes were bound together, much more of any unity essential to mankind.

If it were only the identity of our mental and moral nature which he asserts, this would be enough for the logic of missions. Inspiration in him might have contented itself with setting forth the spiritual unity of human beings, and a common worship and duty for all. Africans, Indians, and Chinese to-day, with their common phenomena of mind, by birth, language, legends, games, manners, assemblies, religious ideas, sacrifices, temples, festivals, would prove such a unity. If matter and mind are one, they would prove more—a physiological as well as psychological identity in the races. On the other hand, if matter and mind are diverse, these phenomena would establish only a presumption of physiological unity. But Paul—thinking nothing of a psychology or a physiology far more modern than himself—affirms in the most comprehensive sense our common divine origin. The highest proof of it is seen in the fact that negroes, red men, Mongolians perform the mental and moral acts of men, do business, make contracts, govern and are governed, sustain the personal human relations, form intuitive ideas, construct generalizations, pursue the processes of pure thought, do right and wrong, make, obey, and violate laws, commit crimes, suffer punishment, believe in God and in Christ. But there is lower proof enough besides.

"Blood" is taken here by interpreters figuratively, as if put for nature or race-constitution; used "in a slightly metaphorical sense," says one. But Paul might have said, "made of one soul or spirit," and he did not. Or he might have simply said "made of one"—omitting all such characterizing, specific words,* and then we should be obliged to supply his ellipsis in thought, with substance or kind of material. The sense would still be, made of one stuff or constitution—made men in distinction from other creatures—one in reason, feeling, will—personal and spiritual. But he does not omit the full and complete identity of men. If he did not know, we do, that if the doctrine of one blood goes, that of one soul would go soon after. Physically phrased here the brotherhood must needs be a thoroughgoing brotherhood. It takes in the peculiar constitution of the vital element as the lowest point in the divine causation, and so all above it—a common constitution for morals and religion —as all belonging to all men and to men alone.

* As some MSS. do, the Vatican Codex, for example, but the Sinaitic (Tischendorf) does not.

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The difference between human life and what is called life in other creatures—in animal or plant—is obvious enough, to man at least. And it was just as obvious as now before Paul's day. The molecule never knew itself as a molecule, or the globe itself as a globe, or the beast itself as a beast; but Africans, Indians, Chinese know that they are men, and that they and Americans are brothers. I think Paul uses the word "blood" in a comprehensive and not in a figurative sense. He does not take one thing for another entirely different, the two being mutually exclusive—or a part for the whole; but he takes the part *and* the whole, or in affirming of the part he affirms of the whole. As an Old Testament scholar, he knew from Leviticus at least, if not otherwise, that the life is in the blood. He must have held, as a Jew, that there is that in it which the blood of bulls and of goats can not supply, any more than it can be sacrifice for sin. He *did* say, when he wrote to the Christians of Corinth, "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds." Such facts do not depend upon anatomical or chemical science for being known; they are of ordinary observation. His inspired common sense, anticipating modern scholarship, masses the race religiously and naturally together. He leaves margin enough for our physiology to work in and show *how* all races are of one blood—one species of being, body and spirit. Of transfusion of blood, as known in recent science and in medical practice, he could have had not the slightest idea; that it is never really harmless to inject the contents of the veins of one species into the veins of another, when the corpuscles differ; that this most complex of the fluids of the body antedates organization; that every substance taken into the system passes through it; that the vital properties of the tissues depend upon its vital properties alone; that food, matter, protoplasm are good for nothing save as the element which is in the living blood—and living *human* blood—is added thereto, and brings them into subjection to itself; all this is far later knowledge. He had no more anticipation of it than that the science, so-called, which not long since denied the common origin of men would turn back on itself and declare the common origin of man and brute. His terse affirmation struck the plain open truth which overpasses all science—the complete and universal humanness of human nature, and all that comes out of this which the brute never reaches—beginning with what is peculiar in the physical constitution and life, and stretching upward to what is highest in reason and spirit.

The Father of all men sets up here, in this apostolic proposition, an outpost against inhumanity, oppression, lack of mercy, of equity,

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and of benevolent love among his creatures. The moral bulwark against these and all despising and injuring of our fellow-men is, of course, ever the strongest, especially as fortified by a divine authority and law and penalty; but this outpost has its use, and against it the waves of that sort of thinking, scientific or other, which ignores faith and hates religious duty and enervates even humanity, roll up at times and beat furiously and then subside. The moral argument for missions is the crowning one. It never fails. It is that which moves mightily secretaries, preachers, teachers, Bible-readers, which touches the heart of the wealthy metropolitan as he lays down the monthly missionary journal and signs a check in favor of the office from which it issues, which constrains the widow still to give her mite; but we have more than that. At the very threshold of all dehumanizing classifications that would exclude any race, like the three this Association cares for, from the pale of human sympathy and Christian charity, the remorseless materialist, the heartless oppressor, domestic or political, the lustful trader in the birthrights and virtue of other races, the unpitying buyer and seller of men, meets the divine dictum that establishes these races forever within that kind and gentle pale. The trampled races are as human as the most erect. The mixed races are as human as the pure. There is no people, howsoever obscure or degraded, or decimated and dwindled, that does not belong to the solidarity of humanity; that is not capable of society and culture and worship; that can not make treaties with other men, as brutes never did or can, and is not entitled to have them kept; that can not be brought to God; that is not the equal of others in the eye of his law; that has not a right to help from every other toward character, goodness, and all good.

The Athenian whim, held by the rabble as well as by the philosophers who challenged him in the Agora, that they were Autochthones, born of the soil, which chemical analysis and the book of Genesis, ages older, in a sense support, only showing that all men are likewise, and that there is no essential difference in soil or in men, doubtless recurred to the Apostle, thinking out his argument upon his feet upon Areopagus, for it bore hard upon him as a Jew addressing Greeks. He knew its sources well in feeling and in thought, knew well the doctrine, taught long in his native Tarsus, that all things are of God and in God, that the world is the life of God, and its beginning and phenomena the development of God; and the other doctrine that man's life and every thing lower that is called life had from the first a physical basis only; knew that the representatives of both on the stone seats before him—Stoical Pantheist, Epicurean Atheist—agreed in this, that soul is body, that

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matter only is real, that supremest God is original matter. He met both with this: You and all your fellow-men are offspring of that Creative Force which is Personal Spirit. Successors of long lines of thinkers and schools that had struggled with the question—now cast into the forefront again in our day—Has the material world potency in itself to develop all forms of existence? or is it vitalized by mind? he had announced to them the Bible truth of creation. The world is a series of forces, said the Stoic; a concourse of atoms, said the Epicurean. Matter and force are one, God is fire, air, ether, said the Stoic; every thing is from mechanical sources, the gods even are known through the atom-pictures and machinery of sense, and limited every way like men and things, nothing is an intentional arrangement of God, said the Epicurean, the framework of heaven itself is not his work. God made the world and all therein, says Paul, all that exists, giving to all life and breath and all things. Then turning to his whole audience as Greeks, without singling out the philosophers, he rebuked their pride of place and pride of race, and the materialism on which both rested, alike and together. A diversity of human origins he could no more tolerate than a diversity of gods. If merely material, indeed, they might be plural; if of divine creation, how could they be? If God is one, it is reasonable that all made in his image, with characteristics that compel classification together, are also; if they are one, he must be. Shall there be contempt for any of the same parentage within the same family lines? Could Greek polytheists be of better clay than the Jewish monotheist who brought them an infinitely higher religion and an infinitely gracious Gospel? And in removing the fancy of a select origin and a superior make out of the path of his argument against idolatry from a spiritual Creator, he gave us the common equal divine origin of men—spirit and body—as the first postulate of our argument for missions to neglected, depraved, and perishing races.

The second proposition affirms the divine distribution of races throughout the world as to place and time.

Taking Paul's words in their full strength, they involve the general right, under providence, of each portion of the human family to make its home anywhere on earth. Interpreters are divided in opinion whether the immediate object of the word "made" is the clause beginning, "of one blood," or the next clause beginning, "to dwell." Either way, the drift runs thus, with the infinitive of design, "And hath made every nation of men"—instead of "all nations"—to settle, "to house itself on the surface of the whole earth." There is more here than a bill of rights to all collectively; they vest in each distributively. And this because the divine Author of all alike

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has made assignment to each of its habitat and home. It was not accident, it was not physical necessity, it was not their own whim, it was not the injustice or violence of others that decided where any race should dwell, or when. It was Providence. It was a divine Sovereignty, wise and good, using all these and overruling them. To none of all the mob of mythological gods, superior or inferior, to none of their tutelary genii or demons, had Paul's hearers ever ascribed this kindly office. Alike they held any true doctrine of providence in abhorrence. Providence with them was simply human foresight, and that never determined the times or the bounds of their habitation. With whatever else they associated any design, it was never with this. Even Aristotle's notion of final cause never included it. The apostle preached in this regard "new doctrine." He had learned it from David in the 115th Psalm: "The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men." He had learned it from Moses in Deuteronomy, "Remember the days of old . . . when the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." In the original apportionment he had the seed that should serve him, and provision for them, in his eye. Nearly a thousand years before that song of Moses after the second law, when the dispersion of men occurred in the days of that son o Shem, whose name was Peleg, or Division, "for in his days was the earth divided," this was true; and nearly two centuries earlier also, when there "went forth of the ark three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread." At the feet of Gamaliel, if not in younger years, Paul had become familiar with all this, and the divine purpose in it. No Greek scholar was so learned, no sage so acute in tracing the causes of things as to know as much. Those before him might remember that the founders of the very schools they represented that day came from the East, from Samos in Asia, from Cyprus in the farther Mediterranean; that their own race had been—since Homer and the siege of Troy—not fixed, but movable; that all the Hellenic tribes had been time and again displaced in their early abodes; that cities founded by them, Eolic, Ionic, Dorian, lined the eastern shore of the Hellespont, famous cities, for whose freedom their fathers struggled with the might of Persia; that Greek colonies had spread in Africa, in Italy, in Spain, in Gaul. But that God governed this they understood not. Whatever else they knew or did not know of Attican communities long since consolidated into their own Athens, or of the time, place, or manner of the emigration of the planters of these to Greece, or of the relations

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to the Pelasgi who held the soil before, or of that great Aryan mother-race which the modern study of languages has discovered, and its migrations west, north, east, and south; "this babbler" whom they had encountered in the colonnades of the valley below could tell them of a register of nations older than any of their books and a divinely guided history of their distribution of which they had never heard: "this setter forth of strange gods" could show them a wisdom and goodness in the true God of which they had never dreamed. Of Javan or Kittim, their own progenitor, descendant of Japheth, son of Noah, they were ignorant. Of the three great historic roots of mankind after the flood, Shem, Ham, Japheth, the stable, the passionate, the progressive—of their establishment in Asia, Africa, and Europe respectively—of the formation of race-characteristics afterward—of the fruits of migration and environment, of geographic and climatic conditions, food, and methods of life, and modifications of physique and mental development resulting as guided by Him who determined the times and the bounds of men's habitations, they had not so much as conceived. That Providence colors the mental scenery as well as the skin; that the appointed environment of all of us—individuals and bodies of men—brings out in relief one element of our common human nature and represses another as God pleases; that Greece in part made Greeks, land, and sea, and changeful sky, just as Judea made Jews, and in part the history of each with its men and institutions made each, all under God; that distant Ethiopians and unknown inhabitants of the land of Sinim, and unimagined ancestors of our own aborigines, whether on this or some other continent then pursuing game, were under the same law; that both physical and mental conditions are only influences, divinely ordered or allowed, and mind is free, and man is responsible master of the situation still; what knew they of this? The Stoic sunk out of sight the natural conditions of existence and the varied shaping of men in his passion for iron, universal law: nothing can be other than it is; there are no individuals; the physical forces of the universe grind us all out as they must. The Epicurean made the individual supreme. The one held to necessity and fate, blind, cold, and hard. The other held to chance. The one had no room for providence. The other battled against all belief in it as the deadliest foe of mankind. The one believed in gods, so-called, who could not care for man; the other in gods who would not, whose happiness would be disturbed by the troubles of government and benevolence, "a society of Epicurean philosophers," one has well called them, living in exclusive contemplation of their own perfection and bliss, but utterly regardless of

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the world. But Paul preached to both, the grand and loving purpose of the one Father of all, clasping all in its mighty and tender arms. That purpose was too high and noble for polytheists such as they were to appreciate or comprehend. It distributed men into races, but did not separate the race. It militated in naught against their common parentage, but grew out of it. It was part of the one plan of the one Father. The same personal agency that made the world and made all men, and made all of one blood, placed them. It gave them whatever advantages of position they enjoyed or might come to enjoy anywhere on all the face of the earth; it laid upon them whatever chastening of disadvantage for ends beyond advantage or disadvantage themselves. National prosperity and national lack, like individual, he had appointed for results relating to character. For these, time and place were fixed. "He increaseth the nations, and destroyeth them: he enlargeth the nations, and straiteneth them again."

This new "doctrine" of the Creator's distribution of races I have called a bill of rights. It is one with the twice-given commission in Genesis, "Replenish the earth." These both conveyed territorial rights, inalienable, equal, divine. It struck at the roots of all caste founded on landed monopoly, as it has chiefly been, the caste of the manor and the plantation, of the lord and the slaveholder, of "those who lay field to field till there is no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." It set the will and holiness of God, as well as the need of man, against invasion and trespass. The primeval intent manifestly was that each and every stock should peaceably expand as fast and as far as it could usefully therefor occupy the soil. None are to be dispossessed by the coveting of any and turned out to waste and perish. The earth unoccupied is for any and all. But its benefits are to remain in the hands of those whose peaceful industry secured them. Warlike invasions and wresting of territory, like those the fathers of these Greeks and ours gloried in, are audacious sins against the Most High. The selfishness that interferes with the right development of any anywhere strikes the bar of the eternal plan. Nothing but a benevolent divine promise, nothing but an express divine command—Go in and possess the land, *I* will drive them out from before thee—like that which came to Israel touching Canaan through Moses, can ever authorize one people to displace another. He would not give Israel the land of Esau, or that of Moab, "not so much as a foot-breadth." Only he who "set all the borders of the earth," the original sovereign Owner of the whole globe, can thus alienate any portion of it, or deprive those to whom it belongs of its fruits. Three races stand out in history as the vic-

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tims of atrocious wrong on the part of the Anglo-Saxon race, and atrocious sin against the ordinances of heaven, the savages from whom in many cases American soil has been violently or fraudulently alienated, the Chinese whose land was forced open with awful demoralization and blood, the Africans whom English slave-making cupidity brought to our shores and American cupidity robbed and spoiled for two hundred years. The logic of missions, which is the logic of godliness and benevolence, enforces the truths Paul taught, as the logic of selfish greed, their opposite, leads men to resist and outrage them. These truths include the most insignificant divisions of mankind as well as those that rise to the rank of true nations—fragments and remains of races as well as whole peoples, and these in foreign climes as well as where they were born. There are hunters and pioneers, west of us, who can not see in their madness for furs and lands and gold, that their Maker hath determined the country of the Black Hills to the Sioux as the bounds of their habitation; there are business men and employees toward the Pacific who can not understand that God hath given home and rights in California to some Chinese; there are politicians and lovers of gain all over the disturbed and wretched South who will not realize that to all Freedmen the Divine Constitution as well as the Constitution of the United States, and at an incalculably earlier day, secured the title to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It must be added here that the integrity of this great principle is not impaired by any departures of men from it, by any assaults, any attempts to overthrow it. The eternal plan comprehends in itself all violations of the benevolent partition of the earth by our heavenly Father. There is piety in resisting and repairing these—where it can be—and restoring equity and well-being to the oppressed and wronged; there is more piety in carrying out—where this can not be—that good purpose of Heaven toward them which still and ever stands. Man writes cruelty and fraud over the face of history, but underneath, as in ancient palimpsests, there is to be found written the gracious word and true testament of God. His loving design does not consist in, does not always sanction the agencies it seems to use—does not sanction at all those it overrules and bends and thwarts to bring about its eventual accomplishment. Hath not the potter power over the clay? Nor will any one be staggered at this, or ask, Why doth he yet find fault, for who hath resisted his will? who has ever seen how the perfidy and infamous sin of Judas in betraying Christ was within the jurisdiction of the government against which it was leveled, and was swept into the service of the atonement made for sinners by Him who, being delivered by the determinate counsel and

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foreknowledge of God, was taken, and by wicked hands was crucified and slain.

The third proposition affirms the end of the divine plan to have been the production of godly character in all the races, however placed.

God's aim here is far above the common good of men, temporally and for the earth, that is, their religious well-being, each and all—not land-ownership with its benefits, but piety; not a just share in the plantations and prairies and placers, but that they may become themselves just men and sons of God. The human family was for the sake of his Church in his counsels, and that before the foundation of the world. His end is not character alone, but the highest possible character. Man's right to be, and to be at any time as and where he is, no more comes from Him than it leads up to Him. Our supremest, most royal right is to find him. All rights lead to right; all right to the Infinitely Righteous. Will in us is power, and can use all powers of body and other powers of mind; can use also those of other bodies of matter and of other minds. But such power, that once began, must have originated in power. Uniformity, which some would substitute for it—and for God—is but the index of power. Succession in time is naught without relation to power. Existence itself points to power, in the last analysis to God's power, to explain itself. We can understand each other; we can understand, in measure, the world. But what takes mind to understand must have taken mind to be as it is and as it is understood; must have taken mind to cause to be at all. Wherever we see plan, we must needs think Him who planned. The relation between causes and any form of good, derived from our environment, is the exponent, if not of goodness, of forethought. Pain also that begets virtue is the exponent of both.

> "There is no tree that rears its crest,
> No fern or flower that cleaves the sod,
> No bird that sings above its nest,
> But tries to speak the name of God,
> And dies when it has done its best."

No man, no race is beyond or below some portions and aspects of this wide argument. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Were this not so, then there were no superstition, not even an altar to any unknown God. God made men of one blood to people the earth, that they should together seek him. The intent is all-comprehensive and emphatic. Otherwise, providential Wisdom does not move along the same lines as creative Wisdom. Otherwise, he

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caused the races for a fit and worthy end, and abandoned it as soon as he had caused them. The equality with which Paul started in the first proposition strikes through to the last. It is the very unity of God's sublime and constant end. Without this the multitude whom no man can number could never be gathered from all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues. For high ends no Greek doubted that his own race existed. But never till he heard Paul had he learned how high, and that all others existed for ends as high. From none can these be concealed if they have a mind to seek for them. The pure in heart shall see Him. He that loveth is born of him, and knoweth him. He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. But this is more than merely to reach any degree of knowledge, more than merely to know at all. Without much of this God himself may be found to salvation. We are not held to higher conceptions of him than are possible in our circumstances, than we can compass within the times appointed and the bounds of our habitation The notion that different minds have different conceptions of Deity has so much of truth in it as this: it holds in non-essential attributes, while all can know him as he essentially is; but his plan goes farther than this—that all shall defer to, love, and obey him. No perfect idea of the Godhead or of duty is indispensable to this. The devout Cornelius, when he first meets an apostle at Cæsarea, the sainted John upon Patmos, when in vision, his fellow-servant, one of his brethren the prophets, showed him wondrous things, were ready to offer to creatures the worship that belongs to the Most High alone. But we must know that he is, and must have a heart for him. This universal possibility of piety is for all places where men house themselves. It is for all junctures of their history, for all the times appointed for their changes of habitation. In any age, in any clime, the external world is enough for piety; the internal world is enough. Both require a God, as well as point out one. Changes of human situation work no change in moral obligation, dependence, want. These, if a man legitimately, ingenuously feels them, cry out for the Heavenly Father. If, as one of the notions of the day runs, an ethical and spiritual nature, even in germ, came to man only in the long and slow evolution of ages, then for this He determined the times before appointed. But man, as man, no more lacks this nature in any far past, than he lacks disclosures of his glorious Author within the determined bounds of his habitation in any remote corner of the world.

The fourth proposition affirms the natural advantages of all the races in place and time for becoming assimilated to God.

We are discovering that upon a single small island of the sea all the

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sciences can be substantially learned and illustrated; and all the religious virtues could be as well. On Penikese some of the organic species can not be found, but the prayer of the silent naturalist could go up to the Infinite One whose beautiful and thoughtful plan he explored and taught with filial love. In the solitudes of Selkirk's place of exile the human waif might find no fellow-man, but an Enoch could have walked with God. To be alone with nature is to be alone with Him. Anywhere the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are *clearly* seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead, that they may be without excuse. Everywhere in times past he suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; nevertheless, he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. Nowhere is the soul obliged by aught but guilt to cry vainly, Oh! that I knew where I might find Him, that I might come even to his seat. In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. The oriental mind is occidentalized in the course of historic migration; the occidental mind orients itself again in the West; but whether it shall turn to the Sun of Righteousness, something more radical than such changes must decide. Place and time make no man a worshiper; nor can he be prevented from being one when these shall cease —when the heaven is departed as a scroll that is rolled together, and every mountain and island are moved out of their places. But to every individual his peculiar relations in the world, his occupations, his objects of study, his physical status, the things most familiar to *him* are fitted to supply peculiar proofs, suggestions, reminders of the Author of the Universe, of the forethought, of the infinite resource, of the inappreciable fullness and quickness of love, of the instant and invariable preference for righteous character, which are His alone—and so it is with races. The intent that all should seek assimilation to Him is written openly upon their capacity, their opportunities, their motives to do so. He is not so far from any as sin, either barbarous or civilized, puts him. Not so far as guilty fear and shame put him. Not so far as even ignorance and stupidity put him. He is far only from wickedness. And not so far even from that in the most brutal selfishness without the proud pale of civilization, in the most refined and exquisite iniquity within it, as that cruel metaphysics which calls itself physics nowadays would argue, which may possibly allow the shadow of his personality to fall where mere crude matter began millions of ages ago—never having come nigh since to make man, give him his daily bread, deliver his Son for our redemption,

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or raise Him for our justification. That he was equally near to Greek and to Jew, Paul did not here allege; but that each has his advantages from the divine nearness. Is there some mystic sense in which he is actually nearer to each and all since the atoning death of Christ? I know not. But this I know, that He is more sensibly near when Jew and Greek seek him; that the Desire of all nations could not be in the world, and through Him coming to the Father, not be easier; that as there are special and before unimagined developments of divine character in the Gospel, so there are special possibilities of godly human character because of it; that there are none so aside from the world's best progress but that they may be members of Christ's body, "fitly joined together and compacted" with those far more advanced; that his making himself of no reputation and coming in the humblest and meanest of human conditions in his time were emblematic, and somehow now—blessed be his name!—he touches *all* lowliest conditions; that uncouth, exaggerated, distorted, unseemly expressions of the religious faculties, if they be sincere and real, are surely prehensile and fasten on him; that any thing that *is* in godliness he will see—that every thing that burns with that flame—ever so obstructed and feeble—he will recognize. The bruised reed he will not break, the smoking flax he will not quench. There is a system of grace in the world, and infinite motives for its being proclaimed to every child of Adam, and infinite adaptabilities to those to whom civilization can not adapt itself, that are felt when civilization can not make itself felt, and go where it can not go. The rudeness of the non-Caucasian races places them no farther from truth and inspiration and pardon in God's plan than refinement places the Anglo-Saxon. His people are compassionately near to the unevangelized, and growing nearer every day, and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost through them. If not interrupted when he came to the resurrection and the judgment, Paul would have gone on to show this, and, with all fervor and love, rising with the might of his argument, bring it home to his hearers' hearts.

The fifth proposition affirms the liability of all men, under this kind and equitable plan, to an utter failure in respect to the ends of their creation and God's providence over them.

It lay in that courtesy and skill which—in the theology of Paul's address—set out with recognizing the Athenian carefulness in religion, and closed with a religious quotation from certain of their own poets, not to make this liability prominent or positive. It drops into an intermediate clause between his last two declarations, touching God's way with the nations—equally connected with both, not

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specially with either—or, if so, with the last, and is put hypothetically. "If haply they might grope after him, and find him." The figure is that of a blind man seeking an object by the first and rudest of the senses in the dark. In the circumstances, he could not have made it stronger or more striking. The bare possibility of success stands, in his meaning, for well-nigh universal failure, if men are left to themselves. Intellect is the groping faculty in the soul, but the moral and spiritual nature is the finding-power in religion. In other words, the intellect finds, respectively, the intellect of God, the heart must find his heart, the will his will. But all may fail. In changing here to a hypothetical form of speech, the apostle recognizes the religious ignorance of nature, and the wide, uniform failure of man's spiritual search. It is possible, in seeking the true God, to find a false one. It is possible to find none. It is the fool of Caucasian stock, and every other, who has said in his heart, No God. It is the wicked everywhere who say, We desire not a knowledge of thy ways. Israel itself falls so low as to protest to the prophets, Get ye out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us. Descendants of generations of scholars and artists, the lives of these cultured and progressive sons of Japheth were as densely sinful as those of any of the most stagnant children of Shem, or the most sensuous offspring of Ham. Dynamic or mechanical, their philosophies were as packed with errors, absurdities, falsities, suicidal inconsistencies of belief, as ever were rough creeds, taught by medicine-men of our wilds, as ever crystallized in the books of Confucius or Mencius, as ever were handed down by centuries of barbarism to centuries of slavery. They deified every thing that man could put to his use, just as moderns make it the criterion and supreme element of Deity, that he promote the enjoyment of man. A Stoic poet, referred to by Paul, conceived all life as beginning in the sun. Jupiter himself shared his honors with fruits and wine and all earthly utilities. Man's relation to man was his chief one. The gods exist, as men do, for the sake of their relations. Even to the better teachers of earlier Greece, the stars were eternal and immutable as the gods. And these people wallowed in the filth of idolatry. They ignored immortality, and therefore responsibility and penalty for sin. "What a distance," says Heeren, "between the Jupiter of Phidias and an Indian idol." But dropping the element of beauty, which is not intuitively divine, and which streamed into the mind of a Greek at every pore, the Indian of the East or the Indian of the West has been no more an idolater than he, no more prone to make God visible in somewhat of man's device, or serve him with men's hands,

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as though he needed any thing. The peculiar perversions of the religious sentiments in the three races are shocking—they are more than grotesque and disgusting—they are horrible. But the red man's superstitions, the African's fetish, the Chinaman's joss-house should move no wonder, when we remember how our apostle's eye rested on a world that by wisdom knew not God; how the richest culture of science and the noblest acumen of philosophy had already combined, and combine again now, to expel the true God from so much as thought. The low surf of savageism has no sound of that Blessed Name in its sullen wash; but ah! the topmost waves of our enlightenment dash angrily against the proof of his being and the supports of his throne. The new elaborate comparative study of religions, and the new exhaustive analysis of primitive culture in faiths and worships, both sustain Paul's propositions at large, and the parenthesis bosomed in them. They show that it is possible for man to reach the root-truths of theism under gross, offensive forms of superstition, that their elements are within the grasp of all, and that few have so worked them out or been so touched by them as to achieve thereby a character of purity and piety. In some tongues it is difficult so much as to convey them. The peculiar and uttermost ruin that can come upon the religious capacities, what is like it? But one sin, one error, accounts for all after ones. These are easy after that. The darkness of human story is here and there tinted, and even lustrous with celestial light, but, for the most part, the recorded statement to the Romans obtains, "When they knew God, they glorified him not as God." Nay, more, the special, extraordinary facilities of the Gospel fail with men.

THEREFORE—it is the inference that follows—THEREFORE, our missions to the three races. It is not a mere logical proposition—it is a work, and a body of living, on-going facts. All the races must have the Bible, the Law of Jehovah, the Gospel of Christ the Son. So Paul was in Athens now on a missionary journey. He had come to help these misled Greeks seek and find "the unknown God." This Cilician tent-maker was there to show them how Japheth should enter the tents of Shem; this pupil of the Scribes, to bestow upon them the law that came by Moses, and the grace and truth that came by Christ. The faith of Palestine was here to cleanse Greek culture and save Greek souls. Stoicism and Epicureanism cured no political or moral corruption. God in Christ must reconcile the world unto himself. So complete and mighty are Paul's premises that, if we had no Gospel, we should be perfectly bound to help all races become assimilated to Infinite Holiness. In that case, in place of this Association, for example, we must have something else, not to evangelize, but

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to theologize and moralize men; to rescue them from the filth of their polytheism, and save them from their characteristic sins. We should be bound to send the truth, and men and women with it. Missions would still be our duty. To redeem, would have no meaning but to cleanse the befouled religiousness of men, to lift up their capacity for faith, to unite worship and righteousness in their thought and life, to fasten their highest love on the Highest, and bind them to their supreme service and end would still mean the same. Nothing Paul said that day or would have gone on to say, but our Indians, Freedmen, Mongolians need and can know. Nothing it is not easy for them to learn by heart and live by, if they are groping after God. We *must* SEND THEM THE GOSPEL. The logic of our missions is simply the logic of the blessed divine purpose. What is due to that alone is no less than all we are doing; it is vastly more. All the civilizing, schooling, training in the arts and humanities, which will help accomplish this, is our simple and elementary duty. Very significant it is that this Association—whose first object is to preach the Gospel to them—has led the way so clearly and nobly in all these. The offspring of Ham are here in our land, and here now for this, and for nothing beyond this, that they may seek the Lord, and we are here to lead them to seek him, and to help them to find him.

From the multitude of subordinate and auxiliary considerations crowding upon my thoughts, that support this inevitable and irrefragable conclusion, I select two for a closing word.

I. Christian symmetry and consistency in our missionary work at large.

Shall the Gospel be borne from this land to non-Caucasian races in the ends of the earth, and shall they the bounds of whose habitation and the times appointed coincide with our own be omitted? If so, why? What Christian hand can refuse to bear, what Christian lips to speak to them—if it be only possible—the message of eternal life?

II. The emergency of the hour. It is a dark one for the three races. It seems the very crisis of fate. But the denser the darkness, the more are we bound to give them the light. The great argument is before you. It is one and all divine. But the incitements that press the same way are many. Every conversion to Christ among these people is one of one kind. Every outrage upon them is one of another. Each time an Indian is corrupted or defrauded, each instance of the brutal abuse of Chinese, each assassination of a freedman, brings home to us our duty afresh. Whippings, burnings, hangings, shootings, they pile the applications of the argument heaven-high! These wards of the nation are here by allotment for our Christian work for them, and we are here for that.

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In respect to one class of them, besides moral wrongs, we have made great civic mistakes. We should have punished the enemies of union and liberty; we should have protected completely the lawful and equal rights of the Freedmen. *This* ought we to have done, and not to leave *the other* undone. There has been a series of compound fractures in the setting of the Southern bone. But the South must now be all regenerated by Christian truth and love. What else can take the blueness out of these present wounds? Liberty is mischievous without law; law is worthless without moral principle; moral principle is weak without the fear of God; the fear of God is lifeless without the love of Christ. We are doing more for the Freedmen in converting than in freeing them; more for the ex-masters in leading them to renounce sin than in forcing them to give up slaveholding. We did not shirk that duty, we can not this. And having taken up this work, the churches of this land can not lay it down. Having put their hand to this plow of spiritual reconstruction, they can not so much as look back.

Least of all, can the Congregational churches, representatives of the purest and highest Christian freedom. We were allowed of God to be put in trust of this chiefly for the injured and the oppressed. A dozen years ago, at the anniversary of another missionary society, I said of "the apostasy of the South," civil and religious, that but one thing could cure it—"the Puritan faith, which kept our freedom vigorous and uncorrupt." That is more manifest to-day. It will be incalculably more so after a dozen years more of Ku-Klux and White Leagues. Make the Freedman an intelligent and consistent Christian, after the pattern of our Puritan fathers, and he can not be oppressed; make his old master one, and he can not oppress him. So of all the alien races in our land, we have in our hands a sovereign remedy for their ills. Freely we have received, and freely we must give.

Are the bloody and hideous outrages of the hour many? When Death and Hades give up the dead that are in them, sent unshrived out of the world during the dark and covert *régime* of slavery, shall we not rather say few? Are the obstacles to our duty stubborn, bitter, perilous? Think of what we overcame in the Rebellion through God. Shall *iron* now break the Northern iron and the steel? Shall not the new miseries of those we save confirm the Christian judgment and warm the Christian heart? No better place than this for these questions, this city where, a dozen years since, loyal and devoted Iowa began to organize her volunteers, one tenth of her whole numbers—religiously paying her tithe in Mosaic proportion—to put down that lesser rebellion, the strength of which was in this greater one against God, and justice, and love, that rages still. The

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weapons of our warfare now are not carnal, but shall they not be mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds? The peculiar Christian experience and Christian spirit in which this work was born are yet in our churches. The grace of giving to it more and more abounds. The shining though unobtrusive grace of martyrdom still savors the life, the labors, the death of many a laborer. The crowning gift of the Spirit is bestowed upon our toils. We may have to vary our methods, reshape and perfect our policy. We have done it before. The oldest and most stable of our missionary societies has made radical changes, as wisdom dictated. An organization so flexible as this, so peculiarly close to the churches, so pre-eminently made for Christian exigencies, may be relied on to mould itself to the exact needs of the hour. We may change our processes—advance will require it—but we must only enlarge our resources and our scope. We can not relax in our great task for Christ and his down-trodden ones. We are to carry it on till

> "People and realms of every tongue
> Dwell on His love with sweetest song."

We are to carry it on till for the suffering and perishing souls of the alien races in this land the blessed Redeemer shall see of the travail of *His* soul, and shall be satisfied.

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ANNUAL DISCOURSE,

BY REV. E. N. KIRK, D.D.

ONLY ONE HUMAN RACE.

BRETHREN: The enemies of the African race are now disarmed by the military power of our government. But the moral conflict still rages, nor will it terminate until a false public sentiment shall equally have been subdued. Let us, then, wield against it this sword of the Spirit, which I find in the old armory on the shelf marked:

ACTS 17: 26: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the bounds of their habitation."

This weapon was first used by our great champion Paul, in his celebrated attack on the Athenian philosophy on Mars' Hill.

It should be remembered that he did not address the sages of Greece as a physiologist, but as a Christian Apostle; teaching not anatomy, but charity. He was not giving his hearers the results of "cadaveric autopsy," when thus declaring the identity of the blood in the human races; but, attacking one of the abominable theories of heathenism; announcing a truth which even the acute Grecian intellect had failed to discern—a truth which confronted two of the fundamental errors of its theology. He announced to that Athenian audience a Creator, one Creator of all men; one God, in whose underived essence are concentrated all, and infinitely more than all the attributes their theology had divided and distributed among the several deities of the Parthenon. He exhibited man in the sublime relation he occupies as a citizen of God's empire. He exhibited the human race and its unity, not the product of a soil or a country, not an accident; but the child of one Father in heaven. In this he corrected the proud and arrogant theory of the Athenians, that they were Autocthones, sprung from the sacred soil. He declared that all the tribes of men are distributed over the world by one and the same paternal oversight; implying that this was de-

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signed, not to divide and alienate the several races, but to promote their common good; as any patrimony is divided among the children of a family for both their common and their individual benefit. In a word, the Apostle here announces

OUR COMMON MANHOOD.

I now bring it before you, not to advance the boundary of science, nor even to distribute its treasures; not to communicate a single fact with which you may not be well acquainted. My purpose is entirely practical. And it is on its practical side I now invite you to contemplate this subject. Let us, then, notice in what consists,

I. *The identity of the human race.*—It is strange that any one can have failed to discern the distinguishing endowments of manhood, to mark the definite line that separates man from the inferior races; or can have questioned whether the difference is in kind or only in degree; that even scientific men have claimed to find their progenitor in the squash, and themselves to be monkeys minus the tail; that they have failed to see that a gulf, impassable, lies between man and the most intelligent quadruped. But, strange as it is, we can account for it: it is a necessary consequence of our apostasy from God, that we should be untrue to ourselves. It would be easy to state fifty distinct qualities, properties, and relations monopolized by man. It may, however, suffice our purpose to consider them in a few classes. We notice,

1. *His physical peculiarities.*—While man combines in himself the mineral, vegetable, and animal, he is infinitely superior to them all; sublimating in his own person all these orders of existence to their loftiest uses; linking the material to the spiritual, the earthly to the angelical, the mundane to the celestial, the finite to the infinite.

From all the other distinguishing features we select one, and that the hand, as our badge. Whenever you find a class of animals that has not a developed thumb, you find a class that is not human. Mr. Roget says, (Bridg. Treat. Roget, vol. i. 314,) "It is only in man that the fore (upper) extremities are exempted from the office of supporting and moving the body, and are at liberty to be applied to other purposes, and employed as instruments of prehension and touch. In the power of executing an infinite variety of movements, and of action requiring either strength, delicacy, or precision, the human arm and hand, considered in their mechanism alone, are structures of unrivaled excellence."

We may say, then, that whatever by its nature lacks a thumb, that is, a fifth finger coming squarely in front of the other four, face to face, has not the family-badge; the right blood is not in it. Our human blood always flows through the thumb, because the thumb is

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the indispensable instrument of art and civilization. By it we handle the pen, the pencil, the sword, the knife, the ax, the graver, the helm, the rope, the chisel, the trowel, the spade, the organ. Monkeys and dogs may imitate us; but they can not build the Parthenon or sculpture the Apollo, paint the Transfiguration, write the Æneid, telegraph thought through space swifter than wind, span the rivers, or navigate the seas.

If any of you, having a facial angle somewhat acute, a cuticle inclined to the sable, have been told that your skin indicates you are not a man, hold up your *thumb*, and silence the slanderer. If your hand is crowned with a fully-developed thumb, go on your way rejoicing; you belong to our family—you are not a gorilla, but a man. If any one ever questions your manhood, show him that you can handle the needle, the pen. Write your name, and ask him: "Am I not a brother?"

If you should meet two objects; one of them using its hands as feet, call that an animal; but the other, walking erect, call it a man, even if its hair should be red or gray, (which is not the classic color,) its skin white, with a tinge of carnation, or even olive, or black.

But we leave the physical, to speak of higher things; to run over an inventory of the family possessions.

2. *The intellectual faculties* distinguish man; some of them absolutely; others, in their combinations and degrees.

Reason is one, including the capacity to recognize spiritual existence. Who believes that a horse or an orang-outang knows what spirit is? Reason is the foundation of general knowledge and of reasoning, because by it we intuitively believe first principles or axioms. By it we recognize the Infinite.

Reasoning is another, or the discursive faculty by which one proposition is proved by other propositions. Judgment is another; by which testimony is weighed, by which comparisons are made. It is the faculty that uses the words long, beautiful, deformed, and all other adjectives and epithets.

Imagination, or the power of intellectual creation, by which a poem or pleasure-garden is constructed. Abstraction and generalization, by which we classify objects and persons.

Memory we share with some brutes, but in such form and degree as to make it, in reality, another faculty. Man remembers dates, processes of reasoning, events, history, poetry. Foresight is feebly manifested in some brutes and insects; but in man, it is the capacity of deriving motives to action, from his endless future.

Articulate language, with all its beauty and power, is an endowment totally human, however brutes may utter their sentiments in the coarse sounds of the barnyard, or the song of the mocking-bird.

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Artificial language is another distinction of the human race, in both the peculiar and exquisite organs which produce it, and which appreciate it, and in the mind that employs it. And some of these languages are found, among the ruder tribes of Africa and America, evincing a refinement of thought which ill accords with the present condition of the people there.

3. *The moral faculties characterize Man.*—He has a conscience or moral sense; not only distinguishing right from wrong, but appreciating moral beauty and deformity; judging character; estimating actions by motives; anticipating the scrutiny of the final judgment, and its awards. Man is also distinguished by

4. *His social qualities.*—Many animals are gregarious. Bees and ants form organized companies, but man alone can make what man would call society, with its thousand delicate relations, its vast ramifications, its broad and various play of intellectual and moral forces. Man adds to these,

5. *The capacity for boundless progress.*—Isaac Newton can lie in his cradle a helpless infant, having not an idea in his mind. He can grow into an intellectual stature that is gigantic. Our Saxon ancestors were barbarians; their descendants have made vast advances beyond their condition.

You meet a Feejean, and are puzzled by him, not knowing whether he is a brute or a man. Bring him and his child and his young horse to a Christian family in America; try to educate both the colt and the boy, and see whether the Creator has not drawn an eternal cordon of separation between the lowest specimen of the human races and the highest of the brutes, in this exhaustless capacity for improvement. Man is also distinguished by

6. *His relations to God and the Universe.*—He is a child of God, made for the moral government of God. As one has said of the stars, we may say of the animals: "God never gave them the ten commandments." The horse, the ape, or the elephant, can never say to God, "Abba, Father." A day of judgment is not revealed to the animals, with an eternity of retribution beyond it—this is the prerogative of man. Love to God is his privilege; it is the attainment of the good, possible to all men.

Man is a religious being. He may worship a stone or a crocodile; it is still the religious sentiment working outward. What we call superstition may be considered part of the religion of man; as the Bassoutous of Africa beautifully express it—superstition is a truth turned into a false track.

You never find a monkey worshiping any thing. Then, also,

7. *Man's relations to nature distinguish him.*—Man is the lord of creation. He can subdue the forces of nature; he can make all

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the inferior races subordinate and serviceable. No matter what the color of his skin or the angle of his forehead, he can build a ship, and call it the Great Eastern; he can make a compass, and steer a ship by it at night, away from Sumter, the rebel fortress, to a loyal fleet; he can level mountains, and raise up valleys; dry up marshes, bridge over rivers, and make a railroad or a telegraph to span a continent.

The original command to him was: "Replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

That was the original enfeoffment of the race, the deed of grant by which man obtained the fee-simple of this vast estate. This was the act of royalty endowing man with lordship and authority, with right to enter and use this whole portion of God's domains for his own purposes. And wherever you find a being that can read, or be taught to read and understand that title-deed, and use these rights, you find a man.

And I would now mention but one other distinctive feature of manhood:

8. *God's peculiar treatment of Man.* — On this point we can ask no leave of material science, but take the inspired book for our guide, and affirm several facts. All the generations of men, for the last four thousand years, were saved in the same ark, from the flood that drowned a world. Every genealogical record, to be complete, must begin with Noah. Every genealogical tree has its roots in that ark. We all meet there around the one family altar; kings, beggars, House of Hapsburg, cannibal of the South Sea, Wade Hampton, and Pompey. And again, when God would save the world His Son, took on Him our common nature. He became a Jew, but that was incidental; the essential fact is, he became a man. Whenever, then, you find a man, you find a being whose nature the Son of God has taken into eternal unity with Deity. This is the crown that adorns the brow of every member of our race. God has recognized no distinction there. His Son assumed the nature of neither animal nor angel, but man. Then again in consequence of this, the Gospel is God's offer to all men, of eternal life, on the same conditions: Believe, and thou art saved. Whoever can believe in Christ must be a man. There are not two kinds of pardon, one for a rich man and another for a poor man; two crosses; two fountains for the cleansing of the soul; two gates and two narrow paths to heaven; two Bibles; two mercy-seats; two Saviours; one heaven for the white man and another for the black man. One, one, one; all through time, all through eternity. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." God hath made, not of two, or ten, but of one blood, all nations of men. And

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he has carried the same unity through his method of salvation. But it is demanded: do not

DIVERSITIES EXIST?

They do. I understand them to be of three kinds: differences in the bony structure; in certain superficial secretions; in the temperament. So far as I am informed, this difference, however, does not extend to a single vital organ, or to the composition or functions of the brain, to a degree that necessitates an essential inferiority in any branch of the race. But, what is vital to our purpose, these diversities leave intact every one of those distinguishing features of manhood which I have now been enumerating and describing.

These diversities evidently were not designed to promote pride in one part of the race, and a degrading sense of inferiority in another, any more than the delicacy of woman in contrast with the robustness of man was designed for this end. They are a part of the beneficent plan of God, by which men are adapted to obey the law of mutual love, and for the promotion of our common benefit. Their principal design seems to have been to secure the religious development of mankind; one race excelling in the sentimental adaptation to religion, the other, in the intellectual; one, imparting; another, receiving, making superiority of endowment in races, as in a single family, promote the benevolence of the stronger, and the grateful dependence of the weaker.

But before leaving this part of our subject, permit me to offer my salutations to physiological science, especially to such of its representatives as have labored to demonstrate the plurality of species in the human race.

Men of material science, why should you and the men of faith ever oppose each other? The ends you seek are entirely harmonious, though diverse, and reached by different processes. Both aim at elevating man; one, by employing and expanding the intellect; the other, by employing the moral faculty. The one gets at facts by believing its material senses and the testimony of man; the other, by believing its moral sense and the testimony of God. The one advances the material interests of man; the other, his moral, social, and immortal welfare.

Do not indulge the vain fancy that science can look down on Scripture; that the dissecting-room is essentially a better place or a more attractive place, than the sanctuary; that the scholar stands on any firmer foundation than the saint. Both are mere interpreters of a book; each has his Scripture, from whence all his particular knowledge is derived. Neither invents the facts of his creed, neither invents the ultimate and eternal principles which lie at the root of all

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he believes. Both *find* them, and believe them as they find them, whether revealed by words, or by stars and stones. Faith is as much a human faculty as sight or reasoning, and no more liable to deceive us than they.

Nay, if you urge us to the comparison, we shall go still farther, and say there is a nobler science than that of material forms and forces; a science standing on higher ground than yours, employing nobler faculties, handling loftier themes, effecting an infinitely higher good than yours.

We may live harmoniously together, but we have no fears of a contest, except that it wastes strength, disturbs good fellowship, and diverts many from more useful pursuits.

Let science and faith recognize their peculiar and coördinate spheres, and accord each other a full measure of respect. Legitimately they have no quarrel with each other. For instance, science does not contradict this doctrine of Paul. Science says she finds the pigments in the skin of the African, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian races to differ from each other. Paul says nothing to the contrary. He does not affirm that God made all men with the same coloring matter under the skin. It is not the pigments of which he here says one word. It is the blood of men of which he affirms identity or unity. Science says she can trace every race of men back to certain habitats or places of their original dwelling. Very well; be it so. Scripture affirms nothing contrary to that, but distinctly admits that there is a habitat for each race, and affirms that God made each nation to dwell in its own. It does not affirm that God made every nation inhabit the same country. It affirms identity only of the blood, and affirms that the race made of one blood were to dwell all over the face of the earth.

While, as before remarked, the Apostle was not lecturing on anatomy to the philosophers of Athens, but on moral and religious principles, and therefore used the word blood in its figurative sense, yet even if Scripture, in this affirmation, had employed it literally, science could not contradict the affirmation. Man of science, have you found that people whose blood lacks a single essential property of human blood, be it structural, chemical or vital! The osseous structure, the coloring matter, the hair, may vary from your ideal standard; but the blood literally, perhaps, certainly as used in a moral sense, is identical in us all.

Does science affirm that every tribe originally had its distinct habitat? We must set that down as mere affirmation, and we shall confidently set the positive testimony of God against her crude analogies.

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Having then noticed the essential and distinguishing characteristics of a human being, let us now proceed to consider,

II. *What rights and prerogatives are conferred by our common manhood, and what duties and responsibilities it imposes.*

God has made nations and individual men, like all his other works, in such a way as to avoid monotony; incessant variety characterizing those most alike and most intimately allied. But on man, everywhere and forever, he has conferred certain indefeasible and inalienable rights; the great prerogatives of manhood, which it is sacrilege to violate, which are defended by the eternal justice, with its fiery, two-edged sword.

It has often been remarked that man and society can never rise above a semi-barbarism, so long as woman, the weaker sex, is treated unfairly and unkindly by the stronger sex. And it is true. But it is equally true in regard to the weaker members and branches of our race.

Let us, then, look for the rights and obligations of manhood:

1. *Self-respect* is the first of duties, never to be confounded with pride or self-conceit. Self-respect is the homage due to the nature and endowments conferred on us by a bounteous Creator, perfectly consistent with the profoundest humility, which has reference to the weaker side of our nature, and our moral delinquencies. The negro is bound to respect the manhood that is in him. It is noble, beautiful, grand. His mind, his moral nature, is as noble as Gabriel's; inferior, not in kind, only in degree. And woe to him that attempts to diminish that self-respect in any negro!

2. *Mutual respect.*—Reverence is a duty toward God; reverence for him, and for every thing that is stamped with his image. You may chastise a child, not contemptuously, not vengefully, but with a reverential regard for his immortal nature, and a reverential remembrance of his relations to God and the universe, his rank in the scale of being.

3. *Justice is claimed by our manhood.*—Brutes have no such claim on one another, nor on man. Mercy or compassion, and a patronizing affection is all that is due to them. But he who bears the stamp of manhood, can claim of every other man justice; and if man denies it, the appeal of the injured, though rejected in every earthly court, will be heard on high.

Our revolutionary fathers appear to have been more profoundly versed in political science than we. In their wisdom, they uttered this oracle: Amongst the inalienable rights of man, conferred, not by human authority, but by the infinite Creator, are these—life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.

All men have a right to life; a right never forfeited by birth under

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any circumstances, by color of the skin or shape of the bones; but only by personal crime of the highest order. No legislation, no biblical exegesis, no sanction of the Church, no usage or public sentiment can make it other than a crime in the sight of Heaven, to diminish the length of a human life intentionally, or by indifference or carelessness.

Liberty is the right of man, to be abridged only by the restrictions of God's law, never by the demands of selfishness.

The pursuit of happiness is a prerogative of manhood. Any restriction placed on that, in any individual, for the benefit of another individual, or any class, without the free consent of the person thus prevented, is a crime, however sanctioned.

4. *Love is the claim of every human being.*—The law that binds every man to love his neighbor as himself, at the same time gives him a claim on the love of every other human being. No human tribunal can enforce it; but it will be solemnly, thoroughly enforced by a divine tribunal. Neither a man nor a nation can entertain wrong feelings, or withhold right feelings, with impunity. On the cultivation of delicate sensibility, a high-toned sense of justice, and appreciation of the rights and good qualities of others, depend both personal and national character.

We may build up a form of character that shall pass current as the world now is—yea a piety that men will acknowledge—even what will be regarded as a high civilization, which shall include a profound, cruel prejudice, or a cruel indifference to the welfare of a portion of our race; but it will be a piety, a civilization God does not approbate. A religion that does not recognize the moral unity of the human race can not be Christ's religion. We have, in fact, been contending with embattled hosts on this very point, whether the Christianity of this continent shall be a baptized Paganism; whether it shall resemble Russia, as she once was, is now no longer, of which one thus writes: "On all its broad plains, on the daily life of that serf-owning aristocracy, on the whole class which is neither of serfs nor serf-owners, the curse of God is written in letters so big and black that all mankind may read them."

We may not safely leave out of our benevolent consideration, by design, with positive intention, by accepted principles of politics or morals, any part of the human race. We owe love to every man; a love that, while admitting of intensity within a limited circle of kindred, friends, and countrymen, admits of no such thing as contempt for natural endowments, disregard of the most precious rights, or indifference to the highest welfare of any human being.

Have we not all one Father? God hath made us all, and all of one blood.

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And these are the directions he has given us concerning one another: "Be ye kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another." He says we are members of Christ's body; and must therefore feel toward each other the respect and love which becomes so sublime a relation. He says: "If one member suffer, all suffer with it." That is the case with every healthy body. His servant, Paul, expresses his will when he says: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbor, for his good to edification."

In fact, the moment you admit that the negro is a man, you admit that American Christianity has been very unbiblical.

O my countrymen! suffer me to remonstrate with you. My plea, if you will hear it, is strong, for it is eternal truth. I plead,

1. *For God's honor;* for his image defiled, distorted, effaced, despised by you. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. So God created man in his own likeness, in the image of God created he him." How will you answer to him, if his image is in the body, when his African children bring their lacerated, maimed bodies, their visages imbruted by the life of intellectual and moral degradation to which you bound them with all the power of a mighty empire? If that image is in the spirit, how dare you despise it, wherever it is found? If God is represented, as every father is, by each of his children, do you not know that a parent's sensitiveness about his children's honor is as great as that which respects his own? This is one of his dreadful indictments recorded for the great day of assizes: "Ye have despised the poor!" Negro's blood has been shed on this soil, in this city, as if he were a brute. But the sentence of Jehovah is: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he him."

I plead with you again by,

2. *The redemption-work of Christ.* That work, beginning at the manger, and ending in the sepulcher, was the expression of love; love higher than heaven, deeper than hell, stronger than sin or death or justice; but love of which you and the negro alike partake, and equally. If you stand at the foot of the cross, to have that cleansing blood fall upon your soul, there will probably be a negro by your side. If you go to the mercy-seat at any hour, you will probably find two there to one of your own complexion. If you go to heaven, you will certainly meet an immense multitude of them there; and you will find your color not worth much there. Love the people with whom you are to spend eternal ages in the same family, sharing every honor and favor with you.

I plead with you, by

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3. *Your nation's honor.* The public sentiment of this country, for fifty years, in respect to the African race, has been an immeasurable disgrace to us.

Look at this intelligent people, enjoying the blessings of the freest government on earth, prospered of God beyond any other people, claiming to have a more living and efficient religious character than any other; yet overlooking the essential elements of manhood in an entire group of races, making some superficial differences from the prevalent color and form of the body a ground of contempt, of oppression, of injustice and cruelty, such as never disgraced pagan Rome!

We have, indeed, some pleas and palliations. "The negroes are not agreeable in their persons and habits." This is equally true of some white people; but who ever thought of making it a ground of excommunicating entire white races from their respect and sympathy! Should one object to a person of that race, because he was not well-attired, or cleanly, or intelligent, we should not consider it a prejudice. But this we regard as prejudice: to take an entire branch of the human family, and by one turn of thought settle the proposition, that they are not to be regarded as human; and settle the purpose to treat them as something below the human race. But do we not know that a prejudice is a personal deformity? When the people of the Southern States determined to regard the negro, and even the whitest mulatto, as made for slavery, for the mere purpose of ministering to the comfort, profit, luxury, and pride of another race, they lowered themselves as philosophers, as Christians, as men.

It has been affirmed that the people of the Northern States have more prejudice against the African race than the slaveholders. This is one of many illusions connected with this subject. There is a difference, and it is found here. The Southerner had settled this point beyond question—the negro is not a man. Now, so long as that is held as an axiom, unquestioned by either party, the negro and the dog will receive the same kind treatment. But the moment the negro asserts any rights that the master is bound to respect, as soon as he claims to be a man, it will be found that it was not as such the master esteemed or respected him. See whether, even yet, the people of those States are willing to allow the negro to choose his rulers, even though he may prove himself as well qualified for the service as the majority of voters; whether they are willing to make personal qualifications, and not race, the test of the right of suffrage. Beside the unfounded prejudices toward this unfortunate race, we are guilty of injustice gross and flagrant.

Let me farther suggest

4. *The nation's welfare*, as well as its honor. We must remember

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that nations are on probation as well as men; that they are under moral as well as material laws; that we must have been losing immeasurably in these dark years of prejudice, injustice, and cruelty. Four millions of Africans, cultivated, refined, among us, would have made the Southern States like another world. There would have been no millions of white trash; no bowie-knife, bullying, blustering, treason-breeding civilization.

No, it will not do for a great nation to settle questions about the negro merely by taste and preference, by convenience and custom, by even policy and expediency. Eternal principles are involved in it. God's eternal government takes cognizance of this subject in all its dimensions and ramifications.

The question before us now is, as it ever has been, What is right?

We surely have learned one lesson at great cost. It will not answer for a Christian people to put a leprous stone in the very foundation of their great temple. It will infect the whole; and at last require to be taken down, that the infected parts may be cast away.

War was sent, with its rough hand, to tear it down, while the envious nations sat and mocked the misery of our condition.

Shall we build so again? The demon is exorcised; but he is wandering about in dry places seeking rest, and finding none. If he returns, he will bring with him seven other spirits worse than the first.

Can we afford to enter on another epoch of our history with our old notions and habits unchanged? Have we learned nothing by such a war? Is it not manifest that God has forgiven our old sins, and put us on probation once more?

If the black man or the Indian has intelligence enough to vote, let him vote for his rulers; if to make laws, let him make them. If he earns wages, pay him. If he can not hold his own in a fair race, let him come out second best. That is fair.

But did Thomas Jefferson tremble for his country in view of the justice of Almighty God? how, then, would he feel now, after the judgments we have witnessed and felt, in view of the desperate pride and prejudice of the men in the North and the South, who are still determined to treat the negro as a brute, and carry our country directly back over the same career of cruelty, selfishness, and injustice toward this unhappy race!

We urge again

5. *The rights of the injured African.*—What we insist upon is not a political theory, but an eternal moral principle. The negro's rights are given him by his and our God. He has a right to claim our esteem as a man, his rewards for labor and service, his choice of employment and employer, his choice of a companion for life, and the

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full protection of the law for his family, as much as any other husband or father.

But we have deprived him of a fair chance in life's great race. For him we have held as naught the filial relation incorporated in the Fifth Commandment; the family, one of God's most precious bestowments. Nay, the very laws of the States have decreed that the negro shall no more have a family than the cattle have.

Now, every degree of this wickedness must be swept from our land.

I am not here to beg any favors for my African brother. I simply assert his rights, and proclaim the enormous wrong we have done him, and are exposed to continue inflicting on him, after all the terrible judgments of God. I would neither pet nor flatter him. Respect for his manhood forbids both. If you meet a negro who is mean, despise his meanness, but not his manhood. If he commits a crime, punish him; but deprive him of no right simply because of his color. Abandon the prejudice which is as galling to the manly heart of a negro as to yours.

I urge, then, my plea but once more. I present to you as an individual the consideration of

6. *Your own welfare.*—Is yours a prejudice only against this people? For your own sake, abandon it. It contracts the soul, and it hinders you from taking the right position in regard to them. It causes you to miss some precious opportunities of standing for the right, of resisting tyranny, of comforting Christ's poor.

If you are a master, then note the fifth chapter of James, which it would seem as if you had never read, and your preachers had never explained:

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth."

My brethren of the Missionary Association, we surely have a work to do. We are to do our part in forming a correct public sentiment. That is the sovereign in this land, before whom nothing can stand. Assert the manhood of the negro; make it appear as horrible to defraud him as to defraud a white man of his rights; to inflict on him penalties for being what his Creator intended him to be; to make him the mere tool of another's selfishness; to discourage his reaching the highest attainments and position he is capable of reaching and attaining. Insist on the prin-

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ciple, no matter who is to enforce it, the General or the State government, that nationality and color shall not be the test of the right to elect our rulers, to testify in our courts, to sue before them, and if a native, to be chosen to sit in the presidential chair. In a word, every human being shall, on this part of God's earth, stand on a perfect level with every other man before the law. Caste-legislation shall no longer dishonor us and mar the beautiful simplicity of our democratic government.

We must educate the race, first for the ordinary intercourse and employments of life, just as the mass of white children are educated. And to the most capable, every avenue of knowledge must be opened, every instrument of mental discipline and culture furnished.

We must preach the Gospel to them in its purity, in its simplicity, and save as many of their precious souls as, by God's blessing, we may.

We must assist in establishing them. Poor people, on what a tempest-tossed sea their miserable bark has been for four years! And that tempest has at last cast them, shattered and broken, on a shore from which many of them will be swept back, unless rescued by us into, I can not conceive what kind of a troubled ocean. The storm of prejudice, pride, passion, is almost certain to beat on some of them until they find the last haven where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. We can not do every thing. Let us do what we can to fix each family in a home, with the ægis of the law over his dwelling and his little farm, teaching them that which slavery has prevented their learning, of industry, mechanic trades, farming, gardening, housekeeping, training children; teaching them our national history, what an American citizen ought to be, and what his rights are; teaching the negro he is a man, and showing him what is becoming to a man, in reference to himself, his God, his neighbor, his country, his posterity.

The record of our four years of war is now made. We can take no backward step. But the record of the four years succeeding the war is now forming, day by day, hour by hour. God, in his infinite mercy, grant it may be such as will make some amends for the dark passages in our former history, and place us before the world as God's instruments in bringing on this day of universal brotherhood.

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Wednesday Evening, October 27th.

The introductory Religious services were conducted by Rev. Wm. E. Park, of Lawrence, Mass. The Annual Sermon was preached by Rev. William M. Barbour, D. D., of Bangor Theological Seminary, from 1 Cor. 13: 8, "Charity never faileth."

SERMON.

THE UNFAILING VIRTUE.

"Charity (or Christian love) never faileth."—1 Cor. 13: 8.

FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

As your preacher understands his appointment, it is his duty now to open the word of God for some truth, by the enforcement of which this Christian gathering may be animated in its deliberations. Leaving to some the details of business; to others, the news of the Missions; to others, the plans for the future; to others, appeals upon special aspects of our work, let the duty of the hour be met by a call on your attention to a thought from God,—a thought embodying the principle which underlies all His own undertakings, and which must underlie ours if we are to be workers together with Him. The thought selected is one of Love, of Christian Love.

The particular aspect of it to which I call attention, is found in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, XIII chapter, 8th verse, CHARITY, OR CHRISTIAN LOVE, NEVER FAILETH. And invoking the spirit of the theme to be in both speaker and hearer, I proceed to introduce this particular thought of love as the inspired writer has introduced it into the New Testament. In the course of certain instructions for the attainment of spiritual gifts, the Apostle shows his readers "a more excellent way;" that is, he sets before them the one attainment which is above all others, and possessing which any Christian may become eminent in grace.

Thus pre-eminence is given to love. Faith he does not slight—we could not expect the Apostle Paul to do that—nor hope, but love is crowned the chief. Indeed, not only may Paul be said to crown this Christian grace, but to sing its coronation hymn, for the chapter is an anthem to love, than which nothing can be more appropriate, truthful and beautiful. Here in words that at once charm and impress, he shows that love alone can inspire and purify. Love is the sum of virtue. It fills up the law. The present finds it seeking not its own: the past employs it covering all things: the future enjoys it hoping all things. It never fails. Prophecy, tongues, knowledge

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itself may fail, but love faileth never, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. Nor was this mere sentiment in a letter, but the very life and soul of the writer's conduct towards his correspondents. Among them, Paul did not behave himself unseemly; sought not his own; was not easily provoked; thought no evil; bore all things; believed all things; hoped all things; endured all things; emphatically, his charity did not fail.

The Apostle, however, is not relating his experience, but describing a virtue for others to practice. Hence, in justice to the text, we must take it in its intent, and examine and enforce it as descriptive of that Christian possession of all others to be earnestly desired. Giving a summary of its features, the sacred writer says, It never faileth.

Let me present a few considerations which may substantiate the Apostle's judgment. In other form, let me give a few answers to the question, " Wherein is love an unfailing virtue ?"

I. In the first place, when called upon, love is unfailing in its responses. When asked it never fails to answer like itself,—in love. And this because from its nature it intends to bless. Love is an emotion of good-will, that is, a movement out to bless. If there is a joy to heighten or a woe to lighten, love beats joyously or sadly according to its opportunity. If love can do nothing to carry out its will, it never fails to express regret at that, and regret in the circumstances never fails to satisfy.

It is interesting to watch this unfailing grace at its work. Look at a company of people considering a misfortune,—say a street accident. One is a critic and he reviews the case; another is a philosopher and he explains it; a third is a busybody and he eyes it for capital in tale-bearing; a fourth is a fault-finder and he is all condemnation; the lover of man, forgetful of everything but the ruin and a remedy, is deep in a plan for instant relief. As sure as love *is*, it comes to the rescue. If it is *not*, of course there is no effort.

Sometimes, it is supposed, that there may be a genuine love which does not show itself even when there is appeal and opportunity. The thing is naturally impossible; for the essence of love is good-willing (*bene volens.*) How can there be a still willingness; indeed the words "still will" are as contradictory as "white black," or "liquid frost." True, there may be a want of felicitous modes of expression, but if love is in a heart there must be some form of willing good, some outgoing of affection towards its object. True, again, one may desire to hide the strength of emotion, but the very effort to hide discloses possession in the lover. In this connection, what can be finer than Shakespeare's delineation of a daughter's hidden yet moving love?

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See King Lear for the picture. After her faithless sisters had exhausted language in telling of their affection, Cordelia exclaims:

"What shall Cordelia do,
Love and be silent; * * *
* * * * * *
And yet not so, since I am sure
My love's more richer than my tongue."

And so nothing she says, but everything she does, till her broken-hearted father expires with her devoted body in his arms. Here was love silent as to speech, yet active as life, and strong as death. The difference between Cordelia's love and that of her sisters was shown in her constancy of response to her aged father's need, and their failure to respond even once. The conclusion is irresistible, love they had none, for response they had none. In fact, we always so conclude that a love which fails to put in an appearance when called, has no standing among the virtues,—it is outlawed. This doctrine of genuine love never failing in response, makes clear to us how the divine beneficence is so easily moved. God is love, hence He lives but to respond to dependent and appealing beings. When overpowered by the divine greatness and led to cry: "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him," we get instant relief by the counter exclamation, "My God, thou art all love." For God would sooner cease to be, than fail to respond to the humblest appeal. He hears the raven's cry, certainly not the most amiable of birds, but because it has a "cry," He heareth it. And this by an illustrious necessity of His nature, for as sure as He doth live as love, He doth live the Hearer of Prayer, since love's answer "never faileth."

II. Again, this Christian virtue never fails by an untimely exercise; it is never out of fashion; never inopportune; no infant is too young to be loved, no grandsire too old. Over every other grace it has this advantage of timeliness. We may hope when there is no rational ground of hope, owing to a want of ripeness in the time. We may trust out of a time of trust, and fail. But the untimely hour for Christian charity can never come.

When the American Missionary Association began its work, it encountered the usual discouragements of missionary efforts. "The attempt was premature." "Stay until certain political changes occur." "Try some civilizing appliances first, then send the gospel." There was certainly a faintness of faith in its success, even among the good. But there was an irrepressible conflict of love in many Christian hearts, and not waiting till the times would seem propitious, they made the time there was propitious. With a church hesitating in its faith behind them, and a world ridiculing their hope around them,

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and a foe opposing their efforts before them, but with a mighty love within them they began with the glad tidings to every creature. They heard the advice to let ploughs, and mills, and school books, prepare for the gospel; but these pioneers took the Master's plan and went, first of all, into the densest darkness with the brightest light. Their faith was stigmatized as fanatical, their hope ridiculed as maniacal, but to the credit of human nature, their love for the soul was let alone. While the process of their failure was prophetically elaborated with the skill of a perfect unbelief, their love in the effort was sacred even to the scoffer. No time was a poor time for that. And to this unfailing and infallible movement to bless, and such as it, movements that took the world's most inconvenient time to do the world's uncalled for work, are we indebted for those clusters of churches, colleges, and schools, which shine like spiritual constellations in the darker regions of the South. Every missionary church spire, every college cupola, every school house roof, bears this witness heaven-ward, "Christian Love never faileth." Far be it from us to slight the faith that upheld, and the hope that inspired them. But had they not worked, and worked by love, where had the effort been?

And love's victory is as ready with a refutation of its efforts being too late. "They are past help, they are below an average humanity, and cannot be brought up," was the plea of other objectors. But the loving said, "No, it is never too late for the unfailing virtue." And for evidence that they were right, take the conversion of these same objectors to the faith that is born of right. Witness the scores of testimonies from men of mark, who have been present at the latest efforts to educate and refine the free, and have repented (in a certain sense) and confessed, and testified to their mistake.

Perhaps no Christian enterprise has so many and so striking testimonies to its efficiency, especially in those labors where the worldly-wise prophesied failure, as the American Missionary Association. From the beginning at Berea to the latest examinations at Atlanta, see what a change upon the question of a higher education. And as to the evangelization of the colored people, the most unconcerned travellers come North to tell us that but for this Association's churches, and schools, and what radiates from them, they know not what the vast tracts of this missionary field would do for a word of Christ to perishing souls. This witness is true, and confirms our remark that late or early, on the score of untimeliness, love "never faileth."

III. Let it be remarked further, that this character is earned by love's uniform success in attaining its end.

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Without exhausting the causes of failure to achieve, the most prominent to human eyes, are opposition from without, weakness within, and a lack of appreciation. It takes no great length of time, nor stretch of thought, to shew, that however frequently these causes of failure prevail over other human efforts, they do not wrest a victory from the love that "seeketh not her own."

Let us see. Opposition does not make love give way. To resist its motions does not extinguish a good will, for outward force does not reach it and in collision with another will the good can never yield. To give way to evil is a sign of evil in the one who yields. Envy, spite, detraction, in a word, ill-will may hinder and defame, but unless the movement out to bless gives up its character, and becomes an emotion of enmity, its very name indicates its unyielding purpose to will the good against all opposition. Love, therefore, remaining love never faileth. Like the front of St. Helena to the sea, is the breast of the loving to the oppositions of the unloving. There they come wave after wave, leaping up to the "hundred fathom rooted rock," but they leap to submerge it may be, yet eventually to divide themselves and fall to either side. Perhaps, they gather and try again, but it is only to meet with like success, meanwhile the breast of the assaulted bares itself to the next attack. And so long as love reigns, so long does the heart, or the kingdom, or the cause containing it, sustain itself in the face of hostility. "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

And, in like manner, success attends its aggressions. Moving, ever moving to bless, by name and by nature, it cannot but hold on its way. If there is any faltering in its progress, it is by the introduction of unloving means to carry out its ends. And the fact that *they* cause disaster, establishes the position we assume, that to love in its purity there is no such word as fail. Take the history of the Christian church as a fitting instance. When the holy love that is in her Head has swayed her assembled powers what has withstood her? When for a supposed temporary advantage the meaner forces of sword and sceptre have been employed, the result has been disastrous. Indeed, the church's history, external and internal, agrees with personal experience in this, that the letting down of love has been the letting go of power. Hear the church's cries for a revival of her strength. In substance they are;

"More love to Thee, O, Christ!
More love to Thee."

And when the blessing that crowns all other blessing comes, when after a season of tears and penitential prayer she emerges again

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into her strength, the evidences of her renewal are heard of in the new song of the newly energized as they save the perishing,

"The love of Christ doth us constrain
To seek the wandering souls of men."

Bitterly do these transient experiences read us the lesson that "our other loves have little life, when Christ's not loved the most of all."

Nor is this transient experience only, it is permanent also. Look over Christendom for the denominations of the church militant who are most efficient in blessing the world. The hierarchies have the numbers, the masonry, and the show, but, as they themselves allow, they have not the zeal nor the power of the inner life. The power is with the pure. And it is worthy of remark, on a night like this, that the purer brotherhoods are most highly blessed in aggressive Christian work. The churches most vigorously prosecuting missionary work, are those who contend most earnestly, and pray most fervently, for purity of communion. Their principle is, love in the membership, even if there must be but a little flock. Ten families with this unfailing grace can do what a thousand churches organized on the national or territorial, or stone-and-lime principle, cannot do. On the field of spiritual conflict one loving life chases a thousand, two put ten thousand to flight. In multiplying the bands of the holy, force fails, display fails, machinery fails, numbers fail, measures fail, love never fails. Take Incarnate Love's word for it. "Without me, ye can do nothing; but with me, ye can do all things." When weak in worldly power, then has the church been strong in the Lord and in the power of His might. Glorying in her own infirmity, the power of Christ has rested on her. Verily, there *is* a power in godliness. He is anything but a keen observer who does not see a divinity in Christ's remark to the few who began to shew love to the loveless world: "Fear not, little flock, it is my Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom."

But here an inquiry may be raised. Seeing that we often look in vain for success, and at times curtail, and suspend, and abandon enterprises which we are conscious of beginning in love, how can we accept this doctrine that it never fails? Yet, in the face of this objection the remark is repeated; Love never fails of attaining its end. It can no more do so, than God can fail, for He is love, and all that He undertakes He accomplishes. Less cannot be affirmed of those who have His spirit and power. The omnipotence of loving effort can be vindicated as follows. Having the best intention possible, love puts the best means possible into action, and works them out in the best possible manner. All the success that the nature of the case

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allows, all honorable results from the willing and working of good are inevitably secured. To secure an end by fraud or force, is entirely out of love's intentions. To carry a point by the infringement of any interest which love for all should guard, is not and can never be before it as an end. Hence, there is not a failure of love, but a failure because love is strenuously opposed to unloving means to reach its ends. See this Missionary Association ready to do more than it has done; its love is not exhausted, though its means are. Why, then, to carry out the good intentions of this Association do not the Secretaries forge notes and raise the value of bonds? Because they are too loving, too loyal to love's ends. In such an act, they and love would part company, for stealing, even in the name of benevolence, it cannot away with. That would be doing good at too great a cost. In such a case, love would fail if it failed to forbid. And so we well can see, and with reverence be it spoken, the God of love might save a soul at too great an expense. If souls were saved at the sacrifice of the divine law, or freedom of will, or the principles of honor and right, love would disown the salvation, for love's great aim and effort and end is to move out in good will toward every interest under and over heaven. O! glorious is the thought that all that can be done by infinite benevolence will be done, and it will yet be justified of all in saying: "What more could love have done that it has not done?" If any perish after every lawful appliance, it is not by a failure of love, but by its most loving guardianship of interests dearer than the sinner's life. No, men and brethren, love never faileth in carrying out its ends.

Nor, let it be added here, need we fear that a loving effort will ever fall to the ground totally unappreciated. He, who numbers the hairs of our heads, who sees the sparrows fall, who has set the world's eyes upon the widow's mite, He, for one, will see that nothing like himself appears in vain. And were our knowledge exhaustive, we should find that even on the earth the cup of cold water is never given in utter failure.

It is of interest to stumble now and then upon facts illustrative of the certain victory of this virtue, even in those crises of antagonism where it is thought that love has laid down the crown, and force and passion have the throne. That was an instructive incident in our late war, when there came through our lines at Nashville a bale of cotton from the South, marked "The American Bible Society." No note, no bill of lading, nothing to trace it by, accompanied it. At first, it was looked at with suspicion, perhaps it had explosives concealed in it, perhaps it was a device of the enemy for—men knew not what. But, when it was opened, and found to be harmless, the

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light that made its coming visible soon dawned. It was remembered, that shortly before, there went through our lines at the same point, a shipment of Bibles, the gift of "The American Bible Society" to the Southern troops. Since war at its wildest did not crush out the love of souls from the Northern heart, war at its wildest did not crush out the appreciation of that love in the Southern heart. Some one owned, in that silent gift, that love had not failed.

Did time permit, the unfailing nature of this virtue might be shown from the defeat of its opposite. When did hate prevail? It has stunned, and betrayed, and maligned, and obliterated; but when came it forth a conqueror? Never. He who is boasting of his resistance of a loving advance, who is exulting in crushing out the light, who is intriguing to let malice have its way, who is only waiting for brute force enough to carry out his intentions, is only boasting of, and scheming out, and waiting for his own defeat, for as sure as he is loveless he is weak, and will miserably fail.

IV. I hasten to remark that love's immortality crowns it as the unfailing virtue. After the life that is measured by years is over, love's life faileth never. Other graces may serve their day, and die with their opportunity to irradiate the soul, but there is no such death to Christian love. Much of our knowledge concerning earthly subjects may not be required in a better world. Faith will be lost in sight, that is, the faith we live by here. Hope will rise into fruition, that is the hope in exercise in the world that now is. But love will exist, that is the love we have here,—and with it will remain all that is worth retaining of our mundane life; for take away the willing and doing of good, and the enjoying of what was ours by the good willing of others, and what is in this life's perishable furnishings that we should care for in the future state? But blessed is the thought that what is loving is never to be lost. The memories of childhood, the pure and lasting friendships, the sweet charities of life, the pardons, the prayers, the benefactions, the holy joys that knew us here, are not to perish. They are to be continued and sublimed, and ever more to be in us and with us in our wanderings through eternity. Nor can this immortal virtue ever be superseded. Nothing better can any spirit, embodied or disembodied, do than love; for nothing better does the Spirit Supreme himself. It is the life of God. He that loveth, lives and moves and has his whole moral being in God. He is born of God, and knoweth God. God dwelleth in him, and he in God, and assuredly that life faileth not.

Here be it said, that love demands immortality for its exercise. It already stretches itself beyond our ordinary life, and has even now a hold of God and of all the good, and nothing can put them asunder.

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Men have different faiths of God, and varied hopes of God, but they have only one love of God. Love's nature, source and action all bespeak its immortality.

"We must not doubt, or fear, or dread, that love for life
was only given,
And that the calm and sainted dead will meet estranged
and cold in Heaven:
O! Love were poor and vain indeed
Based on so harsh and stern a creed.
If in my heart I now could fear, that risen again we
should not know,
What was our Life of life when here, the hearts we
loved so much below,
I would arise this very day,
And cast so poor a thing away.
But love is no such soulless clod: living perfected
it shall rise,
Transfigured in the light of God and giving glory
to the skies:
And that which makes this life so sweet,
Shall render Heaven's joy complete."*

These answers to the inquiry, Wherein is love an unfailing virtue, namely, in its unfailing readiness of response; its seasonableness; its uniform success; and its endless life, justify (we humbly trust) this apostolic judgment that of all Christian graces it should be most earnestly desired, because it "never faileth."

To apply what has been spoken, let it be said, that if there is such potency in this grace, Christians may see wherein some of their enterprises fail. Perhaps I ought not to say "fail" in the same sentence with "Christian," because what is truly Christian, is truly loving, and therefore cannot fail. But using the language of appearance, we do fail in the sense of coming short of what we might do, and what we often expect to do. And we come short in exact proportion as we lack in love. Let fact without and consciousness within bear witness. From the conversion of a continent, to the forgiveness of a wrong, the testimony is the same, if tried in love it succeeds, if tried without love it fails. Faith may be present, removing mountains, hope may be near, clearing the skies; but if the love that going out in its freshness, and reaching the heart to be won, be absent, nothing is done.

And seeing this, a serviceable application of our theme will be the arming of ourselves with the loving mind, so that the spring of wis-

*Adelaide Ann Proctor.

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dom in deliberation, of self-denial in benefaction, of heroism in achievement may never fail. We are about to hear of progress, of further effort at conquest, of various and recurring needs. We need more money, more benefactors, more laborers, more prayer, more interest in the helping of the lowly and the poor. The voice of love calls to us to-night with a peculiarity of nearness never used to any other nation since its first utterance: "Let mine outcasts dwell with Thee. . . . . Be Thou a covert to them, for the extortioner is at an end, the spoiler ceaseth, the oppressors are consumed out of the land." It must be needless to disclaim the thought that our proposal to arm ourselves with a loving mind means that we shall meet this practical duty by merely suffusing our minds with a sentiment. That is not the thought. The plea for love is for the moving affection, the movement out to bless, not the complacent musing kindness which begins and ends in merely wishing well.

The force of love insisted on may be instanced by its effect in a Christian heart, of which your preacher once was cognizant some twenty years ago. After a powerful sermon on Christian consecration in a Western college chapel, (Oberlin,) a student was found one afternoon in the college office, deeply absorbed in a map of the world. Stealing up behind him, a fellow student said, "What are you so engrossed in geography for?" "To tell you the truth," was the quiet reply, "I am looking among these islands of the Pacific, wondering if when I am ready to go Christ will give me one of them to win for Him. And I was in a search through this group, thinking which one it might be, for I would die contented if I might be used to bring back to Him even such a little part as this, of that whole world for which He died."

Herein was the love that is the call of the hour, the inward will merging into the outward act. And nowhere is it more clearly shown to be still a power in devoted human hearts than in missionary life and effort. Often and over again have we heard our brethren who have arisen and left us from Oberlin and Andover, and those select localities where those exiles of love decide their life's work, often have we heard them declare that love alone did move them, love to Christ who died, love to those He died for—but for that they never had vowed to be the living sacrifices they became. This is a night and a place to remind ourselves that such love has not yet fled our earth, and be it now our prayer that we may have a share of it.

And this constrains us to turn our last thought towards Him who being Love incarnate, still leads the way to unfailing triumph. Here is a life that was no failure because it was a life of love. Insulted,

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He turned the insult into blessing; the insult is dead, the blessing still lives. His love outlasted the hate of Jerusalem. "Weep not for me," said He, "daughters of Jerusalem, weep for yourselves, for destruction is nearer you than me." The taking of His life was not the taking of His love. "Father forgive them" was his dying cry. Nothing in life nor death could stifle his affection. Arisen from the dead, he said "Go and tell my disciples, and Peter—and Peter, what a resurrection of love was there—that I am arisen." And from His throne of grace and glory what is His word to-night? "Come and love me even as I am loving you. And if ye love me, keep my commandments, one of which is, minister to mine and ye minister to me." Still the same, "Strong Son of God, immortal Love!" *Thou never failest.* AMEN.

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ADDRESSES

AT THE

INAUGURATION

OF

REV. HORATIO Q. BUTTERFIELD, D. D.,

AS

PRESIDENT OF OLIVET COLLEGE,

OLIVET, MICH.

DETROIT:
DAILY POST BOOK AND JOB PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT.
1877.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Since the resignation of Rev. Nathan J. Morrison, D. D., in 1872, the Presidency of Olivet College has been vacant. Meanwhile the position has been temporarily and ably filled by Professors J. H. Hewitt and O. Hosford. In June, 1875, the Trustees unanimously elected as President Rev. Horatio Q. Butterfield, D. D., a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1848. He was unable to be present until the college year had nearly ended; and it was finally arranged that the inauguration should occur during the week of Commencement.

The Inaugural Services took place in the Congregational Church in Olivet, on Wednesday evening, June 21, 1876, at 7½ o'clock. Hon. William A. Howard, President of the Board of Trustees, presided. Prayer was offered by Rev. T. G. Colton. The College choir of some forty voices then rendered appropriate music. After this, Mr. Howard rose and presented the keys of the College to the President elect, prefacing the act with a short address, to which reply was made.

ADDRESS.

DR. BUTTERFIELD:

In the name and in behalf of the Trustees, I commit to you, as President, the most responsible and most honorable trust of maintaining and exalting still higher the reputation, dignity and character of

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Olivet College. Olivet is the child of mingled hopes and fears. Its past has been one of trials and yet of glorious triumphs. We shall look to you to advance still higher the standard of education, of purity, of morals and of general usefulness. The difficulties in the way are great; but we invoke the blessing of Heaven upon your labors. Culture is before knowledge and character is higher than all. The education of the morals is of the greatest importance. If we can not make this a Christian College, it is not worth while to maintain it at all. In token of the responsibility which we have conferred upon you, and as the insignia of your office, I present you with the keys of the College.

REPLY.

I am deeply sensible, Sir, of the importance of the trust you have committed to my hands; and I cordially thank you for the kind and encouraging words with which you have accompanied the act. If my administration of the affairs of this College prove successful, much of the credit will be due to the noble men and women who have laid the strong foundations on which I am to build; and much will be due to the Board of Trustees, upon whose wisdom and untiring faithfulness I securely rely. Above all, will that success be due to God, whose blessing we have never ceased to invoke. Without His favor, all our wisdom will be foolishness and all our planning and building will come to nothing. My earnest prayer shall be, that I may not disappoint the just expectations of the friends of Olivet College.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Sixty years ago, a fixed idea attached to the phrase, "a College Course." Throughout the land, it had substantially the same meaning. It pointed to a prescribed course lasting four years.

Then came doubt, discussion, innovation. In 1825, Harvard provided for optional studies.* In 1826, Amherst marked out a parallel course which was thought to be more in accord with the spirit of the age than the old one. But this new course failed to attract students and was soon abandoned. In 1827, a member of the corporation of Yale proposed to remand the classics to the preparatory course, or else to banish them utterly. But, after hearing reports upon the matter from President Day and Professor Kingsley, the corporation refused to make the change. In 1829, the University of Vermont modified the class system by providing for optional studies, and by offering to pass the student from author to author and from study to study, after examination had. In 1841, Harvard abolished its scheme for optional studies, and made the studies after the Freshman year largely elective. The elective system itself was soon after abandoned; but it has since been restored, and is now in full force. In 1850, Brown University gave a shattering blow to the class system, by offering to allow every student, so far

* For some of these facts I am indebted to President Porter's book, The American Colleges and The American Public.

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as practicable, to "study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose." Finally, Cornell University has come into being; and it almost bewilders us with the number of its courses of study, general as well as technological.

Along the whole line of these changes has flashed the fire of criticism. The old college course has been decried. The college itself has been declared to be a relic of the dark ages, fit only for monks and scholastics. It has been called "an old hulk, grounded in the stream of progress." Scarcely one feature of the college system has escaped unsparing denunciation.

This criticism catches a heat reflected from discussions on the other side of the water. Parliamentary Reports and such books as the Essays on a Liberal Education show that the English schools and universities have defects that ought to be remedied. But scarcely any of the evils described can be found in our American colleges. Yet, while the English reformers are but trying to burn the rubbish in the yard, many an American reformer imagines it is the house itself that is burning; and he rejoices to believe that ours must go next.

One can readily see how all this debate must confuse the common mind as to what the college course should be. Other things tend to the same result. In the West, we have few good academies; and necessity compels us to attach to the college a preparatory department. The arrangement yields many advantages; but it leads the unthinking to confound the college with the academy. And as the academy jostles the college on one side, the so-called university jostles it on the other. Some of these institutions are doing good collegiate work; and they do not profess to do anything more. Some are doing collegiate and

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preparatory work; some, as President Hopkins has said, present "a mere huddle of studies from the primary department up, perhaps to the college, perhaps to the professional schools. The underlying idea seems to be that of a great intellectual variety shop, where all may go and stay as long as they please, and buy what they want."

In view of these facts, it seems to me that I can not do better on this occasion than to show what, in my judgment, is involved in the true college course. I aim at nothing original. Were I to do so, I might justly excite your suspicions. Most of the originality this theme is calling out points to rash innovation. Like the ghost of Hamlet's father, it comes in "a questionable shape." I begin by asking:

I. What is the last and broadest aim of the college course? It is character perfected, in the sense of manhood perfected. And where shall we find the true type? Poetry has never risen to the just conception. Homer's heroes and Shakspeare's men and women alike come short of the ideal. Philosophy has never been able to furnish the true example. Scientific unity demands it, but science itself can not construct it. Science can deal with laws, but not with concrete ends. It can handle men and masses and molecules; it can measure forces and momenta; but it can not see the ends to which these forces are directed; it can not scan the destinies these men are working out.

We are obliged to go to the Bible. Revelation discloses, distinct and glorious as the angel John saw standing in the sun, a perfect manhood possible through faith in a perfect Redeemer. But though we go to the Scriptures for the type, we have the proof before our eyes that Christian manhood is this true manhood. "Completed Christianity in man and completed manhood are the same. If they be not, we will reject

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Christianity. * * * This is a severe test. No other religion can bear it; but Christianity can."* Yes, it can. The proof lies before us in history. Do but use the right method, gather and formulate the facts, and the demonstration will be complete.

But we must not interpret this character in any pietistic, or narrowly religious, sense. We rejoice with Paul that neither the great nor the learned have a monopoly in God's grace. Yet we must not forget that goodness has eternal appetences for all truth; that true holiness has its incarnation in true knowledge; that we are renewed in the likeness of One "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

Such a scholar as the late Prof. James Hadley is a prophecy of the glory to be revealed in us. In his earlier days, a profound mathematician; in his riper years, an accomplished linguist and philologist; in his later life, he became, through his mastery of the Roman law, an able jurist. And all this vast knowledge was organized into a Christian character that seemed to touch upon perfection itself.

II. But to be more specific. The end of the college course is to give an education that is rounded and liberal, not specific, not technical, not professional. With skill of hand or eye, with trades or callings, it has nothing to do. It must educate the student as man; and just as far as it meddles with the profession will it mar the man. For it will fail to educate him symmetrically. The powers will not be brought into harmony; the faculties will not have the normal sweep, or the rhythmic play. It is never to be forgotten that the man is greater than his calling, nobler and more enduring than any service to which he is put here on earth. Technical drill, professional skill and

*President Hopkins.

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knowledge—these must be sought in due time, but not in the college.

Let me now briefly notice the conditions under which, as it seems to me, the student will best pursue this liberal course.

1. He must come to the college course prepared to receive instruction; otherwise the ablest professors will spend time and strength for him to little purpose. Let there be some fitness, some ripeness, some mental discipline. For lack of these, some students impair health by over-study; others miss the true college relish; and others lose heart and sink into drones. Eighteen is the age before which the student should not begin the college work. The ages of nineteen, twenty and twenty-one are to be preferred to those of seventeen, sixteen and fifteen respectively. Happily our colleges are requiring a more thorough preparation; and this itself is increasing the age at which students enter.

But there is a maximum age for entering as well as a minimum. Students that have passed a certain age are tempted to cut short their liberal studies and hasten to a profession.

2. The second condition is a prescribed course, as opposed to an elective one. This springs from the nature of the case. A liberal education, as we have already seen, carefully shuts out all that is technical and professional. But the avowed object of the elective system is to let the student work toward his profession. Just as far as the course is professional, it ceases to be liberal. And just as far as the college course trenches upon the professional, both are injured. "The student who begins the study of theology or law in his Sophomore year, or pursues a course of reading which has special relation to his future profession, in ninety out of a hundred instances becomes a greatly

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inferior theologian or lawyer in consequence, and does not appreciably abridge the time required for his professional preparation."*

The prescribed course is formed with an objective aim. It is meant to discipline the whole complex of man's powers symmetrically. Find the studies that will best do that, and they ought to form the course. On the whole, that course must be the best one. It can logically spare no one of the studies any more than the earth can spare her old red sandstone.

The elective course is formed partly with a subjective aim. It is made to consult the student's present tastes. It asks him what he wants, not what he needs.† It may allow his fancy to give the go-by to the very studies he most needs; studies that would rouse and discipline what are to be his dominant powers; that would best fit him for the very profession he is finally to choose. In a word, it treats him as a fraction, and not as an integer; as an embryo lawyer, or physician, and not as an incipient man. Dr. A. P. Peabody claims that at Harvard the elective system creates more enthusiasm than the old one and yields better scholarship. It might be better to say it yields higher marks. Imagine an Oxonian giving himself zealously and throughout his whole course to the classics almost exclusively. The marking is doubtless higher than it would have been, had he taken the course prescribed at Yale. His scholarship may be said to be better than it would have been, had he taken the prescribed course, but this may be true only in a narrow and technical sense. By no means does the fact justify us in concluding the narrow Oxford course is better than the course at Yale.

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* The American Colleges and the American Public, p. 104.

† I am no advocate of a theory of education in which boys should learn nothing but what they show a taste for. I hold this to be a pestilential heresy.—J. M. Wilson in Essays on a Liberal Education, p. 244.

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3. The third condition is that the student must be held to faithfulness by being daily examined in his text books. He must not be allowed to lose himself in general reading and sporadic study. His tasks must be set. He is not the man to set them for himself. He must be held to times and seasons. The ringing of the bell must make him take note of that time which some specific work demands. An examination a quarter or a month hence has no power over his will. He begins with putting off and ends with cramming. But let every hour have its task, and he will learn to be always ready; able to give battle at a moment's warning, with all his forces in hand. While criticising the excessive examining which he thinks prevails at the University of Cambridge, Prof. Seeley says: "It is true that the student who studies for a long time without undergoing strict examination fills his mind with * * vague and imperfect conceptions, and, if he have, at the same time, a gift of ready expression, is in danger of becoming a rank impostor."*

But this submitting to daily examination, some say, is mean and servile. It is a bondage. It is unjust to the student, who ought to enjoy freedom and irresponsibility. "These be fine words;" but are they any better than "sounding brass?" A writer in the May number of the International Review, evidently fresh from Germany, sees no hope for American scholarship as long as university freedom is denied college students, as long as they are subjected to daily examining and marking and as long as they are taught by recitations and not by lectures. These ideas seem too absurd to gain any currency; but to some they are vastly pleasing. "The three years of academical freedom (the *Academische Freiheit*) of the German University are not so dangerous as they would be here,

*Essays on a Liberal Education, p. 158.

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because the moment the Bursch takes his degree he falls for life under a rigorous system, against which it would be vain for him to struggle; his daily bread depends upon his daily obedience. And yet, even in Germany, a growing sense of its evils is beginning to manifest itself. When I explained to some of the learned men on the Continent the college system prevalent in America, by which students at the university are held to the daily performance of their duties—duties which they cannot go far in neglecting without being called to account, and that, too, during the four years of college study, until the young men reach the average age of twenty-one, they agreed that our system was much better than theirs, and one of them, raising his hands, exclaimed, 'Would to God we had it here!' Our danger is routine; theirs is license."* Lectures are well in their proportion and place; but their place is near the end of the course, and their proportion is not great. In no case can they take the place of rigid daily examinations.

4. The fourth condition is that the student must keep his terms and finish his course. That course lasts four years. At the time Harvard College was founded, the degree of B. A. was given at Oxford at the end of four years. But this was but the first stage of the student's course. To reach the degree of M. A., he gave three years more to geometry, astronomy, Greek, Hebrew and ancient history. Then the legal and medical courses claimed their students seven years more, and the theological course, its students eleven years more. It is easy to see why, in this new country, the Harvard Fathers made the course for the degree of B. A. four years, and, without requiring them to keep college terms, bestowed the degree of M. A. upon all

* President Felton's Inaugural Address, pp. 89, 90.

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who prosecuted their studies for the next three years after graduation. By no means should we shorten that four years' course. Rather let us hope will the new studies that are crowding into the course lead to a year being added. Let us, then, insist on two things:

(1.) The student must finish his course in time. It is idle to say that some may clear the space in three years, or, perhaps, in two. Growth as well as work is concerned. Space and quantity are not all. There must be time for digesting and assimilating, for mellowing and ripening. One might take in one day food enough for two days, but this would not be wise. Every year thus gained by overcrowding is really lost to the student. As one has well said: He that thus finds his life loses it. He loses the wholesome companionship his fellows afford; he loses the healthy stimulus his professors give; he loses the fine tempering and culturing a normal college life alone can give.

(2.) The college, as a rule, must not bestow the degree of B. A. on students who have studied but two or three years. That degree has a fixed meaning, a conventional and historical significance. It represents four years of discipline and culture. To give it for anything less is a breach of good faith and college comity. It is like clipping coin. When the authorities of Brown University and those of the University of Vermont made the changes to which allusion has been made, they were careful to guard the integrity and value of this degree, by wisely resolving to bestow it on those alone who should finish the four years' course.

5. The last condition I shall name is that, throughout his course, religion must be brought to bear upon the student.

The end of the college life is perfect manhood; then Christian culture must temper the whole educating process. For perfect manhood, we have seen, is noth-

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ing but the Christian religion completed in man. To leave out religion would be to drop the most precious and powerful factor.

We know our nature is religious as surely as we know it is rational. All nations worship something. We have spiritual wants and aspirations which only the Christian religion can satisfy. Must that region of our being which is their home lie waste? Can that be a complete education which neglects it? Even Huxley believes "some form of religion and morality is essential to true education." Then which of the "Ten Great Religions" must it be? Only one can stand the test of the inductive method: "Where are the nine?"

Students need this religion for a daily safeguard. Away from home, without experience, missing parents' counsel, living a novel and unique life, if others need religion for a guide, much more do they. The normal passions and appetites are awaking to life; and what but religion can insure their normal action? Where irreligion prevails, all kinds of excesses in student life are possible.

Students need a safeguard against unbelief. We are justly warned of the dangers of mere mental culture. It often becomes a dry rot to all that is spiritual. "All intellectual study," Dr. Arnold said, "requires spiritual study to be joined with it, lest our nature itself become 'einseitig,' the higher reason, the moral and spiritual wisdom, stunted and decaying." He believed "the tendency to atheism exists in every study, followed up vigorously, without a foundation of faith carefully strengthened and built upon."

Religion favors scholarship. It gives rest to the mind and peace to the soul, and thus allows the student to devote all his energies to his work. It conserves his powers of mind and body; for it is a flaming sword

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turning against every vice that would destroy them. It quickens his sense of duty and binds him to successful achievement, by infusing into his life the perseverance of the saints. It is light to mind as well as to soul —not Bacon's dry light, but that which

"Never was on sea or land;"

which, in the Apostle's sight, is also life to warm and quicken the whole spiritual and rational man. It brings all his powers into harmony. It makes faculty answer faculty, as well tuned strings vibrate in sympathy whichever one is smitten.

Finally, religion gives the student a relish and a love for truth. Itself is in sympathy with all truths —the profoundest in science and philosophy. For it finds their roots are in Him who is the truth. When the great Schleiermacher lies dying and is face to face with heavenly realities, he declares himself constrained to think the profoundest thoughts. Just as far as the Christian religion controls the scholar's mind, it will constrain him to think the profoundest thoughts in theology, philosophy and science.

Our last and broadest aim is seen to be manhood perfected. Stated more specifically, this aim is a liberal education for gaining which five conditions have been named.

III. The subordinate aims to be kept in view in the college course must now be named.

1. Discipline. *a.* Of the mind. This the very nature of a liberal education demands. Here we reach ground over which battle has raged for centuries.

Some insist that the student must seek mainly for useful knowledge, with a view to some trade or profession. Their graduate must make the ear of corn yield one kernel more. Their culture must make "two blades of grass to grow where grew but one before." According to these authorities, "the aspirations" of

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all "democratic America" are just now for more corn and grass. And "it is a terrible thing" to have this "practical knowledge" subordinated to "mental drill."

By all means let us have the facts and the knowledge this theory covets, but in their own place. Let the sciences be applied to the useful arts. Let all those sons of God marry these daughters of men; and may there be a race of giants such as the world has never seen.

But has science no other use? May it not discipline the mind, and lift the soul to God? Shade of Plato! Must geometry do nothing but measure land? Must chemistry do nothing better than make Bessemer steel? Is nothing useful that does not bless the body? Is nothing practical that does not make the arm stronger and the hand more cunning? What but "mental drill" gives Webster power to defend the Constitution, and Morse power to invent the telegraph and Copernicus power to disclose the true theory of the universe? Other things equal, "mental drill" gives manufacturer, merchant, mechanic and farmer each a stronger grasp upon his business.

This theory overreaches itself. Severe mental discipline and broad culture are the very wings on which science soars and discovers. Newton is not in the practical mood when overwhelmed with a sense of his great discovery almost achieved. In verifying his "three laws," Kepler's ecstatic feeling is: "O, God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee!" Linnæus is not thinking of grains and grasses when he exclaims: "God, the eternal, the all-knowing, the almighty, I have seen passing by me, and am overwhelmed with awe!" God, indeed, passes by him, as He passed by Moses, and reveals His glory in the orders, classes and genera of the vegetable world.

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There is something, then, far above this useful knowledge. It is discipline. It is "mental drill." The student must learn to think. He must learn to abstract, to generalize, to reason. He must learn to wield that Baconian instrument by which all the inductive sciences have been built. Let this babble about "practical knowledge" cease. Its philosophy is shallow and misleading. Its logic is false. It treats the mind as a purse that has no living connection with the coin it holds. More power, more mind—that is what the college course must give.

b. It is well the body is beginning to have its share in the college discipline. The Greeks had their athletic games. The middle ages rejoiced in chase and tournament. Our college gymnasiums are doing a good work in the same line. It is said that many a puny young man enters Amherst College who, through Prof. Hitchcock's care and skill, is enabled to graduate in firm health.

But let us beware of training the muscle too much. The scene enacted yearly at Saratoga, "though it make the unskillful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve." The condemnation which Prof. Dwight metes out to it in a recent number of the *New Englander* seems to be just.

2. A second subordinate aim to be kept in view in the college course is storing the mind with principles. "What is needed to elevate a man's intellectual nature is not that he should be an encyclopædia, but that he should have great ideas." But great ideas are not copies of facts, but of principles. An isolated fact is a mere point. A maxim is a larger or smaller segment of the circle. But a principle is the circle itself whose circumference widens as our knowledge clips in an ever greatening number of kindred facts. One must remember a fact, or a maxim, by sheer force.

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But a principle is associated with its facts. It is prefigured and conformed to the mind's structure. It belongs to the mind and has its home there by divine right. Just as soon as the student is disciplined enough to enable him to rise from facts to general principles must he begin to bring in this everlasting furniture.

These principles often pass into the mind and sink below the plane of consciousness. But their action is not less powerful for being unconscious and spontaneous. Observe the orator. The principles of logic and rhetoric are active every moment while he speaks. But he is not conscious of their presence. Had he to remember, like the school-boy, he would not be the orator. As he sweeps along his glowing pathway, his treasury yields him things new and old. Not only the facts, but the great principles of the sciences, mental, moral, political and physical, obey his call. They are plastic to his touch, for argument, for illustration, for ornament. To Faraday he goes for something in chemistry; to Adam Smith for a principle in political economy. Young takes him to the heavens for spectrum analysis; Dana to the depths for pre-Adamite fossils. Nothing comes amiss, if it is a fact or a principle in accord with his theme.

The disciplined scholar whose mind is thus furnished is an antagonist to be dreaded. He is like "the tower of David builded for an armory, wherein there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." The mighty men, the great thinkers of all the ages, have forged and used these. Or he is like a massive fort whose guns are all working and whose "looming bastions" are "fringed with fire."

3. The third subordinate aim to be kept in view in the college course is storing the mind with facts. Here is the place for "useful knowledge." But let not facts be heaped into the mind as chips into the basket.

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Let not knowledge be poured into the mind, as wheat into the bin where it can never sprout and grow. It must be sifted and cleansed. It must be classified. It must be organized. Facts must be firmly united to their principles. Then it will be a pleasure to hold them. To use them will add to the discipline gained, illustrate the principles involved and increase the volume and power of the mind itself.

IV. It is now in order to name the studies to be pursued in the college course. Here we reach another stricken field. And the battle still rages; but there is no time to describe it.

That the classics afford a discipline no other studies yield is too generally conceded to need argument. I will not make a special point here.

When the student begins to translate, he begins to acquire the knowledge of his mother tongue. Let him seek but one word for each foreign one, or, like Rufus Choate, harness six synonymes to draw his burden home, he is increasing his stock of words.

These words are nouns, verbs, particles. They are articulated into speech. That Grecian phalanx of Platonic ideas and that Roman legion of Ciceronian thoughts are disbanded and organized anew into the English regiment. Hence knowledge of grammar, Latin, Greek, English and universal.

These words make sentences, and the sentences periods. The student is learning to compose. Sitting at the feet of the great masters in speech, he is unconsciously taking his first lessons in logic and rhetoric.

Then he is touching biography and instituting himself in ancient history. He learns geography. He unfolds the map of the world and finds its political divisions shifting like the scenes in a drama. He explores the head-waters of literature. Homer leads him to Virgil, and Virgil to Dante, and Dante to Milton.

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In the Parthenon and the Pantheon he gets glimpses of ancient art. And Zeuxis and Phidias prepare him for the glories of Raphael and Michel Angelo.

These advantages come to him through tongues that are in themselves marvels of artistic beauty. The Greek, the embodiment of grace; its meanings, copious; its words, pictures; its sentences, melodies; its structure, regular and rhythmic; its whole form flexible as the living body, yet severe in its beauty as the chiseled marble. The Latin, less copious, less flexible, less graceful; but strong, regular, sonorous; its words and sentences, as one has said, bearing down upon us like an old Roman army, the trumpets sounding and the colors flying.

Would the student learn French, Spanish and Italian? Of all these languages the Latin is the mother, and, like Milton's Eve, she is "fairest of all her daughters." Whichever he would woo, let the learner court the mother first. John Stuart Mill declares that Latin "makes it easier to learn four or five Continental languages than it is to learn one without it." Would the student completely master his own language? Is he willing, as some optional courses lead us to suppose, to study it five-sixths of the time for three years? In the name of John Stuart Mill, in the name of philosophy and common sense, let him not omit Greek and Latin!

But says one: "Dead languages are not for living men." But these live in two-thirds of the bulk of our brawny English. They live in myriads of its delicate meanings, in thousands of its etymologies which are so many word histories. They live in images, illustrations and allusions that are scattered throughout our literature. They live in that unique language which is made of technical and scientific terms; which is both precise and picturesque, both mathematics and poetry;

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which in geology marks out and describes its great periods; which in natural history brings before the mind, as Agassiz has shown us, God's typical thoughts and regulative ideas.

In all our colleges, mathematics are held in just estimation. Some, as Dr. Moberly and Sir William Hamilton, have denied its worth as a discipline. But it seems to me the study is a good gymnastic. It fixes the attention and becomes a foe to mental dissipation. It braces and girds the understanding and gives to its movements precision and power. It strengthens the logical faculty; it prompts it to link effect to cause and conclusion to premise; it helps it to shut out inconsequential reasoning. It may even touch and quicken the imagination. There is a "mathematical imagination." "Figures pleased me," said one, "as being quantities, and as having existed before the heavens."

But this science has other uses. Other sciences invoke its aid. It becomes their guide, philosopher and friend. It formulates their facts and verifies their conclusions. In natural philosophy, it determines weights and velocities. In all natural history, it fixes the structures and the homologies. With equal ease it handles atoms in chemistry and worlds in astronomy. It conditions all forms and forces. It governs the hues of the rainbow and the harmonies of the oratorios. It has some of the attributes of God himself. If I ascend up into heaven, it is there; if I make my bed in hell, it is there.

But we must not give four years to the mind's culture, and not study the mind itself. To study all God's works but His master-piece would not be wise.

There are the mental and moral sciences: Metaphysics, dealing with primal truths, first principles; psychology, mapping out the soul and describing its

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powers; logic, unfolding the laws of all true reasoning; ethics, disclosing the ground of moral obligation; and esthetics, teaching us the nature and final cause of beauty.

Some of the world's foremost thinkers have given themselves to these studies. To say nothing of the discipline they impart, they touch great questions that concern us here and hereafter. Have we souls that are distinct from our bodies? Or is soul but a name for the body's highest functions? Is reason but a figment of consciousness and consciousness itself the result of nervous organization? Is mental science but an alias for physiology?

If there is a veritable mind, a spiritual entity, whence its ideas? Do the senses give them all? Or do the senses supply but the occasion for their birth? Are there primary truths, wrought into the mind's very framework, that serve as moulds into which all our thoughts are run?

Is the will free? Has it the power of contrary choice? What is the ground of moral obligation? Is it utility, or order, or right, or love, or God's unchanging will?

So long as men are not content to say: "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die," they will discuss these great questions.

Akin to these are the social sciences: History, considered not as mere narrative and biography, but a logical unfolding of causes and effects in men's affairs; international law, which the multiplying ties that bind the nations together are making a more important study; and political economy, which tells us how national wealth is produced and destroyed. The calamities that have so long depressed our business, the evils that wrong measures in finance are sure to

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bring upon us, should give this study great value in our eyes.

The physical sciences belong to the college course. In the American colleges they are receiving due attention. Tempered with the studies already named, they afford a wholesome discipline. They make the senses quick to perceive and to observe. They train the student to see relations and discover laws. Through multitudes of bewildering facts they lead him to principles.

And they have a value that is not found in material results, or in mental discipline. They affect our moral and spiritual being. Rightly used, they are helps to religion. They open the doors of the material universe; and it is like opening the gates of Milton's Paradise. A visible order is revealed—the everlasting union of law and beauty. The Greeks called it cosmos; a word into which Humboldt has put a world of meaning of which they never dreamed.

The evidences of the Christian religion hold a place rightfully in the college course. They nourish both reason and faith. They discipline the mind and feed the soul.

This study requires the student to be grounded in the Sacred Scriptures. How can he know what religion is without consulting its documents? In the opinion of the late Dr. Francis Lieber, Christianity has so colored all our literature and all our institutions, has modified or dictated so many of our laws, that no one ignorant of these Sacred Writings can be called liberally educated.

But the student needs these sacred words for a stronger reason. His life will be as his faith; and his faith must rest on the truth. No fear of being called sectarian must keep us from teaching this Christian truth. If we hesitate, we are not fit to be here. All

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that is common to believers, all that is essential to Christian manhood, we are bound to preach and to teach. Emphasize a particular creed we will not; glorify the Christian religion we will. Our trumpet shall give no uncertain sound.

The same principle must obtain in the class-room. Here every incidental allusion must honor our faith. The moment we leave physical science, philology and pure logic, we reach, as Dr. Arnold has said, studies in which moral questions are sprung upon us; and we can not be neutral. We must affirm the faith, or deny it. No teacher can refuse to speak. To be silent is to take sides.

But to make this teaching effectual, the professors themselves must "do the truth" and "come to the light" and show in their lives "the beauty of holiness." This "doing" is more convincing than teaching or preaching. The truth thus acquires an outward force, a silent, objective momentum which makes it almost resistless.

To this religious teaching Olivet College is fully committed. To remit it would be to deny her founder and her history, and to become unworthy of her spiritual ancestry. Her line of descent is through Oberlin, Dartmouth, Yale and Harvard from the noble "Puritan foundation," Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge. Let her be true to her lineage.

Such, in my judgment, is the course of study a liberal education requires. Such are the conditions that are needed to impart to the course its highest tone and to secure for it the best results.

Let no one say it is a course which is suitable for training ministers only. If the course at Harvard and at Yale wore at first a theological hue, that hue long since faded away. The typical American college is as well fitted to educate lawyers as ministers.

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But cannot the scientific school rightly claim the student that is to become a physician? This raises the old question: Make the scientific school as efficient as possible; make all its parts and powers bear upon this profession; will it, on the whole, produce better physicians than the liberal course supplemented, as it may be, by scientific study in the laboratory? For one, I have no doubt. The liberal course will give us the abler man and the better physician. Mr. Wilson pleads earnestly for more science in the English schools; but he utters a warning against making science the staple of a liberal education. It would produce, he believes, "a dangerous onesidedness."* But it is as dangerous for a physician to be one-sided as for a minister or for a lawyer.

Perhaps the comparative merits of the courses may be stated thus: Four years in technological science give A some power, some special knowledge and some technical skill. Four years in liberal studies give B no technical skill, no professional knowledge, but much power. This greater power enables him soon to outstrip A even in his favorite pursuits, and to become for life a better cultured, better balanced and safer physician. The argument does not need to touch time or expense. The question is: Which course is intrinsically best for training our physicians?

Our scientific school answers generally to the German real school. But in Germany, we are told, "some of the best scientific men declare their belief that university instruction in science, following the gymnastic discipline," or, as we should say, the college discipline, "is better far as a preparation for what are called the modern pursuits than the training given in the real school." They question whether the real school has not been weighed in the balance and found wanting;

* Essays on a Liberal Education, p. 257.

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whether "the gymnasium, somewhat modified, should not be the training place of all who seek a higher culture."*

"I have been told by an eminent professor of natural science, who formerly belonged to a foreign university into which came pupils from the gymnasia, where a classical course was required, and others from the so-called real schools, where the studies were exclusively practical and scientific, that invariably the classical men made the most rapid progress in the study of the natural sciences, for which the preparation of the others, in a superficial view, would be supposed to have best qualified them. The reason was that the gymnasia furnished a more complete exercise of the intellectual powers, and he who had been subjected to it was better fitted for any special department in the university. I think these views are sound and philosophical."† The eminent professor of natural science to whom reference is here made is undoubtedly the celebrated Agassiz.

The influx of uneducated men is debasing the professions of law and medicine. The best lawyers and physicians deplore the fact. Not long ago Harvard made a brave attempt, in medicine, to stem the evil tide. The standard was raised, and as an immediate result about two-thirds of her medical students left. The evil seems almost incurable. Could the state be induced to fix the true standard of qualification, the professional schools would then have to conform. Let this be done in law and medicine, and these noble professions will begin to rise.

Should that time come, it will be easier to root out the heresy that a liberal education does not pay in

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* Inaugural Address of D. C. Gilman, LL. D., President of the John Hopkins University.

† Pres. Felton's Inaugural Address, pp. 109, 110.

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professional success. Even the merchant and the manufacturer find it pays in increased business capacity. An eminent Boston merchant of the last generation preferred for clerks graduates to those not graduates, even when the latter had had far more experience in the counting-room. The graduates, he said, lacked only the details of the profession, and these they would soon master. Then, as a rule, they would excel those not graduates, both in grasp and breadth.

So long as the laws of mind remain unchanged, this must be so. Without much education, men of great natural ability often succeed in life; and some college-bred men who have no natural ability fail. Nevertheless, this foundation fact stands sure: The better one's education, the more of a man is he; and the greater his success is likely to be. The argument drawn from the case of so-called self-made men is utterly false. It makes an exception, based on five per-cent., sweep away a rule that is based on ninety-five per-cent. It reverses the poles of true logic. It does not make the exceptious prove the rule; it makes the rule itself out of the exceptions.

This course of study, liberal, yet intensely practical, telling powerfully on life in this world and in the world to come, we commend to all ingenuous youth. We open our doors to both sexes. If co-education is an experiment, it is one worth trying; and the experience in that institution* in which it has been longest and most fairly tried goes far toward settling the question in the affirmative.

Though we have a special course for young women, they are not shut out from that prescribed for young men. The founders of Smith College boldly assume that women ought to have as thorough education as

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* Oberlin College.

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men, and that the training for both sexes must be substantially the same. They offer a course of study which is equal to that at Amherst and in which the classics and the mathematics have the same prominence. The success of Smith College, for which I earnestly pray, will help us answer some questions here.

I have tried to set forth what, in my judgment, is the true college course. It has the sanction of many of the wisest men. It has borne the test of experience. Its details may be varied and improved; but its principles are fixed in the history of the race and in the laws of the human mind.

What we need is the means to enable us to work according to this high standard. Olivet College has vindicated its right to be. It has shown itself worthy of the prayers and the patronage of its friends. I read its history with wonder and delight. The faith of its founders is great. It would be difficult to find in the whole history of planting Christian colleges a sublimer confidence in God, a more touching example of toils and sacrifices. Let those who have passed away be held in lasting honor. And we will not forget those who are still with us and whose labors have been so abundant. Often perplexed, but never in despair; sometimes cast down, but never destroyed; they have fought a good fight; they have kept the faith. In the name of the friends of Christian learning, I thank them.

Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees and friends of Olivet College: These noble men and women have illustrated the great principle of voluntaryism which our fathers established when they cut church and state asunder. We were born under its sway. It makes us responsible for the higher Christian education. This is a sacred trust. It costs something to be true to it; but to be true to it pays immeasurably more than it costs. It makes noble men, who build noble institu-

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tions. We want no state aid. Under God, our own arms must bring salvation. I beg you to settle this matter in your own minds once for all. It is a privilege for the Christians of Michigan to build this College. Therefore, I shall ask for small sums and for large ones.

Let us deal frankly in this matter. Our necessities are many and great. The salaries of these faithful professors must be raised; new professorships must be established; new buildings must be reared; the library must be systematically increased; and some strong arm must bring us apparatus, cabinets and laboratories. Then the whole College must be fringed with scholarships. I must not cease to plead till we can say: No student needs to leave Olivet College for lack of the best training, or for lack of aid. I know the heart of the needy student; and if I forget him, may my right hand forget her cunning. Furnish these means; and, with God's blessing, Olivet College must become a power in the land. To this end, our prayers shall ever be "unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think."

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"THE FIELD IS THE WORLD."

FOR THE USE OF SOCIETIES WHO WISH TO REPLENISH THEIR TREASURIES, OR AWAKEN AN INTEREST IN MISSIONS, BY PORTRAYING THE PECULIAR NEED OF EACH HEATHEN AND NOMINALLY CHRISTIAN COUNTRY WHERE OUR MISSIONARIES ARE STATIONED.

BY

MRS. GEORGE CLINTON SMITH.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

SPRINGFIELD PRINTING CO., PRINTERS AND BINDERS.

1878.

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EXPLANATORY.

There are two or more ways in which an entertainment may be given with this article on Missions. One lady, representing America, may read the entire piece. As each country is mentioned, let the person representing that field step forward by the side of the reader, in such order that when the finale is reached, America is in the center.

Should more variety be desirable, let those who recite well, commit to memory the parts they represent, America reading or reciting only those fields where it appears that she is setting forth their peculiar needs for them, as in Papal Europe, Syria and China, though a few slight changes in the latter, will render it appropriate for the one dressed in the costume of that country.

Again, six of the fields may be impersonated by young men, or each land by both a lady and gentleman, or even a girl and a boy, thus making twenty-four or more participants, instead of twelve or thirteen.

In whatever manner the entertainment is presented, let it close with a grand tableau of all the nations clustered around the cross.

The faces of some should be powdered a tawny hue, to properly represent the complexion of the natives of their countries.

America may combine the stars and stripes with any pleasing feature of American style. The costumes of the rest may be easily gotten up by reference to books attainable in almost any Library.

The hymns in the latter part can be used or not, at the option of those getting up the entertainment.

Any further information may be obtained by addressing

MRS. GEORGE CLINTON SMITH,
Box 598. Springfield, Illinois.

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INTRODUCTION.

AMERICA.

Hast ever weighed the need of heathen land,
Or dwelt upon our Saviour's great command—
"Go preach the Gospel in each far off clime;
Tell *all* the earth the story, grand, sublime?"
If not, then come with me; those lands explore;
Learn of their abject state, and then deplore
With all the heart, mind, soul and strength,
Their superstitious ignorance; the length
Of time they've wandered in the gloomy way,
Without the cheering light of Gospel day.
Who can describe, what pencil can portray
The depth of guilt that on *our* souls must lay,
If we direct them not, Salvation's way?
Say some—"We have the heathen at our door!"
And thus it was when Christ in days of yore
Gave the disciples the command to go
O'er all the earth, that sinners far, might know,
From East to West, from North to sunny South,
The tidings of a gracious Saviour's birth.
He bade them fling all selfishness away,
And shed o'er distant lands, the Truth's bright ray.
And can we, *dare* we question His command;
His parting counsel to that little band?
(Good Lord, forbid! may we with gladness send
Thy holy word to earth's remotest end).

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INDIA, SIAM AND LAOS.

Three sisters we, from beyond the arid desert's burning sand;
From beyond the Himalaya's grand and lofty mountain strand.
We have heard of Christ the Saviour, from the missionaries there,
And have learned to bow, and plead with God, in earnest, fervent prayer.
But our dear lands are broad and lengthy, and millions have not heard
The touching story of the cross, and our Heavenly Father's Word.
We ask for laborers, for more sowers of the precious seed;
This Christian land will not refuse us, knowing our pressing need.
What! do we hear you answer us, "There's enough to do at home?"
You do not understand our wretched state! then with us come.
See yonder mother take her child, "dear as the apple of her eye,"
And cast beneath the murderous wheels of Juggernaut to die,
To satisfy the god she worships with superstitious awe;
Come! see the dire calamity from keeping Brahma's law,
And Travancore's sad reward for serving Buddha's god;
With Rajpootana's caste and pride; and then you'll send the Word
By thousands, where you have sent one, to light the dreary maze
Of souls as dear to Christ, as those who walk in Truth's bright rays.
In some of our loved provinces, there are those who cry for bread;
For the famine's devastation fills the country fair with dread.
The people call upon their gods for help; but all in vain!
And their confidence in idols' power and skill, is on the wane.
Were sufficient workers there, with bread, and Bibles, too,
Our whole land might be converted to Christ's religion true.
All this requires money! but can ye *dare* refuse
To give as God has prospered? or would ye rather choose
To let them perish day by day, while ye think but of gain?
(Father, forbid! Arouse each heart to see its duty plain).
In twenty different languages we need the printed page;
So twenty times the effort is urged, and years of time engage.
But twenty times the assistance our gracious God will give
To those whose days demand it; who in His precepts live.
He can bring good from evil! e'en heathen princes give
Their shining silver ticals, to help His cause to live.
The cattle on a thousand hills are His, the psalmist sings;
And now the king of Siam, *his* gen'rous tribute brings.

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JAPAN.

In Japan's borders, far beyond the rolling sea,
Dwell thirty million souls, as cultured, proud and free
As many in your own loved land, save that they bow
The knee to Shintoo's law, and follow Buddha's voice.
Ah, hapless state! to love the beautiful and bright,
And yet not know a Saviour died for them. Some
Eighteen years ago, as soon as access could be
Had to us, there came from Christian homes, true teachers
Of a Saviour's birth and death. Then followed more; and
Two have just gone forth,—two sisters with the prayers and
Tears of friends, to pass through war's domains "alone, yet
Not alone." For the kind Father, who notes every
Sparrow's fall, and numbers every action good or
Ill, sends guardians to encamp around about them,
And verify the seeming paradox—"alone,
Yet, *not* alone." They swell the workers in our land
To forty-eight, while but a handful of souls of all
The millions there, look up and say,—My Lord! my Trust!
Eternity's too short to speak Thy boundless praise.
To that far land of wondrous workmanship and skill,
One* went from your own midst, some years agone; but health
Was shattered in the crowd of care and toil; and she
Returns to home and friends, to regain health, and renew
Strength; while all her soul is in that field where millions
Know not yet of God. (Father, reveal Thyself to
Her and us, in this unfolding of Thy Providence.
This is but Jordan's wave! Yonder our Canaan lies").
She tells you it is Springtime in Japan's bright land,
And seeds of truth lie scattered all about. Thou knowest,
O, Father! *where* they fell. But breathe upon them, that
They may spring up and bring forth fruit. Watch o'er and
Water them; for Thou can'st touch the smallest, feeblest
Seeds, and fairest, fertile fields of waving grain, shall
Rise, and e'en the desert drear, shall bud and bloom.

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* Mrs. Carruthers.

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PAPAL EUROPE—*Spain and Italy.*

Europe, our mother! to whom all civilization
Owes so much; we render back to thee with filial
Gratitude, the blessings thou hast for us *won.* We
Profit by thy struggles to achieve free speech and
Worship. The sufferings of the Waldenses, and
Remnants of our faith, in France and Switzerland's fair
Climes, are not forgot. The six years past, in which the
Eternal city's gates have open been t' admit
The light of Gospel Truth, have witnessed many souls
Born into Protestant belief.

Italia now
Loves, not alone companionship with music, but
With God. And Spain, since eighteen sixty-eight, claims
Thirty thousand souls who own our Savior—"King of
Kings." We have much cause for joy. But millions yet are
Under popish rule. Their very souls they dare not
Call their own; and look they unto Romish priests
Instead of Christ the Lord, t' absolve them from their sin.
In Rome alone, nine thousand priests exert their sway.
Our hearts go out to thee, O, mother land! and well
We know that, unless aid is sent, with blessing of
Our Father's watchful care and love, the work may
Retrograde, and popish power exert again, a
Universal reign. (Direct us, Mighty One! The
Work is Thine, the glory Thine, and we are Thine. "May
We be willing instruments, and bless Thee, for the use").

AFRICA.

Where billows of sun roll sluggish thro' the mid-day sky,
And wild oleanders' radiant blossoms greet the eye;
Where brilliant red berries of full many a trailing vine
With ferns and lichens rare, their dark, glossy leaves entwine;
Where sable beings,—creatures of the high, holy One,
Bow down to bird, beast, reptile, stock and inan'mate stone;
There dwell I, 'mong a deplorably degraded race
Who tremble at satanic name, but fear not God's face.
With some, dark, bloody, heathenish Fetischism rules;

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Their endless rites and ceremonies, but make them tools
Of his satanic majesty. We do not ask
More sacrifice of life,—that *your* frail ones o'er task
Their powers and ruin health, *our* wretched ones to save
From superstition's wiles, and cruel, heathen grave;
('Tis sad to tell the story of their untimely death;
Of sixty-seven who came to teach, the feverish breath
Of tropic clime, laid all but nine in foreign grave;
Tho' not till they proclaimed that Christ His life a ransom gave)

We only ask that sturdy ones of our own race, in your fair land,
Be educated for the work, and sent to Afric's golden strand.
A noble work along the coral coast these martyrs have done,
From Corisco to Calabar; from Senegal to Sierra Leone;

But far within our boundaries the word has not been sent;
We cannot let the good work stop; we cannot rest content,
Until the cause of Christ our King spread over *all* the earth;
'Till Nigritia and Cassange acknowledge Jesus' worth.
Tho' dark the prospect, God has said (and *can* we not receive
His precious promise to our race, and *can* we not believe?)
"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God,
And, with the nations everywhere, proclaim one common Lord.

SYRIA.

O, country, where our Saviour had his birth
In Bethlehem's Judean manger low;
Where proud Jerusalem was situate;
O'er whose condition sad, He wept hot tears
Of love; thou land which stoned the prophets old;
Thou, who was first to doubt, who should'st have been
The first to embrace him as your King; we
Gladly sent to thee, e'en thee, the story
Of our Lord's redemption. "Redemption! 'twas
The labor of the skies,—far more than *that*,—
It was death in Heaven! A truth so strange, 'twere
Bold to think it true, and yet far bolder
Still, to disbelieve. Here pause and ponder!
Oh, how does man himself debase! and yet
How near he presses on the seraph's wing,

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That God's own Son did for him die. The double
Son;—the made and the remade. What love,
That e'en to you, the bleeding cross has promised life!
The bleeding cross has sworn eternal grace!"

O, ye who from this Rock of Ages leap;
Ye doubters, plunging headlong in the deep;
Again is sent Salvation's wondrous Word;
Believe! nor crucify afresh the Lord.

PERSIA.

Land of oriental splendor,
  Worshiping the sun and flame
Trusting blindly to the Koran;
  Learn to love the Saviour's name!
Reject pantheistic teachings!
  From Mahomet turn away!
What results arise from sun-praise?
  Learn to love the Heavenly rays
That alone can give souls cleansing,
  That alone can give souls light.
Learn of Jesus and *His* worship,
  And the only path of right.
Ancient most, of all the Empires
  Of which history doth tell;
Cyrus' home, and Artaxerxes',
  Whom their followers served so well;
Land that held the captive Jewess—
  Esther, loved and lovely Queen;
Home of King Ahashuerus;
  Clime of wond'rous fair Bahrein;
We are moved to speak thy praises;
  We would recognize the aid
Thy brave daughters e'er have
  To our missionaries paid.
Persia's daughters toil for Persia,
  With the heart's best, warmest love;
Pointing souls in darkness wand'ring
  To the sunlit home above.

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May she set the bright example,
Till all countries follow suit,—
China's daughters toil for China;
Then the work will bear much fruit,
When the dark-eyed heathen maiden
Of the Asiatic sea,
And when Afric's sons and daughters
Give their days to teach of Thee.
Persia! land of unique beauty!
Lovelier textures ne'er were seen,
Than are woven by thy skilled ones,
Out of wool and silken sheen.
Persia, we have sent assistance,
And we send assistance still;
For God always doubly helps those
Who but help themselves with will.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In South America's divisions, twelve,
The Gospel has been preached, or Bible sent,
To all but one. Some thirteen thousand souls
Look up to God, in Protestant belief;
But over twenty millions more, are in the
Treach'rous grasp of infidelity in
Various forms, or else to Mary kneel,—
Adoring images of wood and gold,
When Thou hast said,—"*No other worship shalt*
Thou know; no graven image shalt thou make!"
One half the population there, consists
Of Whites, and Portuguese descent. The rest
Are Blacks and Indians. Among the mass,
Rare culture oft exists; and some have high
Distinction won, in arts and sciences.
But what avail is all the learning of
The world, its pomp, or power, to men who know
Not Christ, nor how He rose and dwells with God—
The Father infinite, to intercede
For sinful man, "The just for the unjust?"
We call upon the best your land can boast,

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To teach them Truth. A consecrated heart
Is 'bove all else; but having that, we wish
The best in outward address, that an easier
Access may be had to them. The people
Will not reject Christ, if properly
Approached. Their hearts are ready to receive.
One man, a thousand miles from where the Word
Is preached, had heard the wondrous plan—Salvation's
Way, thro' colporteurs. He came to nearest
Station to confess his faith and be baptized,
Pleading for some one to be sent to preach
The Way of Life. But not one could be spared!
Truly, the field is broad, and laborers few!
One gray-haired pilgrim asked a missionary
There,—" Where were *your* fathers, that *our* fathers
Died without this Book? Let not this query
E'er be asked by those who after *us* shall come!
'Tis true, three hundred years ago, a noble
Band were sent from England to this land
To circulate the Word. But Romish priests consigned
It to the flames by thousands, and wet the
Soil with martyrs' blood, which now is yielding
By the grace of Him, who *alone can* give the
Increase, rapid fruits. Yet the cry comes
Earnestly and pleadingly across the
Country far,—" More help! Send us more help!"

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Many and many moons have waxed and waned,
Since some of Israel's tribes wandered away.
And when this *lovely* land, America, was
Entered first by European race, there
Dwelt upon these shores, at least five million souls,
Of dusky face, who looked up to the starry
Skies, and seemed to realize there is a
God,—a Spirit,—The " Great Father " of us
All; but none had heard of Jesus' wondrous
Love. These people of the tawny hue and
Stalwart frame, are thought by some to be

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Descendants of the long lost tribes. Other
Theories exist. It matters not. 'Twere
Vain, also, to dwell on all their treach'ry
To the pale-faced race, nor how *they* were provoked
And had their lands,—their's by possession's rights,
Wrest from them, while they were displaced and
Driven back, from time to time, 'till now the
Remnant mostly dwell beyond Missouri's
Waters dark. But they have souls! even these
Wild creatures of the Western soil. A century
Ago, the gentle toned Moravians told them
Of Christ, our Hope, and some believed.
Since '33, *our* Christians have been
Teaching them the Truth; and now, some ably
Teach their tribes themselves.

The Christian converts
'Mong these people, number more than twelve
Thousand souls. But many yet refuse to learn
Of Christ, while some have never heard the name,
And with their war-whoops and dread scalping
Knives, make day and night terrific, and life
In jeopardy. But let not dire discouragement
Our souls possess! The Gospel's gentle rays have
Diffused light to darkened minds, and given
Peace, where warfare reigned before.

It is a
Truth, worthy to be repeated until it reaches
Every doubting heart,—that in proportion
To the time and means employed, no missions
To benighted souls, since apostolic days, have
More successful been, than to those Aborigines.

Then can we not go on in faith, till all the daughters dark,
And sons of warriors know our Christ, and to his teachings hark?
Till Minnetonka's sweeping bays, and Wakarusa's hills
Resound and echo back the strain to Walla-Walla's rills,—
We'll praise the Lord, and Christ, His Son, the Holy Spirit—three,
Upon our happy hunting grounds, thro' all eternity.

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MEXICO.

A nation at our doors, stands ready for
The Gospel light. The field is ready for
The sickle; the harvest sere and ripe.
"Imperium in imperio"—the deadliest
Foe of human liberty, is hateful
To the Mexican's brave heart.
Three hundred
Years ago, the germs of Protestant
Belief, were planted by the little bands
Of Huguenots and Puritans, who, virtual
Exiles from their native soil, dwelt in
The northern colonies, in poverty
And well nigh helplessness. They sowed in faith,
Believing that the future days would bring
Much fruit, 'tho their poor eyes might ne'er
Permitted be to see the gathered sheaves.
The work might have progressed with power, but that
The Spanish army with its mighty, cruel
Horde, entered, conquered, and possessed the land.
But God His people ne'er forgets; and the
Descendants of the upright man, He calls
By name.
The long dark night of haughty
Spanish rule, continued until '21,
Or near three centuries.
The powerful
Army, grand and proud, forced the people to
Embrace its precepts. Catholicism
Reigned supreme, but not in purity.
With it were mingled the remorseless
System of the Aztecs, and heathen
Ceremonies, 'till 'twere better far
To profess faith in naught, than bow
To all the vice and superstition they
Indulged. Not only were the Mexicans
Enslaved in their religion, but in the
Body also. Howe'er, the vital spark
Of truth remained, and from it their
Reform has sprung.

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After fifty and six
Dire revolutions, she has come out free!
A nation whose subjects now dare call their
Souls their own, stands ready to receive the
Word of life. Pleading with Mary, or any
Patron Saint of Popish lore, they see can
Be of no avail, since God has said—"*There*
Is no Advocate in Heaven, but One,—no
Mediator between God and man, but
Christ." Five years, the way has open been to
Admit of Gospel light; and now free speech
And liberty of conscience in religion
And political affairs, are gratefully
Enjoyed.
God ne'er forgot the toiling of
Those lowly ones in earlier days; and tho'
He let the darkness sore engulph the land
For many years, He breathed at last upon
It, and it sends out blossoms fresh and sweet,
Whose aromatic leaves, the nation heals.

CHINA.

Our sentiments, by nature, toward this land,
Are anything but love; and yet we prove
Our love for Christ, and souls, by sending from
Our midst, another,* whom our hearts hold dear.
We send her, did I say? She goes to obey the
Master's bidding. Her time, her talents,—all
She gives, a willing sacrifice, to teach
Misguided souls the better way. And
Wherefore do instructors go from this *new*
World, to one which has been peopled thousands
Of years?—that land which has been called the
Type of permanence,—which has seen Greece and
Rome, Assyria and Persia rise and
Fall,—a land with full five hundred million
Souls, while ours, a handful only has,

* Miss Alice Schmucker, who sailed for China, Jan. 10th, '78. Miss Jennie Chapin who went to that country, from Springfield, several years since, still remains there, doing good work.

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Compared with this, teeming with busy life.
Confuscius, who lived fifty and five
Hundred years before the Saviour's time,
Founded for them a code of morals, good
So far as they extend. Buddha's and
Mahomet' systems, too, with all their errors
Gross, teach much of truth, and lay down many rules
For leading worthy lives. But anything
That stoppeth short of Christ, is but as
Sounding brass or tinkling cymbal to the
Soul. The emptiness of these three systems,
Finds a ready proof in the sad fact—that
Notwithstanding ages have elapsed since
They were formed, millions in this strange land of
Ancient days, yet worship idols, and adoration give
To Fo; placing their trusts in spirits evil,
And demons to be feared. Others believe
In charms and incantations wierd, and e'en
The lotus flower, in their dark estimates,
Is sacred, and hath power to take a soul
From purgatory, and even raise the
Dead. Of suicides, there are ten thousand,
On an average, yearly. And persons of
High caste, have such erroneous views of
Beauty and of life, that feet are dwarfed to
Match the stunted soul.
What land needs more
The enlightening rays of Gospel truth,
Than this, to teach expansion of the soul,
And natural growth of its indwelling
Temple? We would not boast that we by
Nature, are worthier than they; but God
Has blessed us more, in giving us a home
In happy Christian land. To *Him* belongs
The glory; to Him the boundless praise.
And
Yet this life in Christian land ; this knowledge
Of the grandest truth—Salvation's way, makes
It the duty of our lives, to waft the
Story 'round the world. To us is given the

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Glorious work; and if we heed it not, from
God's condemning law, we cannot flee.
On California's shores; On Oregon's
Broad plains; and scattered through the cities of
Our land, already dwell full twenty
Thousand Chinese souls. Why came they to this
Foreign clime? Ostensibly for gain, and
Mayhap, curiosity. But may not
The kind Father of us all have sent them
Here to learn of Him, that they may hence
Return to tell the tidings glad to
Kindred dear? We cannot disregard this
Theory which many able minds
Embrace, and who now prove their interest
In the cause, by giving up their lives to
Teach those heathen souls the Gospel truth.
Here lies a mighty work for those who
Cannot go abroad, and those who say—
"Behold the heathen at our doors!" Let not
A single Christian heart repose in ease and
Apathy, while "heathen perish, day by day."

FINALE—(AMERICA).

Ere we turn to other topics, let us
Each one question ask to our inmost heart
Of hearts;—What am *I* doing for the Master?
Am I telling souls of Christ? Do I e'er
In word or action, lend some aid in His
Behalf? If *not*, then my life is empty
Like the sounding brass, or the shallow
Tinkling cymbal. If I cannot go in
Person to direct lost souls the way, am
I giving of my substance, as the Lord
Has prospered me? If I am, I go by
Proxy, and the Saviour 'll bless the means. But
If no denial is practiced, no self-
Sacrifice e'er made; naught of pleasure e'er
Abandoned, to promote the good work's aid,

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I need look but for condemning, when the
Life here-after comes, and expect to hear
Him utter—Take the talent from the idler!
Cast the careless servant out!
This groping
After light by these benighted souls in
Every land; the failure of the multitude
Of false religions, to give peace, but paves
The way for Christ's religion true. The soil
Is ready everywhere for laborers of the
Lord. The Field?—IT IS THE WORLD! God might
Convert the heathen in a day. He is
All powerful. But *His* ways are not *our*
Ways, nor His thoughts, *ours*. May we toil on in
Patience, and ever trust the "SHALL *be*" of the Lord.

[Sing the following hymn to St. Petersburg, or Palestine. If something more elaborate is desired, let it be sung to — "When starry eyes look on the sea," by Henry Tucker, which appeared in the Boston Folio, for Oct., 1877.]

FROM PERSIA'S PLAIN.

From Persia's plain, from India's sea;
From Afric's sunny, sultry lea;
A cry comes to us pleadingly,
A wail of sadness, tenderly,—
Come o'er and help us show the way
To souls that deep in darkness lay.

O, ye who dwell in Christian land,
Regard ye not the great command
Of Him who died our souls to save
From sinners' death and sinners' grave?—
"To *every* clime the Gospel send!
Lo, I am with you, to the end!"

To China's distant, heathen shore,
Assistance lend those gone before.
"The field is white, the laborers few!"
Go, gather sheaves with courage true,
Till every soul from high to low,
The Saviour's free salvation know.

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Good Lord, forgive our doubts and fears,
Our selfish pride and foolish tears.
May souls be stirred and reach to Heaven;
Proclaim the Word with power and leaven,
'Till every soul shall know the Son;
And then receive the glad—"Well done!"

FATHER SPREAD THE GOSPEL RAY.

Father, spread the Gospel ray,
Far o'er earth's benighted way!
Let the glorious tidings go,
Till each nation, far, shall know—
Christ, the Saviour, died for men,
To redeem them from all sin.

Spread the tidings thro' the sky—
Christ, the Saviour, came to die!
Father, bless the laborers dear,
As they go, with prayer and tear;
Beam upon them from on high
Be their comfort ever nigh.

Refuge give them from the blast;
Shield them till the storm be past;
May they trust alone in Thee,
Neath thy shadow sheltered be;
Bring poor heathen souls to Christ;
And at last in Heaven rest.

The above hymn can be sung to "Refuge." If something newer and more difficult is desired, it will apply nicely to the trio—"Father, lead me by Thy hand," in the Cantata of "Belshazzar," by Butterfield.

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[From the *Christian at Work.*]

We have only to take a survey of the heathen world as it is now, and compare it with what it was fifty years ago, to recognize that the day-spring is at hand. Are, then, missions a failure. Yes, just as far as Christianity, itself, is a failure,—a failure because of the awful power of sin and doubt in us. The fact is, Christians are only about half converted themselves, and have hardly, as yet, learned the alphabet of Christ. When *we* are fully converted, and when we have learned to devote ourselves to Him, and our all to His cause, when Christendom precipitates itself in avalanches of love on heathenism, as the Crusaders marched to the conquest of Christ's sepulchre, with the cry—"God wills it,"—then the sun shall have risen to the zenith, and even the blind shall see. That day is beginning.

"Each breeze that sweeps the ocean,
Brings tidings from afar,
Of nations in commotion,
Prepared for Zion's war."

[From *The Advance.*]

The Scriptural definition of the ideal woman is—"one who hath been diligent in every good work." Some persons exhibit a tremulous solicitude lest (for all the world!) the Womans' Board of Missions shall dewomanize our Christain women, and lest some sweetly-heroic Christian lady who may have returned from years of missionary toil among far-off heathen homes, should consent to tell before a church full of Christian men and woman, the trials and triumphs of the work. But infinitely greater, as it seems to us, are the reasons for anxiety, lest tens of thousands of professedly Christian woman in the churches of America, shall take no interest in these public concerns, and shall suffer their true Christian womanliness to perish, smothered and asphyxiated in the close, poisoned air of selfish and petty solicitudes. The changes respecting what it is proper for woman to do, that have taken place within the century past, are wonderful. A hundred avenues are open to them for "good works," to five that were open then. This is matter for rejoicing, not for carping. Mary Lyon's soul is marching on!

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ROBT. G. INGERSOLL'S ATTACK ON THE BIBLE.*

By S. V. Leech, D.D., in Jackson Square M. E. Church, Baltimore.

There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of His coming? For since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.—2 Pet. iii: 3.

The last centuries have been conspicuous for the production of great Christian scholars. They have also given birth to men who have coveted an immortality of infamy. Europe and America, presenting the Church with a royal line of men illustrious for sanctified learning, have also cursed the world with the champion chiefs in the ranks of varied infidelity. One by one these men have utilized the platform and press in the promulgation of their invectives against Christianity, and the dissemination of objections to the Bible and the things held in veneration by the Christian public. Dextrously binding around the brows of the illiterate and superficially educated the poisonous bays of skepticism, and winning by craftiness to their banners susceptible young men restive under moral restraint, these commanders in the squads of noted freethinkers have steadily pressed the question of patriarchal unbelief, "What is the Almighty that we should serve Him, and what profit shall we have if we pray unto Him?" Their ingenious sophistry and profane derision have been frequently and overwhelmingly met by scholars of gigantic intellectual grasp and eminent for vast resources of knowledge; men whose columned names almost cover the shaft of authorship. But, like the hydra beheaded repeatedly by the blade of Hercules, infidelity fights hard for life. In new plumage, like the fabled Phœnix, it has come up again and again from its funeral ashes, and as changeable in its forms as the sea-god Proteus. The typical scoffers to whom Peter points in the text and of whom Paul says, "There is no fear of God before their eyes," will probably not become extinct until the end of time.

During the last several years Robert G. Ingersoll has reaped a large revenue by representing on the American platform the bold, vulgar, blasphemous type of infidelity associated with the names of Bolingbroke, Voltaire and Paine. He has magnetized public attention not by bulk of brain or wealth of knowledge, but by the intemperate scurrility with which he has attacked the persons, doctrines and precepts of the Scriptures. No cultivated infidel can read his profane satires without discovering that he is a stranger to the science of reasoning and unblushingly dishonest both in the narration of historical facts and the utterance of puerile objections to Bible doctrines. He scorns alike logical coherency, solid argumentation and public respect. He spurns all approximation to that impartial study of the sacred oracles and the evidences of revealed religion that guided to Christ such original and massive-brained infidels as Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Lyttleton, Lord Rochester and Gilbert West. He relies solely on the shafts of ridicule as they are held up piercing sacred truths. As we peruse his defamation of that volume which philosophers have eulogized and for which martyrs have gone with the victor song to the stake, the words of Nelson find illustration: "I have never been able to find an infidel who knew much about the Bible." Mr. Ingersoll exemplifies the remark of Prof. Garbett: "Nothing can be more contemptible than the argumentative resources of modern infidelity; it does not reason, but postulates." Lord Bacon evidently had his mental eye on such a man when he wrote: "A very little philosophy will incline a man's mind to infidelity, but depth in philosophy will bring a man to religion." Sarcasm and blasphemous fun are the baits with which he allures young men to their moral ruin, as the hunter decoys the periled stag to the moss-covered death trap. Reproducing

* In the Feb. Number we gave this sermon in outline. In compliance with many requests we have concluded to print it in full.—Ed

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the threadbare cavils of Voltaire and the worn-out demurrers of Paine, he covers up his fallacious reasoning with immoderate abuse of all that crystallizes around and is essential to the Christian religion. Instead of clear-cut arguments he palms off incoherent aspersions of the morals of Holy Writ. To "lecture" is to him but to maintain for an hour a steady fire of offensive adjectives at the Bible. He rails at those fundamental doctrines of inspiration that have won the veneration of the most celebrated thinkers of the world. Conscious that infidelity beclouds rather than brightens happiness; sensible that its negations are in conflict with conscience; apprised by the history of the French revolution and the morals of the skeptical classes of Europe as to its legitimate issues, and mindful, as he must be, of what Christianity has done for the world, he pursues the profession of an infidel lecturer; a profession beside which, in moral atrocity, gambling is honorable.

Sheridan, himself an infidel, said in his great speech on the French revolution: "Although no man can command my conviction, I have ever considered a deliberate disposition to make proselytes to infidelity as an unaccountable depravity. Whoever attempts to pluck the belief or prejudice on this subject from the bosom of one man, woman or child commits a brutal outrage, the motive for which I have never been able to conceive." Mr. Ingersoll has reached the bottom of an abyss of abandonment into whose depths Sheridan scorned to gaze.

We have been requested to review to-night a pamphlet copy of his tirade against the Bible, which he denominates "A Lecture on Hell." Its pages have little to say about the doctrine that flames from its front. Its title is a misnomer. It is but a classification of Scripture passages that to him present God as vindictive, the Bible as arrayed against personal happiness and the rights of women and children, and in favor of concubinage, polygamy, slavery, etc. The harangue is a rambling assault on this venerable volume. There is no approach to the most liberal rules of Scriptural interpretation. Assertion, jocularity and blasphemy are the three factors in the composition. For argument he substitutes affirmation, for logical reasoning, profane drollery, and for discussion he presents protest. To seize a strong point is like seizing quicksilver. To hold a central thought is like grasping an eel. So far as this freethinker opens the way, let us look into that wonderful Book around which the world's standard volumes shine as the stars of minor magnitude twinkle around the sun. To discuss in a single sermon all of the prominent thoughts overshadowed by the theme this lecture suggests would be like attempting to examine critically the art and architecture of Rome or Paris in an hour.

Mr. Ingersoll can see no necessity for the existence of the book to which Chrysostom gave the name Bible. He thinks the flambeau of reason and torch of nature were sufficient for our race engirded by Cimmerian darkness. But reason and history assert that the world needed an inspired written revelation from God. What did reason and nature teach concerning God's attributes, human duty, the way of salvation and human destiny? Go back to the golden age of classic civilization. What did Pericles and Augustus, Cicero and Homer, Thucydides and Tacitus know concerning such subjects as the resurrection of the dead, the immortality of the soul and eternal rewards and punishments? Their systems abounded with abominations. Their altars smoked amid debauchery and licentiousness. Rome and Greece in their highest refinement were the theatres of nameless and unrestricted iniquities. Only occasionally some splendid man like Socrates would stand out morally superior to his surroundings, as some truant star beaming in solitude from a sky of otherwise unbroken blackness. Egypt, claiming to be the intellectual teacher of the world, worshiped oxen, reptiles and birds. Phœnicia, Persia and Syria constantly offered human sacrifices to in-

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animate deities. The Druid priests of Britain bathed their knives in human hearts in worship. Even in a recent century the monarchs of Mexico offered annually twenty thousand stalwart men to the sun under the dripping knife. The world, outside of Palestine, was sunk in crime and environed with moral gloom. No Pagan system could free men from sensualism. Then God inspired holy men to communicate His will and to write "as they were moved by *the Holy Ghost.*" The Divine Spirit overshadowed the thought and guided the pens of the authors of the sacred books, from Moses to John. They held the trumpets through which God has spoken to the nations. For eighteen centuries the best educated men have accepted this volume as containing the "Oracles of God." The substantial agreement of fourteen hundred manuscript copies of the New Testament assures us that the mistakes of transcribers have not materially impaired the sense of the original writers. The fifty-four learned men who gave us our version of the Bible were masters in Hebrew learning and Greek literature. Because Greece claimed to have a sentence received from heaven she gilded it in gratitude on the front of her finest temple. From Genesis to Revelation we have an *infallible, inspired Book.* "The grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away, but the Word of our God shall stand forever." But Mr. Ingersoll can discern no reason why the lost and mapless mariners on the sea of Time needed this chart; why mankind wanted this sun on their benighted sky; why the impoverished race desired this inexhaustible mine of wealth.

He charges the Bible with supporting slavery, concubinage and polygamy. If familiar with history he knows that such accusations are deceptive and untruthful. In patriarchal, prophetical and apostolical times slavery was universal. Captives in war and purchased human beings were in involuntary servitude in all oriental and civilized lands. Grecian and Roman history tell us of the rigor of slavery at Athens, Corinth and Rome. The horrors of pagan slavery stirred early the heart of Justinian, and he struggled for its modification. The parents of oriental lands even sold their children to the citizens along the Mediterranean. The primitive slave trade was frightful in extent. The master held the life of the servant both absolutely and in perpetuity. Chained slaves opened the doors of Roman mansions in the days of Augustus. Countless were those who fell under the knife of the gladiator and the teeth of wild beasts in the games of the Coliseum. Roman laws knew no recognized relation between the bondman and his wife or children. Vedius Pollio fed the lampreys of his fish ponds on gray-haired servants. It was a common usage to send old slaves to an island in the Tiber to perish.

But the slavery of the Hebrews was of a different type. While abolition was then impracticable and perhaps impossible, the Mosaical laws, divinely inspired, modified amazingly the evils of the system. Moses, that illustrious seer against whom Mr. Ingersoll levels in his various satires the artillery of his wit, provided for the regulation of involuntary servitude according to the ethics of religion and humanity. . . . The least objectionable type of slavery on which the sun has shone was that of the Jews. It was never perpetual. Periods of emancipation were frequent. The slave always had the right of appeal to the tribunals. His religious privileges suffered from no restrictions. He could at any time, on the payment of ransom money, demand release. Human laws gave him protection. Mutilation ensured his instant freedom.

The spirit of the Bible is against all phases of oppression. It steadily presents mankind as a universal brotherhood. It swings back on their golden hinges the great doors of the temple of Freedom, and welcomes all alike to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

While the Greek philosophers defended slavery, the men who have reverenced the Bible have been gradually and long marshaling agencies for its

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universal extinction. The Christian Church early pioneered the way for general emancipation. It excommunicated cruel masters in its periods of greatest peril. It pressed the system so constantly that before the Reformation serfdom was annihilated in Western Europe. It placed Wilberforce, Dellwyn, Pitt, Clarkson and Sharp at the front of the host who have struck perseveringly and successfully for human freedom. It influenced Alexander II. of Russia but fifteen years ago to abolish serfdom throughout his vast empire. Spain and Portugal—the lands that banish Protestant ministers and burn the Bible—are the only powers of Europe over whose colonial subjects the slave flag floats to-day.

Mr. Ingersoll calumniates the Bible as encouraging concubinage and polygamy. His charges are misleading and baseless. The patriarchs had no Bible. Concubinage and polygamy amid the sparse population of those times were universal. The Mosaical laws were based on this established usage. To prevent greater social wrongs, he permitted under very severe restrictions that which he could not prevent. The motives leading to these evils were then of a lofty nature. There were reasons for both that do not exist to-day. The concubine was not a mistress, but a betrothed and secondary wife, with well-protected legal rights. But the New Testament dispensation, overshadowing the Old in its claims on our faith and practice, classes these social evils with fornication and adultery. John the Baptist lost his life for assailing them in a royal palace. Amid surrounding polygamy Paul says of the marital relations of a minister, "Let a bishop be the husband of *one wife.*" Wherever the Bible has become the standard of morals these evils have gradually disappeared. Christianity has been the pioneer of monogamy throughout the world. To find legalized concubinage and polygamy to-day Mr. Ingersoll must pass out of Bible-reading provinces and enter the harems of Mohammedanism, the zananas of Hindooism or the law-protected bagnios of Utah. In this lecture Mr. Ingersoll speaks of the Bible as grossly unfriendly to the rights of childhood and womanhood. Surely he cannot be sincere. What protection has childhood beyond the pale of Bible civilization? The Greeks murdered maimed infants. Plato defended the custom, clamoring for "the survival of the fittest." The ancient Carthagenians laid their youngest born on the outstretched hands of their idol god, who dropped the wondering innocents into the fires below. Spartan legislation compelled parents to cast sickly infants into the cavern that yawned at the base of Mount Teygetus. Roman law permitted fathers to murder their young offspring at pleasure. The Norsemen gave unpromising nurselings to the wild beasts of the forests. China for ages has legalized the assassination of one-third of its infant population. In Fiji and the South Sea Islands infanticide is incorporated into religious worship. In India millions of children have been fed to the crocodiles of the Ganges. The Marquis of Wellesley, representing a great Christian Government, with difficulty checked the alarming child-murder prevailing throughout Hindostan. The Bible the foe of childhood! Tell it to millions of Sunday-school scholars, whose faces beam with joy as they study its contents or carol its doctrines in song. Was it Moses, or was it Zoroaster, Plato or Zeno who provided in their religious systems for the rights of children? Was it Christ, or was it Confucius, Aristotle or Pythagoras who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven"? Where but in the courts of Christian governments is the slaughter of bastards ranked with murder? Where but on their soil are found asylums for foundlings, orphans and homeless little ones?

The Bible the adversary of woman! What is the condition of woman in every nation where this book has not been scattered? In every oriental and unchristian province woman has ever

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been and is to-day either the beast of burden or the incarcerated slave of passion. What honor does the Zend Avesta, the Koran, the Vedas, the Shasters or the sacred books of any heathen nation bestow on woman? The Bible the foe of woman! Tell it to the intellectual princesses who are crowding into all the higher professions and bearing off the honors of colleges and universities. Tell it to the female leaders of the temperance crusades, before whose tears and prayers iron-hearted venders of strong drink trembled and surrendered. Tell it to the queenly authors of modern literature, and the graceful orators of the fair sex whose silvery voices are captivating cities. What the women of Christian lands are to-day they owe to the influence of the Bible.

Mr. Ingersoll represents this volume as unfriendly to high intellectual culture. Did it not find Ireland in the fourth century without even an alphabet, and in four hundred years make Erin famous for men of learning? Did it not find England, at the date of the conversion of Hengist and Horsa, the home of savage warriors, and then pilot her along the channels of her subsequent greatness? Did not Victoria say to an African prince investigating the foundations of England's glory, "The Bible is the secret of my country's greatness"? Christianity has given the world its schools, colleges and universities. With but few exceptions the men whose names are immortal in authorship have reverenced the Bible. The libraries of the world groan under the literary works of Christian men. The antagonists of the Bible who have been moderately conspicuous for knowledge are comparatively few in number. Their works would hardly fill a cabinet bookcase. Their volumes lie as untouched on the shelves of the world's literary museums as the bones of the dead in the niches of the catacombs. To count the men of learning the plume of whose glory has been their faith in Christ and the Bible would tax an angel's patience. It is in those countries where the Bible is studied that art, science and learning make recognized progress. A long line of poets, philosophers, historians, linguists, statesmen, scientists and other distinguished men have bequeathed to us their exalted estimates of the Bible. Even Napoleon Bonaparte has written, "The loftiest intellects since the advent of Christianity have had a practical faith in the mysteries and doctrines of the Gospel." The innumerable and eloquent tributes of hundreds of finely educated ministers as to the worth of the Bible we can afford to lay aside amid the wealth of eulogiums given by men of learning who have never stood in the pulpit.

The name of Sir William Jones stands among the first in English history for great learning. Writing of the Bible, he says: "I am of opinion that the Bible contains more true sensibility, more exquisite beauty, more pure morality, more important history and finer strains of poetry and eloquence than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they may be written." The giant-minded John Locke says: "In morality there are books enough written, both by ancient and modern philosophers, but the morality of the Gospel doth so exceed them all that to give a man a full knowledge of true morality I shall send him to no other book than the New Testament." Dr. Samuel Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, John Milton, Lord Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton, Guizot, Judge Story, Daniel Webster and an innumerable company of great men have laid on the lids of this book tributes as comprehensive and passionate as those quoted. Scientists like Prof. Guyot, Hugh Miller, Sir John Herschel, Prof. Dana, General Mitchel, Lieut. Maury, Prof. Henry, J. Pye Smith, Sir David Brewster, Prof. Mason, Dr. Prichard and others eminent in the departments of astronomy, geology and other sciences have honored the contents of this peerless book. Poets such as Scott, Pollock, Young, Dryden, Cowper and many of their compeers in song have poured out in verse their affection for the Bible. Even avowed skeptics, such as Diderot, of

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France, Edward Gibbon, Prof. Huxley and Theodore Parker, have written paragraphs that are preserved as encomiums of the Scriptures. Even the polished infidel Rousseau has paid to God's word this panegyric: "Peruse the books of philosophers with all their pomp of diction; how contemptible are they when compared with the Scriptures! The majesty of the Scriptures strikes me with admiration." On this book the oracles of science, the sages of philosophy, the crowned kings in varied erudition and the vast congress of the world's literati have piled their eulogies until they have seemed to kiss the clouds. This is the volume that Mr. Ingersoll represents as encircling the portrait of a bloodthirsty God, as requiring human faith in a multitude of absurdities, as unworthy because of its immorality to have a place in the public schools, and as the chief enemy of progress in culture, civilization and liberty.

Mr. Ingersoll libels the Bible as the arch adversary of civilization. History overwhelmingly proves that the Bible has been the avant-courier of true social and national refinement. Without alluding to the Divine work it has pioneered in millions of human hearts, what has it not done for society at large? When Paul hurried with the Gospel to Antioch there was not a benevolent institution in the Roman empire, in the Grecian cities or in any known Pagan province. In no one of the great capitals of heathen pride could there be found an asylum for the orphan, the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the insane, the aged, the poor, the inebriate or the magdalen. Read the descriptions of the splendid metropoli of antiquity, and your vision is greeted by no reference to a house of mercy. Walk among the excavated streets of Nineveh, Pompeii and Herculaneum and no fragment of stone can be found that ever had known connection with benevolence. The Bible has prompted its readers to erect humane institutions until they stud the earth as thickly as the stars spangle the heavens. Christians are almost invariably their founders and chief supporters.

To outline what the Bible has done for the promotion of civilization in a discourse would be like attempting to teach all known science in a lecture. Civilizing agencies are to be tested by their fruits. The gospel entered Europe when Paul preached at Philippi. For more than a thousand years antecedent to the discovery of the art of printing it was practically chained by the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Yet it early shut up the vast Roman edifice where forty thousand applauding spectators watched the doomed slaves as they fought with wild beasts and more desperate men. It soon chiseled off the vases, lamps and tables of Roman homes licentious carvings. It quickly closed the Pagan temples of the "Eternal City." It promptly threw from their pedestals the countless gods of Greece. Gradually it has planted Western Europe with almost numberless institutions, both beneficent and educational. It has organized in its cities and villages associations for the relief of every phase of distress. Volumes could be written descriptive of its work in England alone since the days of Wickliffe. Perchance Edward VI., the boy king, saw with prophetic eye its relation to his country's greatness when he demanded that the Scriptures should be laid on the three swords in the ceremony of his coronation. What the Bible has done for Scotland, the most moral and Bible-loving State on the map of the world; for Prussia since the days of Luther; for the heroic Waldenses, amid the fastnesses of their mountain homes; for the Indian tribes when taught by men like Elliott and Brainerd; for the moral transformation of the West India islands; for Madagascar since the accession of Radama II.; and even recently for the three great heathen empires, the doors of whose sealed cities were opened by Morrison, Judson and Goble with the golden key of the Gospel, and for other lands, has won the praise of impartial historians. It has entered no wilder-

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ness that under its magic wand has not blossomed as the rose. Appealing to eternal relationships for its motives; overshadowing temporal convenience with the fact that "the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life"— with its pages glittering with admonitions against every form of personal, social and national wrong, and with encouragements to the pursuit of all that tends toward the universal reign of peace, purity, justice and love; the Bible has marched on, winning a long series of conquests before which the victories of renowned generals fade into nothingness. The universal practice of Bible principles would inaugurate the millennium and transform earth immediately into a paradise. Innumerable are they who have said with David from a happy experience, "The law of the Lord is perfect converting the soul — the testimony of the Lord is sure making wise the simple." What it can do for the individual, Paul delineates as in gratitude he sings, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." What it can do for the individual it can do for the world. In recognition of the supreme place held by the Bible in literature as a Divinely-inspired book from whose principles there can be no valid appeal, jurisprudence sparkles with its gems; political economy builds on its precepts, and legislators sink its jewels into the rim of enlightened laws. An infinite mind only can comprehend what it has accomplished for the educational, social and moral uplifting of the nations.

Mr. Ingersoll assails the Bible as a book that ignores reason, makes its appeals to faith, and is replete with mysteries While reason cannot be a perfect standard by which the mysteries of religion are to be measured, the Bible is not opposed to reason. It demands that men receive by faith those doctrines that are plainly and expressly presented and above the reach of reason. The two great lights, revelation and reason, shine in harmony. God does not propose that we shall comprehend such doctrines as the incarnation of Diety and the trinity of Divine existence. Nor does he furnish us with reasons for the practice of every duty He enjoins. Superior alike to understanding and will, He at times puts the obedience of both to trial. But the important and vital facts and duties of the Scriptures are as transparent to the intellect as heaven's sea of glass.

But Mr. Ingersoll clamors for a revelation whose doctrines and duties are free from obscurity. It must submit its claims to the verdicts of finite reason. He must by searching "find out God unto perfection." He can without difficulty honor the physical mysteries that engird him, though he treads ever amid labrynths of wonders. He can credit the secrets of philosophy though he sails constantly on a chartless sea. He can assent to the claims of science though he cannot comprehend the law of gravitation that binds the spheres together as they sweep noiselessly, and without accident, through the fields of ether. He has faith in the union of body and spirit though the mode of that union be hid from prying curiosity. Naturalists tell him that the mysteries of insect life are amazing. Astronomers assure him that the constellations are stocked with wonders as the steeds of the sky move on with their chariots of fire through space. Scientific men tell him that nature, from distant Herschel's orbit to the ocean's cavern, is one mighty Gordian knot on which the polished blades of learned men have been vainly falling for centuries. He listens to the roar of the winds and watches the ocean waves roll in the storm, but cannot point to the cradle of the one or to the motive power of the other. He walks amid enigmas he cannot explain, and gives assent to facts that baffle his apprehension. He knows that all he can grasp with the vision and hands of reason is, compared with concealed and unknown truth, but a few flowers from a vast conservatory – a few links of sequences in an endless chain – a few spray drops tossed from the trembling waters of an eternal Niagara But

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he can receive no Bible truth that he cannot intellectually embrace. He must fathom that mind whose ways Paul says "are past finding out." His intellect must take in all His plans and purposes of whom David says, "clouds and darkness are round about Him": "His footsteps are not known." Well says the Bible, "Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit: there is more hope of a fool than of him." Tersely, says Paul, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord or who hath been His counsellor?" Mr. Ingersoll! You cannot comprehend God fully or understand all of the mysteries of the Bible. You cannot weigh in the balances of finite thought the brain of Jehovah. You cannot, as the dwarf of an hour, measure stature with the Almighty. Take in all the Divine thought! As well may some worm crawling on a marble column of the national Capitol attempt to conceive the plan of its architect. As well may some insect, finding its cradle and grave on a single leaf, undertake to comprehend all the beauties of the vast forest that encircles it.

In this lecture Mr. Ingersoll boasts of the success of infidelity within the past quarter of a century. He prophesies its enlarging influence in undermining the faith of the general public in the Scriptures. His vision sweeps a narrow orbit. The days of serious peril for the Bible are past. It has never been so entrenched in general confidence and invested with universal affection as to-day. Childhood, youth, manhood and age are devoting to it such thoroughness and constancy of study as have never been hitherto accorded to it. Millions are exploring this mine for hid treasures saying, "Open thou mine eyes that I may behold wondrous things out of Thy law." Those who love God's commandments "above gold, yea above fine gold," are multiplying. An ever enlarging host feel that the Psalmist condensed into a sentence their own experience when he sung, "How sweet are Thy words unto my taste—yea, sweeter than honey unto my mouth!" The friends of the Book are in multitude like the sands of the sea shore. In mental stature tens of thousands of them stand proportioned like Goliath of Gath. Day and night many of the largest presses are flying in imprinting God's countersign on these "leaves for the healing of the nations." Persevering lingual heroes have translated the Bible into nearly two hundred languages and dialects. It is accessible to-day to three-fourths of the population of the globe. It graces the libraries of kings and is the chief treasure of the mountain cabin. It is studied by the emigrant in his wagon and by the Indian in his wigwam. Sailors bend over it lovingly on every sea, and soldiers peruse it diligently in the camps of the world. From the hot acres of torrid plantations to the ice fields of the Arctic myriads of men, women and children are reading it with delight. Year by year it will be studied by increasing numbers until "the *knowledge* of the glory of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

The fortress at Gibraltar is reputed to be the world's strongest military fortification. Every available point bristles with artillery. The mountain is honey-combed with galleries and bomb-proofs. Batteries hewn in the rock frown in every direction. For twelve hundred years this cannon-crowned rock has been the object of international envy. Around it, from the days of the Saracens, the thunder of battle has roared. Africans, Arabs, Castilians, Moors and Englishmen have in turn been its masters. But around the Bible—the citadel of Christian faith—the noise of conflict has rung more loudly and for a longer period. Yet it stands to-day in the possession of its Christian defenders. Celsus, Porphyry and Hierocles opened the long campaign with their mortars of Platonic learning. Behind them came on long ranks of Pagan monarchs, heathen philosophers and military commanders; and the friends of the God-protected stronghold trembled as it seemed for cen-

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turies to stand like the bush of Horeb invested with flame. Then the most extensive ecclesiastical hierarchy the world has known began sapping and mining around this asylum within which were sheltered the hopes of humanity. Invested by foes wearing every uniform of hate and badge of opposition, the little garrison held at bay, century by century, the great army of besiegers. Behind these and their civil allies came lines of atheists, deists, pantheists, materialists, rationalists and varied infidels, led by men like Holbach and Comte, Herbert and Bolingbroke. Hume and Gibbon, Hobbes and Blount, Spinoza and Hegel, Cousin and Schelling, Rousseau and Condorcet, Voltaire and Paine, Renan and Strauss, Emerson and Parker ; and these, forgetting their quarrels in a common contest against the Sacred Oracles, were defeated in individual assaults and in combined onsets. Occasionally some misguided son of science has gone to the stars and into the bowels of earth for effective ammunition, and like proud Goliath challenged the hosts of Israel only to be utterly discomfited. Even ranks of traitors, clad in Christian dress and carrying the flag of the Cross, have leveled their heaviest artillery at this Divinely-protected Malakoff. All arsenals of learning, political power and ecclesiastical hate have been emptied for this bombardment, lasting nearly two thousand years. While shot and shell, battering ram and lance, arrow and javelin, rock and fire-brand have been hurled against the Bible, the map of the world has been repeatedly changed ; kingdoms and republics have flourished and fallen, and great arts and armies have been born and perished. Walk round this citadel to-day and examine its condition after the protracted siege. Its foundations were never so strong. Not one of its sixty-six bulwarks has been impaired. Its blocks stand to-day as they were laid by Moses, the prophets, the evangelists and the apostles. From its base, laid in Genesis at God's command by the greatest architect of Hebrew history, high up to the cornice of Revelation placed on the impregnable structure under Divine direction by John, as from its lofty watch-tower he looked over the river and saw the New Jerusalem, this old Redan stands to-day as fresh as the everlasting hills. The long cannonade of lingual criticism, philosophical review, educational prejudice, political opposition and carping ridicule have left this fortress as fair as some structure of Parian marble. Over it waves to-day the same blood-stained flag that floated above it when the Roman emperors rallied their armies for the early assaults. Surely it promises to withstand the attack as Mr. Ingersoll flings against its walls his torpedoes of ridicule. This Bible ! It has stood as impregnable amidst hostility and surrounding disaster as the fabled pillars of Seth. Crucial tests have not impaired a chapter or invalidated a verse. The tears of silver-haired patriarchs continue to bedew its pages. The widow amid her poverty still reads its precious promises to her fatherless children. The troubled heart and sorrow-bowed head find its Divine covenants softer than the pillows of down on which wearied kings have rested their aching foreheads. The sick yet touch their spirit-lips to the crystal current of this "river of the water of life." Its pledges of a coming resurrection keep the graves of loved ones green, and have made the cemetery magnetic to surviving friends. The dying turn their closing eyes to it as their only lamp through the "valley of the shadow of death" ; and clasp it as their last treasure while their fingers stiffen in the final ordeal. Old Sun ! Twin brother of Time ! Thou wilt cease to shine. Empress of the evening ! Thy form will disappear from the night-draped sky. Lamps of Ether ! Ye will drop into the emptiness of destined darkness. Old Bible ! Thou wilt survive infidelity, outlive criticism, and stand immortal, indestructible, imperishable.

Young men ! The mission of infidelity is to undermine your most valuable interests and blast your brightest hopes. Its ambition is to force you out into the

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moral wilderness of dreary speculation and dark uncertainty. Its highest achievement is to drug your sense of responsibility to God and blind your vision as to eternal things. It strips the mind of peace and invests it with wretchedness in the present life. It promises naught but intellectual torture here and points to no celestial beatification beyond the tomb. It has never conferred on any man mental rest or guided him to moral purity. It has made the lives of its champions melancholy and their death chambers the arenas of anguish. Hume wrote: "I am affrighted and confounded by the solitude of my own philosophy." Voltaire adds: "I wish I had never been born." Dying, he exclaimed: "I am abandoned by God and man." Spira sunk into the last sleep screaming: "My sin is greater than the mercy of God; He allows me no hope." Hobbes, the Samson of English infidels, said as he expired: "I shall be glad to find a hole at which to creep out of the world." Newport plunged into eternity murmuring, "Oh! the insufferable pangs of hell and damnation." So have its representative men, one by one, pushed off from the shores of time in the dark. But not thus have the cloud of witnesses closed life who have loved the Bible. Wesley and Baxter, Payson and Rutherford, Latimer and Huss, Newton and Fisk, entering Jordan with triumph pæans, have only represented the vast host who have taken this volume for the lamp of their life-paths, and found it a mighty Pharos, flooding the river-ford with light when they have passed through the waters to join the waiting saints on the sun-bright shore.

Young men! Cling to the Bible. Study it by the torchlight of the best expository help. Love it as Felix, Bishop of Thibara, loved it, who, rather than surrender his Bible to his persecutors, willingly laid down his life. Let your last request be that of the late centenarian Henry Boehm, who, having read the Scriptures through seventy times, said at the last: "Lay my Bible on my coffin when I am buried." Your Bible! It is a mine of diamonds. Enter it and gather them. Its precepts are a chain of pearls. Bind them around your spirit necks. It will guarantee you access to the moral treasures of this life. It will open for you the gates of the City of God.

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SAMUEL WORCESTER.

BY REV. SERENO D. CLARK, D.D., SUNDERLAND, MS.

THE character of a good man is a bequest to the world. The Church should treasure it in the ark of her testimony as a perpetual memorial. No richer blessing travels down from the past to the present and the future. The name of Dr. Worcester is like the perfume of precious ointment. He passed through the world to bless it. When such a character rises before us, we naturally inquire, whence came it? What soil produced it? What preceding and attending influences gave it substance, or hightened its luster?

Dr. Worcester descended from pious ancestry. This was a distinction for which he was grateful. He loved to recognize the goodness and sovereignty of God in his favored descent through "devout men" and "mothers in Israel."

His earliest progenitor in this country was the Rev. Wm. Worcester, who probably emigrated from England in 1637. In 1638 he became pastor of the Church in Salisbury, Ms. He endured the toils, privations, and sufferings incident to border life with Christian heroism. He was a zealous worker in laying foundations on which succeeding generations have erected the fabric of well-ordered society. He was "learned in all the wisdom in Europe;" evangelic in sentiment; strict in morals; wise in counsel; an inspirer of hope and courage in difficulties; firm in purpose; devout, meek, patient; an able minister of the New Testament; equally fitted to instruct and to sympathize. He fell asleep at the age of sixty, rejoicing in the Lord Jesus, and the power of his resurrection.

Samuel, the son of William, had many traits of mind and heart similar to those of his distinguished descendant, the subject of the present sketch. A man of uprightness and capacity, he was often called to offices of trust. Piously and prayerfully nurtured, he early became a disciple of Jesus, and a prominent member of the Church. He lived, "looking upward," reposing on Providence, knowing that in heaven he had "a better and an enduring substance." Traveling on foot to Boston in the winter of 1680 to attend the General Court, of which he was a member, and disappointed in not finding, as evening came on, accommodations where he expected, he was benighted by the way. The next morning he was found dead on his knees, as in the act of

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prayer. Amid frost and snow his righteous soul passed peacefully to its Saviour and its Judge.

Francis, the son of Samuel, was less intellectual than his father, but equally devoted to his Redeemer. He esteemed the scriptures a treasure of wisdom. The Lord's day was his delight. The house of God he reverenced as the gate of heaven. At the sacramental board he rejoiced, discerning the Lord's body. Cheerfulness in religion he deemed a duty. Attached to the doctrines of grace, he could not be satisfied with sermons in which the preacher gave not decided evidence of experimental knowledge of the life hid with Christ. Mere eloquence in the pulpit could not satisfy his soul, thirsting for the purity of heaven—nothing short of the most unequivocal enunciations of those glorious truths which are fitted to make men wise unto salvation. His home was the seat of piety. His children were trained in reliance on the Abrahamic covenant. They heard his daily prayers, received daily his religious instruction, and witnessed his shining example. Death found him ready. Friends rejoiced to be with him in his triumph over the "king of terrors." His last utterance was, "My dear Redeemer."

Rev. Francis Worcester, the son of Francis, imbibed the religious spirit of his father. His conversion was preceded by convictions deep, pungent, prolonged. Light at length broke in, terminating gradually in serene trust. He was cotemporary with President Edwards, being only five years his senior. He was educated in the belief of the same doctrines which that distinguished divine defended. His religious experiences were in harmony with them, and consequently profound. He was a Calvinist of "the straitest sect." He was trained a blacksmith. But at the age of thirty-four, twelve years after his marriage, and with a family of four children, he thought it his duty to enter the ministry. He was regularly licensed, and soon after ordained at Sandwich, Ms., where he labored faithfully and with much success for ten years. Subsequent to his dismission, locating his family in Hollis, N. H., his health not permitting him to resume a pastoral charge, he preached as an Evangelist or Home Missionary till past eighty years of age. He rejoiced in his vocation. "I love," he said, "to preach day and night." In his uncultivated way he often powerfully aroused the fears, and disturbed the consciences of his hearers; and sometimes, when his own strong sympathies were moved, he swept the finer chords of the mental harp with a master's hand, and bowed his audience in tears. A warm admirer of Whitfield, he frequently attended him in his itinerancies. On one occasion Whitfield was taken suddenly ill, and could not meet his appointment. He pleasantly said to Worcester, "Well, you must go and sound your ram's horn." He obeyed, taking for his text, Rev. i: 7. The discourse was "terribly in earnest," as was his wont when warning "to flee from the wrath to come." A strong impression was produced.

In his latter years he felt much solicitude respecting the stealthy inroads of Arminian sentiments, which he thought "ought to be shunned and rebuked by all who loved the truth and peace." He was a man of prayer, and felt great anxiety for the salvation of his children, and for his children's children. When death came he was ready to depart. He fell asleep in Jesus Oct. 14, 1783.

Noah Worcester, the son of Rev. Francis, and father of him whose life we are about to sketch, had a strong, athletic mind, energized by rough border life, and improved by such cultivation as could be secured by devoting to careful reading his few leisure moments, snatched from his double employment of farming and shoe-making. His townsmen early reposed great confidence in his judgment, and before he was thirty years of age he was respected as one of "the ancient men." For more than half a century he

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held the office of Justice of the Peace in the county. His knowledge of government and law was considerable; and he was worthily honored with a seat in the Convention which formed the Constitution of New Hampshire.

When about twenty years of age he made a public profession of religion; and such were his manifest fear of God and unblemished integrity, such his philanthropic and enlarged views, his affable and courteous manners, his fluent and agreeable utterance, that he stood a strong and symmetrical pillar in the Church; and was pre-eminently serviceable to his pastor in various ways, especially in sustaining meetings of social devotion. He excelled in the gift of prayer; and all who reverently united with him felt that his petitions came from the heart. His clerical friends, of whom he had many, esteemed him mighty in the scriptures. These he *searched.* Their highest cha m to him was their testimony of Jesus. His knowledge of the scheme of Calvinistic doctrines was discriminating, and his approval of them cordial. If his faith in regard to the Trinity was somewhat shaken by his perusal of his son Noah's "Bible News," it soon resumed its wonted steadiness and strength. He honored the Sabbath by its strict observance. God was acknowledged in all his ways, and his providences towards himself marked with special care. Tenderly attached to h s children, he prayed earnestly that they and all who should be born of them might fear the Lord, and work the righteousness of faith. The years that bowed his form advanced him in grace. It was truthfully said of him, "like the sun, he grew larger at his setting." When death approached, he said: "My fathers' God is the God who has led me all my life long, and I am ready to go." It was to him the call from the battle—the welcome to everlasting triumph.

His wife was distinguished for a good understanding, comeliness of form, and the highest graces of female character,—adorned with the luster of devoted attachment to Jesus. To her husband and children she was everything which could be desired. The sweetness of her disposition was diffused through her home, cherishing every household virtue; and over a much wider circle her gentle influences fell like "the small rain upon the tender herb." Many will rise up and call her blessed. Her prayers for her children, many of which were breathed forth in the stillness of the night, especially "that *one* of her sons might be a minister of the gospel," rose as a memorial before God.

There are threads which link the departing and coming generations of mankind together. Each, to a limited extent, molds the ensuing. Thought and modes of thought, sentiments and feelings, and types of sentiments and feelings, are propagated not only unto the third and fourth generations, but onward to the winding up of the world's drama. The spirit of a father's maxims is immortal. As the elements in the seed, the germ, the blade, produce the leaf, the flower, the fruit; so the elements of thought, opinion, feelings, proclivities, desires, work down the line of descent, flowering out here and there in intellectual traits, dispositions, character, and life. The stream is ever flowing, and every parent throws ingredients into it, which sweeten or embitter, poison or purify its waters; and succeeding generations will drink of them.

The brief sketch we have given of Dr. Worcester's progenitors indicates the ancestral influences which tended to give shape and substance to his intellectual and moral character; and the discriminating observer will not fail to find in him capacities and habits, traces of opinion and moral sentiments; above all, a type of piety; which marked the preceding generations of the family.

Dr. Samuel Worcester was born Nov. 1, 1770, in Hollis, N. H., a rural town situated not far from the confluence of the Nashua and Merrimac rivers, amid agreeable, and in some instances, wild scenery.

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The circle of influences which receives one at his birth, in which his infancy is cradled, his boyhood expanded, and his manhood formed, is, in the view of the thoughtful, of incalculable moment. What specific agency each and all exert in shaping ultimate character, and giving impetus to life, is an inquiry which is yearly awakening a more vital concern. That every newly-created spirit has certain qualities, or idiosyncracies, which no extraneous circumstances can essentially modify, few will question; and yet it cannot be denied that the imperceptible breathings of daily surroundings write on the infantile and youthful spirit characters, which, though unseen in their formation, are nevertheless ineffaceable.

Doubtless that mild and amiable mother on whose bosom the infancy of Mr. Worcester was cherished—a mother whose gentle disposition, redolence of temper and praying spirit were long remembered with endearment and gratitude, infused into the very elements of his character a fragrance it could never lose.

When six or eight months old, he had a long and severe sickness. For two or three weeks his death was daily expected. His recovery seemed like a resurrection from the dead. His father once said, "If I love Samuel more than my other children, it is perhaps because I feel that I have received him a second time from the hand of God." Could parents penetrate the chambers of the infant mind, and learn the effect which sickness at that tender age produces—the little thoughts and reflections it inspires, the susceptibilities it intensifies, the sympathies it quickens, the self-control it teaches, and above all, the softened tone it gives the spirit, they would feel themselves compensated for the anxieties and weariness, even anguish of heart, endured over the couch of suffering infancy. They would more cheerfully confide in the thought that, though in the form of affliction, it is really an "angel's visit," to prepare both them and their child for higher usefulness. It is more than possible that Samuel Worcester looks back from eternity with joy and thanksgiving for delicacies of feeling, warmth of sympathy, and power of endurance, fitting him for special services in his Master's vineyard, for which that infantile sickness alone qualified him.

About a year afterwards his mother died. He remained infirm for years. His eldest sister, Lydia, who, with her mother's name inherited her amiable disposition and pure spirit, had the chief care of him. His feebleness and maternal resemblance, together with his kindly sympathies, drew out all the tenderness of her affectionate nature. She watched over him with the love, and taught him his early lessons with the fondness, of a mother. She quieted his nervous irritability, calmed his outbreaks of passion, soothed his childish griefs and wiped his tears; sung to him, with her sweet gentle voice, cheering songs; and prayed for him as though her joy on earth could never be complete without his union to Christ. Her mild influence sunk into his spirit. His sympathies early warmed towards her. He would not, when a mere child, willingly hurt her feelings. He would even weep when she was in pain; sometimes delicately concealing his tears during the weary wakefulness of the night, lest their discovery should increase her discomfort.

His fondness for books evinced itself in childhood. He had a quick apprehension and a retentive memory, and acquired knowledge with ease. His opportunities for public schooling, however, were few, and its advantages small. The Bible was almost the only book in use both for reading and spelling.

But the times and scenes of his youth, together with his home associations and personal efforts, gave him a mental vigor and discipline, as an outfit for the part he was to act, not inferior, probably, to the more systematic and thorough modes of education in the vastly superior schools of the present.

He was little less than five years old

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when the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill opened the Revolutionary war; startling the whole country, thrilling even the heart of childhood. His father marched at the head of a company in mid winter to reinforce Washington at Cambridge. His eldest brother was in the thickest of the fight at Bunker Hill, and fought under Stark at Bennington. Another brother was repeatedly enrolled among "the indomitable continentals." Samuel was thirteen, when the eventful struggle closed. A period scarcely less exciting ensued, in which problems in political science vitally important to the success of our civil institutions were investigated and solved. The depreciated currency; the national debt; the duty and mode of funding it; the laying of impost and levying of taxes; the suppression of rebellion; the insufficiency of the government based on the "Articles of Confederation" for the exigencies of the nation, and the adoption of the Federal Constitution; were themes, political occurrences and measures, which agitated the country to its center. Different views were entertained; heated debates arose; the tide of party spirit ran high; questions radical, profound, and yet practical, fitted to enlist every faculty of the mind, were discussed not only in the senate, but in the reunion of friends, and by all classes.

These questions, and others touching theology, morals and literature, were freely examined and thoroughly sifted in the family of Noah Worcester. *There* was the grand-father—the Puritan preacher, who was fond of investigation, and of inciting the reasoning powers, especially of the young; the father, with a large practical understanding strengthened by repeated efforts in self-education, eager to pry into any metaphysical or abstruse subject of practical utility; and five sons, four older than Samuel, with strong, inquisitive minds, ready for an assault on any array of hard problems either in philosophy or mathematics. This group of old and young might be seen on a winter's evening around the fire, blazing, perhaps, with the ruddy light of a pine knot, grappling with the metaphysics or practical bearings of subjects which might have tasked the noblest intellects in Congressional or Academic halls; weighing, analyzing, detecting fallacies or inventing arguments, rejecting or receiving, as evidence or logic failed or prevailed. The utmost freedom of inquiry, within the limits of decorum, was permitted without restraint. The sons were taught to make the most of their powers and means, to rise to the utmost of their capacities in the spheres of knowledge and usefulness. Every opportunity for mental improvement was, therefore, eagerly seized. They sometimes continued their intellectual work even after they had retired for the night. With the tongue of one for a pencil, and the memory of another for a slate, problems in mathematics were mastered which had surpassed the capacities of their teachers to solve.

Thus the process of education went on. It was finely adapted to give muscle and vigor of mind, sharpness and grasp of thought, quickness of apprehension and a mental activity which keeps one ever on the alert, and qualifies him to look around and pierce through subjects; penetrating at once their foundations, and surveying their relations—just those powers most important for the tug and war of life's rough actualities. They were also encouraged by the example, if not the counsel, of their grandfather, to employ the pen. Even before the close of their minority they were able "to write essays or addresses, which, for good sense, force of reasoning and propriety of language, chiefly drawn from the Saxon etymologies,—would not materially suffer by comparison with the more elegant compositions of the best scholars at our colleges."

Samuel was early thoughtful and serious. He had, however, no decided religious impressions till about sixteen years old. A revival at that time occurred in

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his native place. His pious and beloved sister was deeply anxious for his salvation. Thomas, his brother next older than himself, was awakened and brought into the light of joyful hope. Samuel's convictions were more gradual. They were the whisperings of "the still, small voice." He felt that he was a sinner, condemned by a holy law, and that, helpless in himself, he was entirely dependent on the free grace of God for regeneration, pardon and eternal life. He saw clearly that if Christ were not his chosen Saviour he must be lost. His concern increased for five or six months. He eventually indulged a trembling hope that he accepted "the Lord his righteousness." His habit of thought led him to look within, and canvass narrowly the evidences of a change so radical as that of the new birth. Hence he searched, hoped and feared. Thomas joined the Church, and would gladly have led his younger brother to the altar with him. But Samuel could not be persuaded. He lingered, inquiring, doubting, trembling, for some six or eight years longer. At length he emerged from the cloud, and publicly avouched the Lord Jehovah to be his God.

Mr. Worcester, notwithstanding the sickliness of his early life, grew up a tall, well-proportioned, robust young man, agile and strong, as good to labor as to unravel knotty questions. It is said that he could do a good day's work at mowing before breakfast. Owing both to his efficiency as a laborer and to his amiable temper, his father had selected him as his partner on the farm,—to steady and cheer his trembling steps down the declivity of years. But this chosen son had other thoughts and nobler aspirations. He became exceedingly desirous of a public education. His father did not favor his wishes; but was both disappointed and displeased. He remonstrated. His feelings became so morbid that he could not bear to see a book in his son's hands. But when he saw that the purpose of the son was fixed to leave the farm at the age of twenty-one, if not permitted earlier, he gave his reluctant consent.

In the spring of 1791, six months before his minority expired, he gave his father a note for an amount equivalent to the value of his services for that period, and, joining New Ipswich Academy, started on his literary career. To reconcile his father still more, he returned and labored on the farm in the season of haying and harvesting; and it is said, cut forty tons of hay with his own hands. But where was the aspiring young man to secure the means of prosecuting his studies? His father was in straitened circumstances. He could allow his sons but twenty pounds each, ($88,80,) and was determined to treat all alike. When Samuel entered the Academy he could hardly appear in decent apparel, and he knew not whence the money was to come to pay his board and tuition. But he had a resolute will, and before such a will "mountains melt to plains." Let poor young men, with stalwart hearts, be encouraged.

His first recitation in Latin Grammar astonished his Preceptor. It exceeded four times his prescribed task. He soon outstripped those who had started months, even years, before him. The ensuing winter he taught school. After its close, he studied a short time with Dr. Wood, of Boscawen, and entered Dartmouth College in the summer term of 1792,—joining a class which entered only four months after he first doffed his farmer's gear. "He flung a Greek Testament through the college, and in he went," said a college cotemporary, alluding to his rapid progress.

When he entered college, his reddish-colored coat of home-made, cut not from the largest pattern, nor in the newest fashion, caused no little amusement to the laughers; but all soon united in expressions of respect and esteem.

Mr. Worcester's aim was general scholarship; to cultivate *all* his faculties; to qualify himself to enter on professional

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studies with a mind well furnished and well balanced. He studied not for appointments, but to make the most of his powers. He excelled in no particular branch, except History and English composition. As a writer, he was far superior to any in his class. He was, however, "no fopling in belles lettres." Superficiality was no characteristic of his mind; he descended into the depths of whatever he studied. Never brilliant, yet taking him in all respects, he was esteemed the foremost man of the college. His fellow students gave him various tokens of esteem; and, though every winter of his collegiate course was devoted to teaching, he graduated with the highest honors of the institution, in 1795.

His mind wavered for a time between the professions of Law and Divinity. But in a few weeks after his graduation he came to a decision, and put himself as a theological student under the instruction of Dr. Austin, of Worcester. He remained with him four months. They were months pleasantly and profitably passed. In the winter of 1795–6, he took a school in Hollis; and in the ensuing spring, accepted the charge of New Ipswich Academy, as successor to Professor Hubbard. As a teacher he was thorough and successful. His kindness and devotion to their interest won the affections of his pupils.

> "..... Learning grew
> Beneath his care."

On the 24th of July, 1796, he preached his first sermon at New Ipswich, from the words, "Rejoice evermore." He soon resigned his charge of the Academy in that place, and returned to Hollis, where he spent several months, sometimes studying, and sometimes teaching, making it his main object to regain his shattered health.

When he was sufficiently restored to offer himself a candidate for settlement, several eligible parishes made application for his services. He received a unanimous call from the Church in Pelham, N. H. Nearly at the same time he received a similar invitation from Fitchburg, Ms. The harmony of the people in Pelham, and other circumstances, opened to his view a pleasant pastorate. The condition—municipal and ecclesiastical—of Fitchburg presented a very different prospect. Yet to a devoted minister, eager as a good soldier to engage in the thickest of the battle, there were considerations of great weight in its favor.

The Church had no Articles of Faith distinct from the covenant, which was a half-way covenant, and so indefinitely expressed as to be acceptable to those who accounted all modes of faith alike pleasing to God. Members were received to the Church without examination. All that was necessary was to express a desire to enjoy its communion. There were many enrolled on its records who gave no satisfactory evidence of the new birth; some avowed Universalists, others reputed Deists, and not a few notoriously intemperate. True, there were Simeons and Annas praying and waiting for God's gracious interposition in their behalf. But the line between the world and God's visible people was scarcely discernible. The half-way scheme and Stoddardeanism had ripened and shed their fruit.

Nor was this a rare instance of religious declension at that period among the churches of New England. A reaction from the fervid spirit of the revivals under Edwards and Whitefield, had taken place; formality had choked the growth of spirituality, and fidelity slumbered. The leaven of false doctrines had been long working. The restorationism of Chauncy had, for half a century, diffused its deadly malaria. Jonathan Mayhew, with a bold and vehement eloquence, had proclaimed an equivocal orthodoxy, if not decided Arianism. As early as 1756, the Works of Emlyn had begun to infect the Boston pulpit. The statement of the elder President Adams, that Unitarianism had been taught by distinguished divines as early as the middle of the last century, was more than assertion. Too many clergymen made light of experimental religion—

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deeming it enthusiasm or delusion. An appearance of morality and a respectful attendance on the means of grace, satisfied them. Could they preserve the peace of their churches, though it were like the stillness of rivers flowing beneath their icy coverings, they conceived that their high commission was accomplished. It cannot be doubted that some of the Arminian ministers were really Arians, Socinians, or Unitarians. The Revolutionary War, and the influx of French infidelity, much increased the looseness in religious views and practice, which had previously awakened alarm. In some quarters there was great opposition to creeds—the words of Scripture being thought sufficiently distinctive to express religious belief. Efforts were made to persuade the churches that the doctrines of the Bible were of little importance, and that almost any differences of opinion were consistent with piety. Dr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, was ordained in 1787; and "from that time Unitarianism became a substantial reality in Boston." In 1789, he could say "there are many churches in which the worship is strictly Unitarian." About the same time, Dr. Morse preached a series of sermons on the Trinity, which gave serious offence to some of his brethren in the ministry. The year 1790 witnessed the republication of extracts from "Emlyn's Inquiry" in Boston. Dr. Howard had occupied one of the churches of Boston since 1767, and was now sinking into the vale of years "neither a Calvinist nor a Trinitarian." Dr. Priestley arrived in America in 1794; and a little after, Freeman wrote to Belsham "that he was 'acquainted with a number of ministers, particularly in the southern part of Massachusetts, who avowed and publicly preached the Unitarian doctrine;' while others, 'more cautious, contented themselves with leading their hearers, by a course of rational and prudent sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace it.'" In the last named year, Dea. Leonard Worcester, a brother of the subject of this notice, and in whose family he resided while pursuing his theological studies with Dr. Austin, addressed several letters to Dr. Bancroft on his misrepresentation of Calvinism.

These facts indicate the tendencies of the times, and the opposition one might expect who had determined to preach the truth as it is in Jesus. The duty of occupying a field like that which Fitchburg presented, was not probably a new consideration to young Worcester. One with his perspicacity, scholarly proclivities and ardent piety, could not survey the errors that were finding lodgment in the churches, without buckling on the harness with determined resolution. Besides, the fundamental truths embodied in the Hopkinsian Calvinistic scheme, which he had substantially embraced—such as God's making all things for his own glory; his absolute sovereignty; the total apostacy of man; his redemption solely by the blood of the infinite Redeemer; regeneration by the Holy Ghost according to the election of grace, and the obligation to exercise the disinterested love which actuated the Godhead in devising the scheme of mercy for enemies, would not permit him to make personal advantage the leading motive in selecting a parish. He whose head and heart are filled with these profound truths, will not say, "I can't go into such an obscure place;" "I can't endure such and such sacrifices." But with the true spirit of Christian heroism, he will say, "I will go where duty calls. 'Not my will, but thine be done.'" The young minister who seeks for a pleasant and popular society, where he can secure his own ease and aggrandizement, gives deplorable evidence that he has never cordially received the great vitalizing doctrines of the gospel. He may profess to be orthodox, but his orthodoxy is of little practical value.

The doctrines of Mr. Worcester were not cold formulas of truth in his head, but light and warmth in his heart. One consideration, therefore, with him overweighed all others—"the glory of Christ." True,

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his mind wavered for a time. He was, on the whole, inclined to Fitchburg; still he hesitated, weighed probabilities, considered circumstances. At length duty became plain. Fitchburg should be his field of labor—and if it must be, of strife and discomfort.

Confidence in his convictions of duty was a predominant characteristic of Mr. Worcester. He took a full survey of a subject or course of action; prayed over it; sometimes lingered long about it, watching providences and listening for whispers from the sky; but when he came to his conclusion, his decision was forever. It was not, however, the decision of obstinacy, but of "love, and of a sound mind." Nor was he always slow in coming to his decisions. They were sometimes rapidly formed, but never rashly. Even when reached most rapidly, they generally carried with them equal strength of conviction; for his mind, when roused, traveled round a subject with great celerity, and his quick eye at once scanned its tendencies and bearings. Hence he had none of that fluctuation of purpose which sometimes renders men who are strong in thought, weak in action. In carrying out his plans, he never evinced timidity, hesitation, vacillation; never had recourse to underhanded means or arts diplomatic; but steadfast, upright, ingenuous, he moved right on, just where his scheme of action led him, taking the rough with the smooth; the ease, the toil, the conflict, alike; cheerfully trusting in God. The correctness of his determination in favor of Fitchburg, amid all the labors and heartaches it occasioned, he never questioned.

He was ordained Sept. 27, 1797. Dr. Austin preached the sermon. His subject was, "The nature, extent, and importance of the duty, binding on the *Christian minister*, divinely commissioned to bear the warnings of God to men,"—a subject admirably suited to the place and the occasion. As was his wont, the preacher lifted up his powerful voice, "cried aloud and spared not." A just specimen this, of the pulpit manifestations of New England theology sixty years ago; and a fitting introduction to the ministry of the young divine, destined to become a leader in despoiling error and formality of their usurped dominion over many of our churches.

In his first sermon, Mr. Worcester announced himself a Hopkinsian Calvinist. He had honestly preached his sentiments while a candidate; now he named them. He who has clear conceptions of these truths will feel their importance; he who feels their importance will become attached to them; and he who is attached to them will utter them fearlessly, but kindly. Besides, with his honesty of principle, Mr. Worcester could as easily have committed perjury as have concealed his views of gospel truth. He, therefore, went on in his work as a herald of salvation, proclaiming the truths which God had given him grace to receive, and representing them just as he had received them. His people, as has been intimated, entertained views extremely various. The feelings of some were exceedingly exasperated against the doctrines he preached, by the misrepresentations and caricatures of their opponents. His position required skill, kindness and long-suffering, coupled with decision, inflexible integrity, and loyalty to truth. He felt that Christ had called him to erect his standard near the enemy's lines; and it was his solemn purpose to be faithful to his trust. He determined to address to all, as opportunities offered, arguments so sound, and appeals so affectionate, that if possible, "the enemies of all righteousness" should not be able to "resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake."

The effect of the bold utterance of such truths may be easily conjectured. They come directly in collision with the selfishness and pride of the natural heart. When the sinner sees them girdling him as an encircling flame, from which there is no escape; sees that, corrupted and debased as he is, he was created to be

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molded to their claims, and to find in them the joy of his being, he either bows to their dominion and accepts of Christ as his propitiation, or, tortured by their continued pressure, becomes influenced with bitterest hostility; and if not held back by a sense of obligation or decorum, he either breaks out into violent opposition, or, his moral sensibilities becoming hardened by repeated resistance to the claims of God, he holds the truth in formality and sinks into carnal security. The truth of this remark is abundantly borne out by the results of Mr. Worcester's ministrations at Fitchburg.

Some had been "pricked in their hearts" before his ordination. But soon after, the truth, like the fertilizer in the cold soil, began to produce indications of life. The discriminating preaching of the pastor revealed the difference between selfish and holy actions; between the exercises of the renewed and unrenewed. The mask of the hypocrite and formal professor was stripped away. Earnest solicitude was awakened. There were "great searchings of heart." "Am I a Christian, or am I not?" was a frequent inquiry in the anxieties of self-examination. When a communion service approached, some were in great distress. They trembled to partake of the sealing ordinance, and yet feared to abstain. The Spirit was evidently working by his own instrumentality.

In the ensuing spring, the Church unanimously voted to revise their covenant. A strictly Calvinistic creed, and accordant covenant, were drawn up by a Committee appointed for the purpose, presented to the Church, and, after being discussed in public and in private for some six months, were adopted. This gave fresh stimulus to inquiry. Truth was more clearly seen and more forcibly felt. The soil was rapidly preparing to yield a harvest—even the germs of spiritual religion already began to spring. God's chosen continued to pray; to drink in life-giving truth from Sabbath to Sabbath; to weigh their spirits, and to weep over their sins. Near the commencement of 1799, some fifteen months after the installment of the pastor, the shower of grace began to fall. Numerous cases of awakening and conversion occurred. A luxuriance of verdure covered the withered field. The Church was particularly refreshed. Many heads of families among its members were brought to the feet of the Saviour, openly declaring that they never before had evidence of being born again. These became active coadjutors with their pastor, and efficient instruments of saving others. But a most violent opposition was aroused. Many in the Church and out of it had neither seen, nor wished to see, the work of God "on this fashion." The erratic professors were especially offended in seeing their brethren revived and acknowledging experiences radically new. A most malignant spirit was manifested by all classes of opposers. But none caused the pastor trials so grievous as his "false brethren," who openly led or secretly sanctioned the enemies of God and the revival, in efforts to obstruct the work, and in devising the most despicable measures of personal annoyance. They formed a society or league on the basis of a "Universalian Compact," to withstand more effectually the doctrines of the gospel, so bitterly execrated by them under the name of Hopkinsianism, or the more blasphemous appellation of "Hell-fire." Still the revival went forward, and precious were the results, both to the pastor and to the Church, in the rich experiences of Divine grace.

While the happy influences of the revival were still fresh in the hearts of God's children, the opposition secured the preaching of one of the most popular Universalist ministers, in Mr. Worcester's meeting-house. It was entirely unknown to the latter till he saw the people assembling. He went with the rest. The preacher, after closing his sermon, in which he had blasphemously turned the truth of God into a lie, gave liberty for free remarks. Mr. Worcester rose and said: "If the preacher will come down

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from the pulpit, I should like to ask him one or two questions." He complied, and Mr. Worcester asked: "By what authority, sir, have you entered my pulpit?" "By your consent," he answered. "*I never gave consent*," was the emphatic reply. At that instant, a voice was heard from the choir—"You lie, Mr. Worcester." A scene of confusion ensued. The pastor, however, with a dignified and impressive comment on such an outrage on his prerogative, restored order, and requested the assembly to remain and listen to an exposition of a chapter in the New Testament. He selected the Epistle of Jude. The words, "Certain men crept in unawares, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness," were made to pierce as barbed arrows. The effect is said to have been indescribable.

The opposition was now headed by the Universalists, who had leagued with themselves "a mixed multitude" of all who were inimical to God and his scheme of redemption through his Son. They admitted Mr. Worcester's ability and scholarship, his urbanity and kindness; but they detested his doctrines. To them his preaching was as the piercing of a sword; but to his friends and the friends of righteousness, it was as life from the dead; and they gathered closer around him. He was thus cheered by friendship while persecuted for his Master's sake. The Universalist members of the Church strove to ignite the combustibles of infidelity and immorality throughout the town. They even went abroad, soliciting the sympathies of such neighboring clergymen and laymen as had no favor for Calvinism, and by whom regeneration by the Holy Ghost was deemed a delusion.

In the early part of 1800, Mr. Worcester preached and published six sermons on the future punishment of the wicked. They are clear and practical in thought, cogent and persuasive in argument, manly and vigorous in style. They do equal honor to his intellect and his piety. They strengthened his friends, and confirmed the wavering, while they extended his reputation as an able writer and theologian. But they were to his enemies as the sprinkled ashes of Moses—"a boil breaking out in blains"—and they became still more enraged.

The Church, during the same year, proceeded to discipline five or six members who had not only flagrantly broken their covenant, but had set both the Church and pastor at defiance. A few months later the Church passed a vote, "That it be henceforth a standing order of the Church, that no known Universalist shall be admitted to the privilege of occasionally communing with us, in the holy ordinance of the Lord's Supper." These two acts kindled the flame of hostility to the highest intensity. All manner of misrepresentations went forth. The opposers raved about Hopkinsianism, bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and intolerance. The children, even, in some families, so frequently heard the term Hopkinsian pronounced in reproach, that they often employed it as one of the worst *hard names* by which they could characterize an object of their resentment.

Disaffection with the pastor was constantly increasing. Several measures were proposed to remove him. At length the town voted that a dissolution of their contract with the pastor would be for the peace and happiness of the town. After much consideration, and taking the advice of others, the pastor laid the matter before the Church, with the request that they would "join him in measures for a regular dismission." The Church reluctantly consented. A mutual Council was called to adjudicate on the question. The Council decided unanimously that he should remain. The pastor, Church, and disaffected, formally accepted the result; but it did not allay the agitation. The waves, indeed, rolled higher and higher. The excommunicated and their abettors were resolved to accomplish their purposes at all hazards.

They now adopted a desperate measure.

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They conceived the design of securing a Council to organize them into the First Church in Fitchburg. This would enable them to take the place of the Church, in the legal relations of the town to the minister, and secure the easy accomplishment of their plans. They requested a mutual Council for this purpose. It was refused. They then called an *ex parte* Council. When convened, the pastor presented a powerful protest. The Council, however, proceeded, influenced by the artful management of one of its members. But it could not be persuaded to recognize them as the First Church in Fitchburg, or to give them a Church standing of which they could take the advantage to annul the legal contract with the pastor. The opposition were again discomfited, but they were not disheartened.

The point of contention to which the parties were ultimately led, was whether the Church should be recognized as a body distinct from the town, with acknowledged powers of her own, or be considered as merged with the town in ecclesiastical action—the members being regarded as mere citizens. In other words, whether the town should control the Church in all her actions with reference to the selection and dismission of her ministers; or whether the Church should choose and dismiss her ministers with the concurrence of the town acting as the parish, according to uniform ecclesiastical usage in New England. In the former case she would be in complete bondage to the civil power; in the other, exercise her own independent rights. This was the question.

Mr. Worcester felt it to be one of vital importance. It is so, merely as a matter of ecclesiastical polity. It involves a principle which may never be surrendered,—its surrender in any case being equivalent to subjecting the Church to the control of the world. But, in the present instance, the question assumed a significance of vastly higher moment. For the real question was, whether Calvinism should be recognized as the distinctive doctrine of the New England churches, or whether Arminianism and Socinianism should be regarded as equally acceptable ground of ecclesiastical communion,—to maintain these false doctrines being the sole object for which the opponents of Mr. Worcester had adopted this line of policy.[1]

It is an occasion of gratitude that this innovation met, in its incipiency, so able and uncompromising an antagonist. Had it prevailed over the Church in Fitchburg, it would have exceedingly troubled us in our subsequent struggle with Unitarians. But, thanks to God, through the agency of her noble pastor, the attempted innovation did not become a precedent. He stood his ground manfully. He would not yield. Measure after measure was devised to foil or discomfit him. *Ex parte* Councils, one after another, met and resulted; affairs were made to assume a most perplexing attitude; but neither could his purpose be shaken, nor his hand weakened. His clear head saw through all the difficulties thickening around him; he met his opponents in all their shiftings and windings with skill and adroitness; he worked fearlessly and patiently till he gained the victory, completely vindicating the rights of the Church and preventing her civil bondage.

At length a mutual Council was chosen, according to ecclesiastical usage, to consider and adjudicate on these long and complicated difficulties. Ten days were spent in the investigation. The pastor and the Church were fully sustained. A short time afterward he was regularly dismissed, at his own request, and retired from the field of conflict, covered with laurels.

This controversy had enlisted the interest of the community, far and near. Many of the neighboring clergy and laity justified the excommunicated. Favoring

[1] The biographer of Dr. Worcester remarks, "The Fitchburg controversy should not be forgotten as disclosing in its progress *the first organized scheme in Massachusetts to subject the Church to the will of the town, or parish, in all matters relating to the settlement and dismission of pastors.*"

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their Ario-Arminian and Socinian sentiments, they were bitterly opposed to Calvinism, and of course to the measures which Mr. Worcester had instituted to purify the Church at Fitchburg. He felt it fitting to publish a review of the whole controversy; to expose the policy and errors of his adversaries; to state the doings of the several councils, and to comment on their principles and designs. In this he reflected, of necessity, on the orthodoxy of many of the churches and their ministers. He argued that there could be no true Christian communion between Calvinists and Ario-Arminians and Socinians; and earnestly inquired whether it was not time that those who maintained the former sentiments should separate from those maintaining the latter. Here is the suggestion and development of the principle which a few years later "gathered churches out of churches." The Lexington of the memorable ecclesiastical revolution in New England, which was inaugurated in 1815, was Fitchburg; and the first bugle-note, summoning the forces to the rencounter, was sounded by Mr. Worcester.

View of the Old Tabernacle Church, Salem.

Even before his dismission from Fitchburg, the attention of some of the leading members of the Tabernacle Church in Salem was turned towards him; and no sooner was he released from his charge than they applied to him to preach as a candidate. He also received a pressing invitation from the Church in Rowley. His mind for a time fluctuated, but at

were, at that period, five Congregational churches in the place, only one of which, besides the Tabernacle, was orthodox. The tide of error was strong, owing not only to the number of its professed advocates, but also to the high social position which many of them occupied.

Mr. Worcester was installed April 20, 1803. The sermon was preached by Dr. Austin. His subject, "The indispensable and primary duty of the preachers of the Gospel to diffuse correct information respecting God," was exceedingly appropriate. A single sentence, in a note affixed to the sermon as published, is worth perpetuating: "It is an extraordinary phenomenon in the moral world, to see a learned man stand up in the pulpit, as one who is set for the defence of the gospel, and tell his auditory that there are no essential truths to be believed in order to a man's becoming a good Christian, but such as are acceded to by all parties; that all attempts to explain the

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to be a mere jumble of hard words and unintelligible phrases; and that the wisest way in the world is to content ourselves with knowing what every heathen knows perfectly well already, that if we have done wrong we must be sorry for it. How long shall this severest satire upon the scheme of Divine revelation continue to torture us from the pulpit?" This shows that the preacher had "understanding of the times," and was impressed with the solemn position of the new pastor in Salem.

Mr. Worcester began cultivating his new field with ardor, putting forth his utmost strength and skill. The pulpit of the Tabernacle became an object of attraction. The seats rose to a higher price than ever before. The house was crowded. He gained rapidly the esteem and respect not only of his own people, but of the citizens generally. His settlement in Salem marked an era of his life. In his new associations his intellect received a new impulse, and his character new developments. He fast traveled to the hight of his reputation. Here he found a *home* for the remaining eighteen years of his life, except occasional absences for recruiting his wasted energies, or to engage in some temporary service for his Master abroad. Here he traversed the rounds of pastoral and ministerial toil, instructing the ignorant and those out of the way; wiping the tears of the sorrowing, cheering the desponding, and animating all to the work of the Lord,—"holding on," we will not say, "the even tenor of his way"—rather pursuing his course of seraphic ardor and tireless zeal, till called to his rest.

The lessons bequeathed us by one who has bidden us a last farewell and passed into the invisible world, consist alone in the spirit of his actions, and the ability and wisdom with which they were wrought. We will not, therefore, follow farther the chronological order of the life of Dr. Worcester; but limit ourselves to delineating some of his more prominent intellectual characteristics, in connection with their spheres of operation, illustrated with the moral beauty of his life.

Religious opinions are a key to religious character. In a logically consistent mind, they infallibly give tone to activity, coloring to the entire life. In drawing the portrait of Dr. Worcester, the first place will be appropriately given to his theological views.

He was trained in the belief of the doctrines of Calvinism. He was taught, however, not to take them on trust, but to investigate their grounds for himself. His views were probably pretty well defined and settled before entering college. "Edwards on the Will" was there studied as a classic. He early evinced a general agreement with the Newport Divine. He chose for his theological instructor, Dr. Austin, a strict Calvinist, of the Hopkinsian type, and a pupil of Edwards, the younger. Dr. Worcester thus drank of the stream of Edwardean theology. Although when entering on the ministry he cheerfully took upon himself the reproach of Hopkinsianism, he probably accepted no extreme views of that scheme—none which were not fairly deduced from the doctrines promulgated by Edwards the elder.

Names designating philosophical and theological sects, when applied to individuals, are very deceptive. In different minds, and in different ages, their purport is exceedingly unlike. The doctrines of a system may be so modified, while all are retained, that its practical bearings, as a system, are almost entirely reversed. The several peaks of the White Mountains, combined in one view, awaken certain æsthetical emotions. But the group might have been so differently arranged by putting one in the position of another; by taking half of Mt. Adams and one-fourth of Mt. Jefferson, and piling them on top of Mt. Washington; by turning round Mt. Franklin; by giving a different slope to Mt. Monroe, and by making new chasms and throwing up new crags on Mt. Madison,—that while every particle of matter

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might have been retained, the emotions and sentiments of taste awakened by their survey, would have been very different from what they now are. So the system of Calvinism, or Hopkinsianism, by giving to the doctrines a different arrangement, or different positions in the mind, by shading some and brightening others, according to taste; by carrying the analysis in some cases too far, and in others not far enough, may be so changed, that while every doctrine is preserved, it makes, as a system, on the heart and conscience an entirely different impression. It may, indeed, lose its whole moral power, and yet the name be retained.

Dr. Worcester had a happy mental organization which little exposed him to such distortions. His mind was peculiarly clear, logical and comprehensive. He saw the minute, as well as the more prominent parts, of a subject. No element of thought, carrying logical proof, escaped him, and he gave each its true force. He penetrated to the depths of a subject almost by intuition, and detected its relations. The links which united every truth in a system with all the other truths in it, he easily traced; and it was his pleasure, in the clearness of his vision, to trace them. His intellectual powers were so admirably adjusted that they worked in delightful harmony; and hence the results reached by his processes of reasoning were symmetrical. Every doctrine of a system assumed in his view its just position and its true magnitude. All together they rose before him as one homogeneous whole. Besides, his dispositions were equally well balanced. He had no predilections or dislikes which swayed his reason. Hence he knew no favorite dogmas in a system of Scriptural truth. He looked upon all, considering their positions and relative importance, with the same discriminating affection; and was, therefore, not disposed to fix his mind on some unduly, and to magnify them disproportionately. His moral proclivities and intellectual faculties were beautifully attuned to each other, like the different chords of a musical instrument, producing grateful concords.

Fortunately, also, he had none of that subtlety of intellect which refines and analyzes till the threads of thought become too attenuated for definite perception or intelligible conclusions; none of that tendency to dreamy speculation which loves to float in regions of airy shadowiness; none of that quality called genius, which flashes and shines along some lines of thought, while others are obscured by its own brightness, alike bewildering the possessor and others. The distinguishing characteristic of Dr. Worcester's mind was *practicalness*, or a profound common sense. This, regulated every other faculty. It combined his religious system and molded it to a form for use. His creed was not chosen as a field in which his intellect might luxuriate, but as a garden in which he might daily gather fruit. He might take pleasure in the nice distinctions and metaphysical theories of astute theologians; but he did not dwell upon them with absorbing delight, nor regard them as essentialities. In no sphere would he have become the founder of a school in metaphysical theology; he had too much practical good sense, and childlike reverence for the Bible. To its teaching he ever bowed, confident that truths which God had revealed, however incomprehensible to us, were of practical moment. He therefore seized the great centers of Scriptural truth, and wrought them into his creed with logical acuteness and discrimination:—such as the utterly ruined condition of man; his moral helplessness in the hands of sovereign mercy; the necessity of the Trinity to a scheme of atonement; the all-sufficiency of Christ; justification alone through his blood; regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and obligation founded on natural ability to obey the Divine law. These constituted a Scriptural system, living in his own heart, and he endeavored to make it live in the hearts of others.

Dr. Worcester won high consideration

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as a theologian. A few months after his settlement in Salem, he was appointed to the professorship of Divinity in Dartmouth College. It was a position in some respects agreeable to his taste, and one for which he was pre-eminently fitted. But he neither wished to leave his people, nor they to surrender him. He was tried, and they were tried. They mutually implored light from above. At length the question was submitted to a committee of ministerial advisers. Many arguments were adduced on both sides. To the joy of his Church, it was decided that he should remain; and he cordially acquiesced in the decision.

He was a theological teacher of much ability and acceptableness. He early had pupils under his care, fitting for the ministry. For ten years after the founding of Andover Seminary, he was seldom without theological students. He earnestly inculcated upon them the necessity, if they would become successful pastors, of believing, loving, and declaring the whole truth of Revelation, without any compromise with science, falsely so called. They ever retained for him the sincerest respect, and spoke of him with love.

The preaching of Dr. Worcester was the manifestation of the vitality of his doctrinal belief in thoughts that burned on the guilty conscience, and in words that breathed a heavenly fragrance to all lovers of evangelical truth. He had a reverent sense of the dignity and saintliness of his office as a minister of Jesus. In assuming it, he felt that he was assuming the responsibilities of one appointed to negotiate a peace with the enemies of his Lord; and on grounds prescribed in the Court from which he received his commission. In his estimation, his work, expressed in a single sentence, was to "beseech men to be reconciled to God." What he sought in his preaching, first and above all, was the *soul*—its renovation, its exaltation, its entire redemption from sin and woe. This ruling idea rendered him an earnest, solemn, impressive preacher of righteousness and redeeming mercy, free from all lightness or indifference. In the pulpit he never aimed at moving a smile, or diffusing, by a subtle humor, a spirit of mirthfulness through his audience. Such an intention he would have deemed a desecration of his office. Preaching, in his view, was dealing with the honor of his Saviour; with the most precious interests of man; with the deepest, most vital realities of the intelligent universe. Every sermon, in his apprehension, took hold of judgment and eternity. True, he delighted in presenting the hopes and joys which are the life of the gospel; but he presented them as the hopes and joys of holiness—the workings of free grace on the soul. Christian rejoicing, with him, was rejoicing in the character and dominion of God, and in salvation from sin through the Lord, our Righteousness. While a solemn, he was by no means a gloomy preacher; for Christ, who is the light and joy of the world, was the center around which he continually revolved.

He was a self-renouncing preacher. He never asked, in respect to the enforcement of any Scriptural truth, "How will this affect me?" but, "Is this the time to enforce it with the greatest profit?" The pulpit he regarded as standing infinitely above all selfish or worldly considerations. This he expressed in his introductory sermon at Salem. "It is of little consequence what befalls *me*, provided that you, my dear friends, may be saved. May I but be found faithful, and you savingly benefited by my ministry, I will rejoice in any event." His life proves this declaration true. It was never the applause of his hearers that he sought, so much as the plaudit before the assembled universe, "Well done, good and faithful servant." He did not aim at saying *smart* things, but effective things. He did not write sermons with the view of eliciting the exclamation, "What a delightful sermon!" but to call forth from wounded souls lamentations over sin, or expressions of hope in a "Saviour found." He felt that

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no more awful doom would be assigned at the judgment than to the unfaithful minister.

He was emphatically a Scriptural preacher. He thought not to save men by "cunning craftiness," by devices of human wisdom, only in the way the Bible marks out—by the plain and earnest enforcement of gospel truth, attended by the Holy Ghost. All revealed truths he deemed profitable, and shrunk not from inculcating them in their season. Indeed, he felt himself bound to repeat all that God had uttered for the instruction of men. Hence he was pre-eminently a bold preacher. He met sin and error with the courage of a true soldier, wherever God called him to the rencounter. He was much in the habit of preparing expository sermons. He delivered a course of lectures on Genesis, which drew crowded houses; another on Matthew, and still another on the Acts of the Apostles—both of which were well received. The effects of his ministrations were never more apparent than when expounding the Scriptures. Said one, "I thought the minister who preached the *most Bible* was the best minister for me. I became fully convinced that he" (Dr. W.) "preached more exactly according to the Scriptures than any other minister whom I had the opportunity to hear."

To fulfil his momentous trust, he was conscientiously a hard student. Study was never irksome, though it might be sometimes wearisome. He loved his books better than his recreations. When no other duties called, he rejoiced to devote day and night to the work of preparation. He deemed it both a breach of fidelity and disrespectful to his hearers, to appear before them with a hasty or unfinished production, if it could be possibly avoided. The conviction was strong within him, that it was not the special duty of his office to awaken in his hearers feeling merely, but right feeling; that if he would elevate them into likeness to God, he must elevate them as rational beings; and that while, therefore, he would impress the heart, he must enlighten the reason; knowing that every truly religious emotion is a rational emotion, awakened by evangelical thought.

Hence it was his endeavor to gain definite apprehensions of what he wished to write or speak. He fixed his mind on a subject till it rose up before him, clearly defined. He then thought it into form, bringing out its different parts and relations under distinct heads, and logically arranging them, so that the truth was spread luminously before the intellect, and laid with all its vital force on the conscience and the heart. His motto seems to have been: "Let the truth be seen and felt just as God has presented it."

He preached much on the doctrines. He did this in seasons of revival as well as in times of declension. But his doctrinal sermons were always practical; and such was the tendency of his mind to look at first principles, and such his keen perception of their outward workings, that his practical sermons were also doctrinal. It was this harmonious combination of the two mental elements—the speculative and the practical—which so strongly impressed the conviction on his own mind that men must feel and act right, as well as believe right; and which gave him his main power as a faithful preacher of righteousness over the intellects and consciences of his unrenewed hearers.

But while he worked his intellectual and logical powers so industriously in bringing things new and old out of the treasury of God's word, and from the books of Nature and Providence, his heart was not neglected. This ever beat with vital warmth beneath the truth he was inculcating on others. It breathed up into his words and through his sermons, and informed them with life. He would have felt condemned in impressing truth on others which he did not feel himself. And he prayed as well as studied. "Many of his best sermons were composed as if upon his knees." Hence his discourses

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were suffused with devotional feeling, and a tender earnestness which comforted and edified the children of God, and thrilled on the consciences of the impenitent. His hearers ever felt that his sympathetic soul yearned for their salvation; and could he but bring them, broken-hearted penitents, to the foot of the cross, his great end would be accomplished.

His imagination was fertile, but it never overshadowed his reason. He employed it to enforce, not to obscure truth. It played as a lambent flame over his sermons, rendering them luminous rather than captivating. He was never a brilliant, or, in the modern sense, popular preacher. He never inflamed the imagination, nor aroused a storm in the sensibilities, for which his hearers could assign no reason. Hence, while the multitude might be pleased and convinced, they were never fascinated. It is doubtful whether, with all his intellectual and spiritual worth, had he lived fifty years later, he would have been called to occupy so popular a pulpit as that of the Tabernacle. The masses of the day would probably say of his sermons, "They are pious, but dull."

His manner in the pulpit was neither easy nor graceful, though in the earlier years of his ministry he took much pains to speak well. But his efforts did not carry him above the appearance of self-consciousness. His preciseness was always to some a little disagreeable. It was once said to certain fault-finders, "It is his natural way." The instant rejoinder was, "Then I would not have a natural way." As he became accustomed to the pulpit, however, his manner improved; yet it never became altogether attractive. He used little gesticulation, and this little was sometimes awkward. But the time came when the wave of his hand or the raising of a finger told effectively on his audience. His power of voice was small, but his tones were manly and affectionate—fervent and conciliatory. His articulation was distinct; and with a moderate volume of sound, he could be heard by a very large assembly. In his pronunciation, he rigidly conformed to reputable and refined usage.

The chief excellences of his sermons were their sterling thought and evangelical sentiments; their logical precision and clearness; their elegance, strength and dignity of style; their earnestness and persuasive power. These qualities drew to the Tabernacle men of education and cultivated taste; while the warmth of Christian feeling, and the light which he threw around every biblical or theological subject which he treated, attracted the pious of all classes and ages. Earnestly as one who believes what he utters, he proclaimed the great themes of Calvinistic, or rather, Pauline theology, with which his name will ever be gratefully associated by all lovers of evangelical truth. In his later years he dwelt more on the Atonement—the center of the system—as though it had an increasing hold of his affections; and on the love of Christ, in dying for our sins, it seemed that "he could never begin to say enough."

Dr. Worcester engaged in his pastoral work with the same zeal and fidelity with which he discharged the duties of the pulpit. While giving the latter the precedence, he never neglected the former. He was not one of those literary ministers who can satisfy their consciences by preaching brilliant or profound sermons on the Sabbath, while they scarcely see their people during the week, save in the social circle, where pleasurable conversation or hilarity too often take the place of Christian edification. On the contrary, he loved the quiet, unobtrusive call; to go from house to house, speaking words of comfort and exhortation; gladdened with the joys, and saddened with the sorrows of his people. It is surprising, considering his multiplied public duties, that he redeemed so much time for this work, so grateful to the suffering and the lowly of Christ's flock. Until he commenced his labors for Foreign Missions, it was his usual practice to call on some families daily. In

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one year he made more than a thousand pastoral visits. It was his custom, on Mondays, to call on all families who requested public prayer on the preceding Sabbath. These commonly amounted to from five to fifteen. At these visits he was expected to offer prayer, which made a most exhausting appendage to his Sabbath labors. It was not always his design to make his visits strictly religious. But while he indulged his social sympathies, he endeavored to make himself useful—to augment, rather than diminish, his influence as a preacher of righteousness. The objects of his special care were the poor, the aged, the widow and the fatherless. These rejoiced in the kindness of their pastor's heart and hand. The sick and bereaved also shared in his tenderest sympathies. He had experienced the bitterest affliction in the death of children; and his best feelings flowed forth towards those weighed down by similar sorrows. For all classes among his people, he felt, indeed, a generous and warm-hearted interest. But his self-regard and his sense of the elevation and sanctity of his office, never allowed a parishioner to approach him as an equal. This gave to his manner sometimes an air of reserve, and to his intercourse, of distance, which tended to repel the shrinking and unobtrusive. Dignity, in a minister, is desirable; but when it checks the free flow of kindly affections towards him, it is carried too far. This was furthest possible from Dr. Worcester's feelings or intentions. The true mean between dignity and familiarity, in the daily intercourse of pastoral life, it is extremely difficult to maintain. Most swerve to one side or the other of the line. If the honored pastor of the Tabernacle erred on this point, he erred with multitudes of others. Besides, the few of his people who felt restraint in his presence, may have owed it as much to their own conscious sense of inferiority as to his air of superiority. Certainly, those who disclosed to him their spiritual trials and temporal sorrows, found in him a heart responsive to their own.

His care of the children was constant and affectionate. He contrived various expedients to gain influence over them. He faithfully taught them the "Assembly's Catechism." He sometimes preached sermons adapted to their capacities and wants, with the happiest effects. When he saw them at their homes, or met them by the way, he called them to him as to a father; and what he said to them, as he put his hands on their heads and smiled into their delighted countenances, many of them long and profitably remembered. He assiduously cultivated and drew out the piety of the female members of his Church. Being once asked how he sustained himself in his arduous toils and under his overwhelming cares, he replied: "My praying sisters support me."

Besides preaching an evening lecture on alternate Sabbaths, he usually attended two meetings during the week. One was for the Church exclusively. In this he spent much time in expounding the Scriptures, and then called upon the brethren for remarks. It was frequently an occasion for a free interchange of views. He also had two or three "circles" for religious instruction. One, called "The Social Circle," consisted alone of females; the other, called "The Berean," of males. These met once a fortnight for several years. Divers questions, practical and theological, were submitted to him and answers given. The meetings were felt by the members to be exceedingly profitable. He also occasionally held meetings for inquiry, at his own house, and often found in them that which cheered and encouraged him. Thus he labored on, finding something new to be done every week in his pastoral work; almost daily rejoicing with some on whom Heaven had smiled, or mingling sympathies with others whom sorrow had stricken—having little time for that "indolent vacuity of thought," by which it has been said "the understanding is refreshed." The minister who leaves not his study often, and goes forth to speak to the poor in their

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own abodes words of encouragement and cheer, and to tell them of the better land; to comfort and pray with the sick and the dying; to shed tears of reciprocating sorrow with the bereaved and heart-broken, knows nothing of the purest and sweetest pleasures of the Christian pastor.

Dr. Worcester's clear and discriminating exhibition of gospel truths in the pulpit, and his faithful enforcement of them in private conversation, was attended, as might be expected, by the outpouring of the Spirit. A revival commenced soon after his settlement at Salem. It came on gradually—a gentle sprinkling at first, it increased to an abundant shower. Verdure bloomed where desolation reigned, and angels sung new notes of thanksgiving. About a hundred were added to the Church as its fruits, and the new pastor rejoiced with the heavenly songsters. His heart was made glad by several other scenes of awakening, the most memorable of which were in 1807 and 1808, and in 1810 and 1811. Besides these general revivals, it is believed that in every year of his ministry at Salem, some turned to the Lord. At such times of refreshing he labored more abundantly, tenderly watching for souls. He never felt that he had a more critical work to perform—one in which he more needed the special assistance of God—than in directing anxious sinners. When such were gathering around him, he worked joyfully; but impressed with solemnity and sacred awe—realizing that he was in the presence of the Holy Ghost, and was touching chords which would vibrate through eternity. He avoided all unnatural excitement—everything like enthusiasm or extravagance. He felt it especially incumbent on him at such seasons to awaken evangelical thought and its correspondent emotions. His aim was to co-operate with the Holy Spirit in producing on his hearers the conviction that they were dead in their trespasses, and lying under condemnation. He pressed the truths that the sinner must be born of God; that his only hope lies in the sovereign mercy of God through Christ; that the cross alone stands between him and perdition; and that he must fall helpless at its foot, trusting unconditionally in the blood shed thereon, or perish. Nor were such plain and thorough exhibitions of truth lost. The very satisfactory experiences of the converts testified to their efficacy. They became vigorous Christians. Through these precious revivals the Tabernacle Church was greatly strengthened. Most of their fruits have been already gathered into the heavenly garner, to sparkle as jewels in the crown of their beloved pastor forever, to the praise of the glory of the Saviour's grace.

Dr. Worcester had considerable musical talent. In his youth he was fifer in a company of citizen soldiers, and was deemed a skillful player. Before entering the ministry he instructed in sacred music, of which he was extremely fond; and after entering on his profession, he opened schools for the delightful art, both at Fitchburg and Salem, and encouraged all who had a voice and an ear, to cultivate their talents. He sometimes met with the choir and gave them the benefit of his fine taste and skill. He delivered lectures on Church Psalmody and music, at home and abroad, and thus made his zeal in the cause widely felt.

He was a warm admirer of Watts's Psalms and Hymns. Yet he had long thought that by abridging some, omitting others, and making selections from other noted hymnologists, a collection of Christian Psalmody might be made for the worship of the sanctuary far superior to Watts alone, and he had long desired to accomplish the task, for which he was admirably fitted, both by his musical cultivation and literary taste. This desire was stimulated by the appearance of two collections of Hymns by "The Liberal Divines." The first, "Hymns for the use of the Church in Brattle Street," in which was "manifest a studious desire to keep the Divinity of the Son of God

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entirely out of view." The other, "A Selection of Psalms and Hymns," by Mr. Emerson, of the First Church, Boston, father of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The evident design of this was "to abolish all reverence for the Redeemer as a Divine person." These efforts to obscure the glory of the Redeemer in the minds of thousands, by the subtle charm of lyrical poetry combined with the more subtle charm of music, stirred the soul of Dr. Worcester to its depths. At length, in 1813, he commenced a hymnological work on a plan of his own. It occupied a large share of his studies for some two years and a half. He was assisted by gentlemen skilled in music, and of literary culture. The result was his "Christian Psalmody, in Four Parts, comprising Dr. Watts's Psalms, abridged; Dr. Watts's Hymns, abridged; Select Hymns from other Authors, and Select Harmony; together with Directions for Musical Expression." Competent judges warmly commended the work, especially the "Key of Expression." But objections were raised to his abridgments and omissions of Watts; and though the work was gradually gaining favor, he was persuaded against his own good taste to apply the "Key of Expression" to the whole of Watts's Psalms and Hymns, and to add the Select Hymns for a new work. This edition received at once an applauding welcome. More than 300,000 copies have been circulated. They have gone into distant lands, cheering multitudes of the people of God in their toils and triumphs to the celestial city. Perhaps he looks back from his glorified home on none of his works with more thanksgiving than on this, in which he endeavored to sustain and exalt in the assemblies of the saints the worship of the co-equal Son of God, and to secure a warmer welcome to his "glad tidings of great joy."

Such was the ardor of Dr. Worcester in the service of Christ, that he labored as earnestly for other churches as for his own. Whatever sacrifices their peace and prosperity demanded, he cheerfully made. His amiability, his urbanity and integrity, together with his practical sagacity, his keen discernment of motives, and his power of penetrating to the heart of conflicting interests, and his judge-like calmness in weighing them, combined with a firm decision to vindicate the right to the last, pre-eminently fitted him for the deliberations of ecclesiastical councils; while his uniform courtesy of manner and patience towards those who opposed themselves and the truth—especially his love to Him who came to our world as the messenger of reconciliation—qualified him to become a peace-maker in the churches. His early ecclesiastical difficulties at Fitchburg, led him to study the polity of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, and their relation to the civil power, with much assiduity. This last was a species of knowledge of great importance to the churches in the struggles through which, in his time, they passed. His peculiar qualifications for advice or adjudication were soon known. He had numerous applications to settle disputes and to heal difficulties, far and near. In seventeen years, besides declining many invitations, he attended about eighty councils, in many of which questions of vital interest to the churches were discussed and decided—some of the most important of which were those at Dunstable, Hollis, Sandwich and Dorchester. In these and others he was a distinguished member.

Dr. Worcester had not only the power of investigating and arranging a subject in the solitude of his study, but that comprehension and sharpness of intellect which seize the salient points of an opponent's arguments; the memory which holds them and their relative bearing before the mind; the rapidity of thought and power of abstraction, which enabled him, in a crowd, to gather up a reply and overwhelm his antagonist, demolishing his arguments on the spot. This is the power, or combination of powers, essential to success in parliamentary, especially in forensic dis-

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cussions. Hence Dr. Worcester was not only an able writer in his closet, but a distinguished debater—a powerful advocate. It is said, indeed, that he showed himself greater in debate than in preaching. Before some councils, "he delivered speeches of several hours' length, which astonished his hearers. They were specimens of connected thought, force of argument, and command of language, which are seldom rivalled even in courts of judicature and legislative assemblies." In the memorable council at Dorchester, Hon. Samuel Dexter was counsel for the parish, and consequently advocated the cause which Dr. Worcester felt himself bound to oppose. It is said that the Honorable counsellor "could not conceal his uneasiness whenever Dr. Worcester rose to speak;" and he had the magnanimity afterwards to award to him very high praise for the ability with which he acquitted himself. The general opinion of Dr. Worcester's fairness and judicial power was evinced in the confidence reposed in him to execute the last work of councils—making up the result. He was usually a leading member of the Committee appointed for this purpose.

Dr. Worcester ever sympathized with his ministerial brethren, particularly with those in straitened circumstances, or who occupied ineligible positions; often relieving their necessities by material aid, though his own salary was never sufficiently large to justify a bountiful liberality. Free from envy or other sinister motives, he was assiduous in his efforts to elevate the evangelical ministry in public estimation. He also fraternized with those differing from him in sentiment, so far as a conscientious regard for truth allowed. He long exchanged ministerial courtesies with some more "liberal divines," hoping almost "against hope" that their errors were those of the intellect rather than the heart—a part of whom afterwards became decided Unitarians. He united with the Salem Association when a majority of its members were anti-Calvinists. Some of his brethren censured him, but the result proved that he acted rightly. Others followed his example; and in a few years, a small minority withdrawing, the entire Association became Orthodox. Believing it important to combine the strength of those who were "one in Christ Jesus," so far as possible, he advocated the necessity of avoiding all unnecessary collisions or separations. While he would not make the least compromise with error, nor lower the Scriptural standard of piety, he would have the churches whose pastors had swerved from the truth, treated with great prudence and kindness; hoping that some of them, or fractions of them, might be saved to the orthodox cause. Any indication of growing spirituality in other denominations he hailed with pleasure, and delighted to meet with them in prayer and worship when consistent. In a truly catholic spirit—heaven-wide from all bigotry or narrow-mindedness—he gave his sympathies and aid to a small company of Baptists who were struggling to establish public worship in a neighboring locality. When weary and worn, he sometimes held evening services with them for their encouragement and edification; which kindness was, on their part, affectionately remembered.

But with all his catholicity of sentiment and peace-loving disposition, Dr. Worcester became a controversialist. He did not love controversy. He shrunk from it, and yet he became involved in it. God called him to the work, and he could not forbear. We are often compelled, in providence, to do what we have no natural taste or inclination to do. God will show us that he is our rightful Sovereign, and that we are to be guided in our work not by our preferences, but by his hand. He often chooses the most loving spirits to engage in Christian controversy, such being usually the most effective instruments in the work. Jesus Christ had no disposition to contend. To no compassionate spirit, indeed, could it be more disagreeable; and yet his purity con-

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strained him to defend truth and resist wickedness; and never was there a more powerful advocate of truth and righteousness. A lover of controversy is apt to weaken his hand by mixing too much of himself with his work.

Dr. Worcester, when in Fitchburg, as we have seen, preached and published against the destructive error of Universalism; and not long after his settlement in Salem, the same pernicious heresy called him out with equally able arguments for its refutation. Even the less noxious errors of his Baptist brethren, towards whom he cherished so much cordiality of sentiment, and who maintain with so much earnestness the essential elements of the gospel, he could not persuade himself to pass over without resistance. In 1805, various causes having contributed to make the subject of Baptism a topic of debate, he prepared two discourses on "The Perpetuity and Provision of God's Gracious Covenant with Abraham and his Seed." They were requested for publication. They called forth a reply from Dr. Baldwin, of Boston. Dr. Worcester rejoined. The Discourses and the Rejoinder produced quite a sensation in religious circles, and increased the reputation of the author. Strength was gained to the Pedo-Baptist side of the argument.

But his greatest work in this direction—perhaps the greatest of his life—was the part which he took in the controversy which eventuated in the doctrinal division of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, in 1815. He had long seen the deadly error of Unitarianism insinuating itself into the churches. He had watched, with much solicitude, the disingenuous means by which it was propagated; the concealed designs of its advocates; the inculcation of a negative theology; the omission of the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel in many pulpits; the maintenance of the uselessness of creeds, combined with the boasted liberality and nobleness of standing alone on the Bible, just for the sake of rejecting or obscuring its fundamental truths. He had seen it palsying the religious life of one after another, even wrapping entire churches in the winding sheet of spiritual death. He had seen it take triumphant possession of the Divinity chair of our State University, so memorably dedicated to Christ and his Church. He had seen it become, in such a sense, the popular religion of the State that it appropriated to itself most of the State offices. His frank and open spirit was pained. With his practical views of the essential truths of theology, he saw it was ruin to the churches—ruin to every best interest of man, in time and eternity. He was decided that something must be done to exorcise the foul spirit of error, which, by its mining process, was already making the very foundations of evangelical religion totter. The love of Christ constrained him to watch for opportunities to speak for the truth. It was, in his view, charity to resist the pretensions of charity—pretensions which were falsifying every utterance of that charity which the Saviour taught; even turning it to bitterness and gall towards those who cherish the spirit of submission and worship to the Son of God.

The small beginnings of error in which the Unitarian heresy arose, the subtle measures by which it was early propagated, and its stealthy growth to maturity, ever shielded by the false guises of charity, are lessons which the New England churches should never forget.

Jeremiah Evarts published in the *Panoplist*, of which he was Editor, "A Review of American Unitarianism." It was designed to arouse the churches to their dangers, which they were slow to believe, owing to the fact that secret enemies among themselves were working their corruption; and, while they worked, were crying "peace and safety." The "Review" was like the bursting of a shell amid the ranks of error. Though long the advocates of charity as the very essence of religion, they were stung to the quick, and their excited passions broke

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loose from every restraint. The poison of the asp was under their lips. They were swift to speak all manner of evil against the Reviewer. Dr. Channing, in no gentle strain, replied in a letter to Rev. S. C. Thatcher. This only fanned the flame still higher. Dr. Worcester came, though without collusion, to the support of his friend. The "Review" of Evarts was to him as the first war-note of the Revolution to Gen. Putnam. Fearless in the name of him he served, seizing his pen, he at once entered the conflict. It was an opportunity to speak for Christ, and he would not let it pass. When it was reported to Dr. Channing that Dr. Worcester was preparing a reply to his Letter, he was surprised that a man of so much "candor and liberality" should engage in such a work. He knew little indeed what true Christian "candor and liberality" demand of their votaries, when the character of the Son of God is aspersed, and vital piety threatened.

The main objects of Dr. Worcester's Letters to Dr. Channing were three: First, to defend the truthfulness of the statements made by the "Reviewer" in the *Panoplist*, that the "Liberal Divines," though clergymen in reputable standing in the Congregational order, together with their adherents in the churches, were really Unitarians; and while studiously concealing the fact, held doctrines fundamentally different from those entertained by the New England Puritans and their pious descendants. Secondly, to show the unsoundness of their views of "liberality;" that the charity which they so much cultivated, and of which they so loudly boasted, bore no resemblance to that charity which cometh down from above, but was an imposter over which the latter would weep. Thirdly, that there could be no true Christian fellowship between those differing so widely on the essential principles of the gospel; and, therefore, that an ecclesiastical separation was indispensable. The last point he had presented in his review of the difficulties at Fitchburg. It was not a thought generated by the impulse of the moment. It was a long cherished and well weighed opinion.

When, therefore, Providence summoned him to the conflict, he was fully prepared. He had measured every inch of ground on which both he and his adversaries stood. The subject had pressed upon his thoughts till his heart burned beneath them. He consequently wrote as one whose soul was absorbed in his theme; not as a cold speculator in deep mysteries, or a stickler for metaphysical distinctions, for formulas of doctrine, or for the maintenance of a theory; but as one writing for the honor of his Lord; for the preservation of the purity of the churches; for the salvation of souls; for results which can be estimated only as the years of immortality shall pass in review. The fervor of his feelings glowed along his pages as though the light of heaven-born love shone upon them. Every candid reader must have felt that the author was sincere; that he was not actuated by self-will or pride of opinion; that he was not writing for reputation, or from any sinister motive; but for the vindication of truth, and in obedience to his Master. With the light of truth beaming on his soul and illumining his path, he marched on with giant tread towards the goal which his argument, at every evolution of thought, was struggling to attain. The goal was reached—the prize was won. From the day that the controversy with Dr. Channing was closed, the separation of the Orthodox from the Unitarians became a certainty.

Three letters were written by the respective respondents, Dr. Channing opening the battle—Dr. Worcester discharging his last battery as his antagonist retired from the field. The closing letter of Dr. Channing was his ablest, and written in a more subdued and kindly spirit. Dr. Worcester, in his last, entered more deeply into the doctrinal argument than in either of the other two. He meant to leave no ground for his opponent to stand upon,

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and he accomplished what he designed. The reviewer, in the *Panoplist*, says of it: "It is one of the ablest pamphlets which any controversy has produced." . . . "It is well worthy of deliberate and repeated perusal, and to be kept on the shelf as a complete and unanswerable refutation of the most common and plausible sophistries of Unitarian writers."

One grand element of Dr. Worcester's power in this controversy was the intense *practicality* of his mind. He had no views to vindicate, no doctrines to defend, not recommended to him by their utility. He entered into no fine philosophical distinctions; relied on no nicely drawn differences between Old Calvinism and Hopkinsianism; laid no stress on ingenious theories concerning the Trinity, or philosophical notions respecting the Sonship of Christ, or any other abstruse subtlety; but with a bold and masterly grasp, seized the obvious significance of Scripture; the clear common sense views of all the topics discussed, and presented them before the common sense of his opponents. Every thought was level to the general understanding; and all combined, were admirably fitted to sweep away the mists generated by vulgar prejudices, and to scatter the cloud of every-day objections to evangelical truth, on which Dr. Channing too much relied. As it did not so much fall within his plan—especially in his two first letters—to show what the Calvinistic doctrines were, as, by taking it for granted that these were already understood, to demonstrate that Dr. Channing and his adherents had discarded them; and that, therefore, those who remained true to the doctrines of their fathers and of revelation, should come out and be separate from those who either ignored or deemed them non-essentials, the mind of the reader was never turned from the main point. The stream of thought was obstructed by no abstrusities. It rushed on, impetuously, and carried the public mind with it.

His success was also facilitated by his reputation for amiableness of disposition; for large-minded liberality towards other Christian sects, acknowledged even by "the liberal Divines" themselves; for candor and thoroughness in investigating conflicting interests; for skill in composing ecclesiastical differences, and for sound judgment in all the great practical questions of the times. It was confidently felt that Dr. Worcester, who had so many elements of the peace-maker, would not enter into controversy without justifiable cause; and that a separation from the Unitarians—a revolution the most momentous which had hitherto been proposed in the New England churches—would not be advocated by a man of so much wisdom and Christian charity, without imperative reasons. It was thought but just to weigh the arguments of such a controversialist dispassionately. But what especially facilitated the success of Dr. Worcester, in this controversy, was the deep-toned piety running through the whole. It is the sincere and earnest utterance of one standing before the cross, and bathed with its light. It is not the reason alone that speaks, but the heart, and the heart glowing with love to Christ. It betrays no rankling bitterness, no perturbed emotions. He never turns aside to strike his adversary; all is aimed at the refutation of his errors. There are no satirical allusions, no thrusts of a good swordsman to awaken admiration; all is a straight forward, earnest, eloquent argument, inspired by love of truth, and consecrated to the glory of Christ.

Throughout, the severe is finely balanced with the kind and affectionate. He says just the plain, pointed thing needful; strips away the mask, and discovers the deformity beneath, just as the most earnest lover of truth, and hater of hypocrisy and false charity, would desire; yet all is couched in language so kind and considerate; done with an air of such good-will; guarded with so many qualifications which at once smooth and whet the edge of truth, that the argument penetrates the heart of the error and corrup-

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tion attacked, without giving occasion for justifiable irritation. If his opponent is scathed, we feel that it is the scathing of truth, not of harsh language; if he writhes in pain, that it is occasioned not by sharp words, but by the sword of the Spirit. Taken as a whole, it may be pronounced a model of Christian tenderness, pointedness, and fidelity in religious controversy.

The manliness and heroism of Dr. Worcester in this controversy can be properly estimated only in connection with the influences that surrounded him. The errors he combated were advocated by the Professors of our highest literary institution; by some of the most popular preachers and greatest civilians of the times. The opinions of the great, with some, are well-nigh sacred; and of the popular, authoritative. Very little observation is sufficient to convince us how difficult it is to persuade many, even of the more intelligent, that a minister whom the world delights to hear, is erratic—popularity being too often regarded as synonymous with soundness in doctrine. Besides, the extent and magnitude of the error at the time was not generally known or acknowledged. The enemy had come in gradually. He had not stood up boldly, and riven down his opponents, taken the citadel by force, and fearlessly unfurled his banner on Zion's towers. He had crept in, unobserved, taken his captives by surprise and craft, as Satan gained dominion over our first mother. "The liberal Divines" had always maintained, and still maintained, that they did not differ materially from the Puritan standards. Hence multitudes did not believe that there was essential error in the churches. They saw no occasion for controversy. Many clergymen, reputedly orthodox, discountenanced it—deemed it persecution, intolerance, illiberality. True heroism, in religious controversy, manifests itself in attacking unacknowledged error—error studiously concealed before it reaches sufficient maturity to break out of its viperous shell. To attack it at this stage is to incur every evil by which reputation is assailed; to be pelted with a hail-storm of hard names, groundless imputations, and cruel suspicions; to be accused of disturbing the peace of Zion; of infusing strife and confusion where God designed peace and good order should reign. All this Dr. Worcester foresaw, and bravely bared his bosom to receive it. When either his own good name or that of his Master was to be aspersed, he had no hesitation in deciding which should suffer. It was easier for him to bear the reproach of bigotry, of uncharitableness, of disturbing the peace of the churches, than to see his Saviour despoiled of his glory as the uncreated God.

The defection from the truth by some of his own kindred was also a severe test of his strength of principle. His brother Noah, for whose talents and piety he entertained a high esteem, published a work entitled "Bible News," advocating peculiar views of the sonship of Christ, which really denied his supreme divinity. Thomas, another brother greatly beloved, pastor of the church in Salisbury, N. H., was carried away by the ingenious, but sophistical arguments of the work, and became a zealous advocate of the theory. His brother Leonard, pastor of the church in Peacham, Vt., who, when a deacon in Worcester, entered the lists in defence of orthodoxy against incoming error, was also shaken, and ever afterwards confined himself, when speaking of Christ's divinity, strictly to scriptural language. Of the four ministerial brothers Dr. Worcester alone stood unmoved. The defenders of liberal Christianity exulted.

Some of Dr. Worcester's friends feared that he would be warped from the truth through fraternal influence. One of these was Rev. Rufus Anderson of Wenham, between whom and the pastor of the Tabernacle there existed a very intimate friendship. He came over to Salem expressly to ascertain the steadfastness of his friend to the strict Trinitarian faith. Returning home after a delightful inter-

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view, he announced to his family the joyful tidings, "*Samuel is safe. He is sound to the core.*"

Thus Dr. Worcester, unseduced by fraternal affection, unawed by position or literary power, and unterrified by contumely and abuse, stood up manfully in the advocacy of orthodox principles; and became one of the standard-bearers in an ecclesiastical revolution, whose influence will be felt as long as living piety shall thrive on New England soil, or wherever the New England churches shall plant it.

We would not disparage the labors and zeal of others in this memorable campaign. The Andoverian champions did a great and noble work;—Stuart, in setting forth with much Biblical learning the distinctive principles of exegesis, and his strong array of philological arguments, proving that the Bible unequivocally teaches that Christ is the very God; that the Holy Spirit is a personal agent; that the Trinity of the Godhead is a blessed reality; and thus demolishing the scriptural, and hence the main ground, on which the Unitarians professed to stand—Woods, with his clear head and cool judgment, unfolding the distinctive idea of Calvinistic theology; in showing wherein it differs from the innovations of Unitarianism; and, after penetrating to the depths of theological science, and grounding his arguments in the eternal verities of things, in presenting them with consummate skill and convincing power. But they came not up till the edge of battle was turned, arriving only in time to increase the rout of the foe, and to strengthen the positions of the victorious assailants. True, the influences of their work will flow on while the successive generations of men are marching to the grave. But whatever honors we accord them, we cannot accord them the honor of Christian heroism; the day of Christian heroism in this severe conflict had passed before they took the pen; the current of popular feeling had begun to turn; the churches had become convinced that there *was* error, and that, having culpably slept while the enemy had been craftily at work, it was time to awake to the defence of their altars already defiled with strange fire. The heroic honor of attacking the error while it lurked in indefinite statements, under the covering of pretended liberality and a simple biblical religion, set off with gentlemanly morality, elegant manners, and the splendors of high position—the honor of opening the eyes of the churches to their real danger; of rallying the forces to the rencounter; of taking the fore front of the battle, and winning the victory, belongs unquestionably to Morse, Spring, Worcester, and the *Panoplist*.

When the soul of Andrew Fuller was permeated with the missionary spirit, and he "was ready to give the whole influence of his mind and exalted character to the plans of Carey—he wrote his great work: 'The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems examined and compared, as to their Moral Tendency, in a Series of Letters addressed to the Friends of vital and Practical Religion.'" So when Dr. Worcester was engaged so successfully in a similar controversy, he was on fire with the same spirit. Such is the natural development of the system of doctrinal sentiments which both these distinguished divines had embraced—the practical bearing of which, in a single sentence, is: "Self-absorption in the glory of Christ." Purity of doctrine, and the missionary enterprise, in their view, were products of the same principle. While, therefore, they fanned the flame of the latter, they urged the importance of the former.

The missionary spirit began early to burn in the breast of Dr. Worcester. It may be almost said to have been simultaneous with his Christian life. His missionary labors were interwoven in all his pastoral cares and toils. While faithful to his ministerial calling, he meant to be "a missionary minister for the world."

At the formation of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, in 1799, less than two years after his ordination, he was present,

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and took an active part in the inceptive deliberations. He was appointed one of the Editors of the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* in 1803; and from that time till 1808, when it was united with the *Panoplist*, its editorial labors devolved mainly on himself; and for years afterward he contributed largely to its pages. He became one of the trustees of the Society in 1804; and from 1812, for five or six years he discharged the office of its Secretary. On the death of Dr. Spring he was chosen its President. He regularly attended its annual meetings, and shared in its public discussions. His official relations to the Society imposed upon him important duties in appointing missionaries, in assigning fields of labor, and devising means to increase its resources. No man could have been more faithful or laborious.

He was also active in the cause of Bible distribution. He aided in forming the Massachusetts Bible Society, and the Bible Society of Salem and the vicinity. The Constitution of the latter and its first Address to the public were prepared chiefly, if not wholly, by him. He continued one of its prominent officers till his death. The American Education Society, also received his hearty co-operation, and he was one of its directors till 1819, when the pressure of other engagements and threatening infirmities constrained him to resign.

In 1810, when the question of organizing a Foreign Missionary Society was agitated, Dr. Worcester's previous habits of thought, his experience in charitable enterprises, and his Christian disinterestedness, combined with his natural endowments, specially fitted him to aid in setting forward the undertaking. He was early consulted; and it was on a ride in a chaise with Dr. Spring from Andover to Bradford to attend the General Association of Massachusetts before which the subject was to be brought, that the *first idea* of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in its form and administration was suggested and developed. The next day the question came before the Association, and the report of the committee which was adopted by that body, was the substance of the conversation in the chaise. The Association voted to institute a Board for Foreign Missions consisting of nine members. Dr. Worcester was appointed one of them. At the first meeting of the Commissioners at Farmington, Ct., he was present and shared in the important discussions of the session. He was chosen one of the Prudential Committee and Corresponding Secretary.

These offices imposed upon Dr. Worcester great responsibilities and arduous toil. They threw him into a new sphere of action; compelled him to traverse regions through which no highways had been laid. No leading minds in the country experienced in this department of labor could be relied on for counsel; his own judgment and that of his colleagues were his only resources. This was just the position for his peculiar powers to develope themselves. They arose to their task as if they had first found their true field of activity. His duties demanded profound penetration into the principles of moral action, a keen insight into human motives, and an unerring discernment of their operation in an almost endless variety of circumstances. New lines of thought originating in first principles must be accurately traced to their practical issues; and as he was the known executive head of a public institution, others must be made to understand the principle and its operation as he did, otherwise the interests of the public would not be enlisted—the motive power would be wanting. Hence the necessity not only of sagacity and forecast, and ability to unfold thought and to produce rational and fervid convictions of duty; but of great prudence, calmness in deliberation, inflexible integrity and steady faith. These were just the qualities which gave Dr. Worcester his special

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pre-eminence as a man, as a counsellor, and as an executive officer. There was no depth of practical thought which lay not open to his view, and his keen sagacity enabled him almost unerringly to discover the means and measures necessary to secure a proposed end. He was not only capable of careful and searching investigation, but of making the most available use of his knowledge. He possessed those intellectual qualities which would have rendered him a consummate statesman and diplomatist, had he been trained in that direction. Hence Dr. Worcester's plans of benevolent action were based on fundamental principles, and would bear the most thorough analysis; and for the same reason, the principles and measures of the American Board, in its wide field of operation, adopted in the early years of its existence, are marked by pre-eminent wisdom; and the distinguished men who have followed him in office have found little occasion to alter them.

A detail of his responsibilities and labors would fill a volume. They increased year by year. They tasked him almost incessantly. They gave him no time for relaxation or social intercourse. His recreation was chiefly a change of employment. Never was there a nobler example of tireless industry. His unwearied exertions and solicitudes both as Pastor and Secretary were more than any man without Herculean powers could endure. His constitution began to reel beneath the load. At the annual meeting of the Board in 1817 he told the Committee that he could not longer perform the duties of both offices. The Board felt that they could not do without his services. His church were unwilling to do without *him*. Negotiations were entered into. His people at length consented to settle a colleague, who, occupying the pulpit three fourths of the time, would leave Dr. Worcester the same proportion of his time to devote to the missionary work. Rev. Elias Cornelius was installed colleague Pastor in the summer of 1819. Dr. Worcester still toiled on in labors more abundant. "It was work, *work*, WORK, without any intermission." His health gave way. He used various means to recover it, but in vain. The thousand strings of the harp were too much impaired to be retuned. He was literally worn out with hard work at the age of fifty.

Is Dr. Worcester to be justified or condemned in thus taking upon himself labors which crushed him into the grave? Who shall decide? It is doubtless a duty to prolong life by every legitimate means. But God makes it the duty of some to suffer martyrdom in his cause; of others to fall in defense of their country's freedom. In this we say he acts wisely. Why may he not load others with labors and cares which waste the energies of life, and sink them into premature graves? While we should be prudent of health, we may not always shrink from wasting solicitudes and toils, because they may undermine our constitution. Dr. Worcester may not have displeased the Master by taking upon himself burdens which prostrated him in death. "He that loseth his life shall save it."

Near the close of 1820, both his physicians and the Prudential Committee thought it advisable for him to take a voyage to New Orleans, with the intention, from that place, of visiting the Choctaw and Cherokee nations, for the double purpose of recruiting his health and promoting the interests of the Indian missions. On the 31st of Dec. he preached his last sermon in the Tabernacle. His text was Ps. xxxix: 12. "I am a stranger with thee, a sojourner, as all my fathers were." Not a few felt that it was the last time they should hear the gospel from his lips. The sermon produced a strong impression. At its close some felt that they could not rise from their seats. It was graven on many hearts till they ceased to beat. After he had come down from the pulpit, he turned suddenly, and went back. He sat down for a few moments. Coming

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down, he again returned. His wife, meanwhile, was awaiting him in the porch. After he had come down the third time, he started once more to return. A dear friend, who had watched his movements, hastened and addressed him affectionately. This broke the spell of grief. He pressed her hand and walked down the aisle. So hard was it to part from that beloved pulpit.

On the 4th of Jan., 1821, he embarked at Boston. The voyage to New Orleans was rough and uncomfortable. His disease was irritated rather than mitigated. The weather during his stay in that city was unpropitious, and continued so till after he left Natchez. He was thus extremely unfitted to commence his journey of several hundred miles through the wilderness to the mission stations. But he persevered. At Mayhew, in the Choctaw nation, he stayed several days. He was greatly refreshed, both in body and spirit, by the kind attention and Christian intercourse of the missionaries. When he reached Brainerd, he was carried in the arms of the missionaries from the vehicle into the mission-house. One said to him: "You have got almost through the wilderness." He replied: "This may be true in more respects than one. God is very gracious. He has sustained me, as it were, by miracle, thus far, and granted me one great desire of my soul in bringing me to Brainerd." He added: "I had rather leave my poor remains here than at any other place."

On the following Sabbath he desired to see some members of the Church and congregation. Being raised in bed, he addressed them in an affecting manner. "He afterwards requested that the children might come in. He took each by the hand, as they passed the bed." They then sang a hymn. He was affected to tears. He afterwards addressed them in a few words. They, in turn, wept. This was his last public labor. How appropriate a close to so many and arduous toils for the heathen! How must those songs of Zion from the lips of Indian children have soothed his dying hours! It was well that he traveled all that long and tedious journey to die at Brainerd. On the 2d of June he desired that a letter might be written to his wife, of which he dictated a part. They were his farewell words to his beloved family. On the 5th it was evident that he was fast going to his rest. He gave up all hope of recovery. His mind sometimes wandered, but even then his thoughts were employed in devising means to extend the Redeemer's kingdom. The great passion of his life still throbbed at his heart in the final hour. On the 6th, he appeared to be much in prayer. "He said if he were to choose, he had rather go, and be with Jesus, than dwell in the flesh. He did not regret engaging in the missionary cause, but rejoiced that he had been enabled to do something toward this great object." About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 7th, "he cast his eyes towards heaven, and, smiling, resigned his spirit to God. Without the least apparent pain or struggle, he fell asleep in the arms of Jesus." Two days afterwards his remains were affectionately committed to the grave. No tears of kindred were shed around it—these were shed far away, and the more bitter because they could not soothe the dying man, nor bedew his ashes. But the purest of all earth's griefs—the sorrow of bereaved brethren in Christ—there wept.

In 1844, filial affection bore his ashes back to the scene of his consuming labors, and deposited them in the Harmony Grove Cemetery.[1]

[1] See the "Literary Notices" near the end of this number, for a notice of the last edition of Dr. Worcester's Memoir, by his son, Rev. S. M. Worcester, D.D., in two volumes, 12mo.

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Sincerely Yours

Theron Baldwin

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SKETCH

OF

THERON BALDWIN.

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THERON BALDWIN.

ALTHOUGH the death of Dr. Baldwin occurred more than four years ago, no fitting tribute to his memory has yet appeared in this journal. We are, therefore, glad to fill a few pages, even at this late day, with a biographical sketch of one who, for forty years, occupied a prominent position among the advocates and promoters of Christian learning and evangelic faith, and rendered services to the cause of Christian civilization, which ought not to pass unnoticed and unrecorded.

Theron Baldwin, son of Elisha Baldwin of Goshen, Conn., and Clarissa (Judd) Baldwin, a native of Litchfield, Conn., was born at Goshen, July 21, 1801. He was descended from Nathaniel Baldwin of Milford, who came to New Haven with Davenport's Colony in 1638. Elisha Baldwin, being left an orphan at an early age, was brought up by his maternal aunt, Mrs. General, afterwards Mrs. Governor Wolcott; and to her care, fidelity, and wisdom was largely due the character of the men she trained,—Gov. Oliver Wolcott 2d, Frederic Wolcott, and Elisha Baldwin. The last named was a model man, and although his life was spent in private, he exerted an influence not less real and salutary than his distinguished cousins. He was not a member of any Christian church, yet his example was a perpetual reproof to very many who were. The family altar was with him an honored institution. He "ordered his household after him in the fear of the Lord.' His expressed or known wishes were the law of the family. "If," said one of the older sons, "I had no religious principle' consideration for my father's feelings would be sufficient to restrain me from any vice."

Every Saturday, when the sun was not obscured, the clock was

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set by a noon-mark at the side of the south window in the sitting-room. Every Sabbath morning, at the same moment, the family carriage started for the place of public worship. As it passed along the street, all the other carriages which had been standing before the several houses were seen in motion in the same direction. No one needed to go before Mr. Baldwin, and no one would be willing to be far behind him. In all his dealings he was remarkable for his scrupulous regard for honesty, always giving overflowing measure, that the buyer might be sure to have the worth of his money. Such was the head of a household of six sons and two daughters, and on him the training of the family chiefly devolved, in consequence of the death of the mother, a kindred spirit, in 1814. Firm, yet gentle, his requirements always carried with them conviction as well as authority. When the youngest son had arrived at manhood, an older son remarked, "The more I see of mankind, the more I am convinced of the general correctness of the principles in which we have been educated. We have had 'line upon line,'" and he might have added, always enforced by some appropriate and telling anecdote. Strict and exacting as his government was, it was that of a father, — it was the rule of love, and therefore seldom or never provoked any resistance.

It is an interesting fact that, when a lad, Elisha Baldwin made a voyage to the West Indies for his health, and while there was so horrified by the cruelties practised upon the slaves, that from that time his antislavery principles were fixed and unalterable, and exerted a powerful influence on the mind of his son, the subject of this sketch. Dr. Baldwin's antislavery convictions dated from his youth, and they were very decided, and openly maintained. Work or study was the rule of Elisha Baldwin's household. A portion of every evening, even when the school was not in session, found the boys around the table with their books. The children of Elisha Baldwin enjoyed all the advantages of the district school, and the Academy of the town. The minister of the North Parish of Goshen was often an inmate of the family, and gave the children much assistance in their studies; and education in that household had prominence over all other acquisitions.

The family had two holidays in each year, one at the end of

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corn-planting, and the other at the end of haying. The latter was a sort of literary festival. The household gathered around a pile of huge bowlders known as the "Rostrum," from the top of which one of the sons, previously appointed, delivered an oration. These habits of study at home and at school bore such fruit as might have been expected. The services of the sons were in demand as teachers. Three of them were thus engaged at the same time in Goshen and adjacent towns.

In such labors of the farm, and in the enjoyment of such and only such advantages for an education as have been described, Theron Baldwin spent his youth until nearly his majority. We are apt at present to indulge a good deal of exultation in the superiority of our public schools to those of fifty years ago. Yet judging those schools by the results produced in the case of Mr. Baldwin, they must have been excellent; or if they were not, his own diligence in improving the advantages he had must have been very extraordinary. This is proved by the almost unfailing accuracy for which, throughout his whole life, he was distinguished, in reading, writing, and speaking the English language. A misplaced capital letter, a false spelling, or a grammatical inaccuracy was scarce a possibility in anything which came from his pen; yet these results were attained by enjoying the advantages of the winter school only. When the sap of the sugar-maple began to flow, it was the signal for leaving the school and returning to the labors of the farm. Can our present schools show better results? Can they in many cases show as good?

In the routine of such a life as this he seems to have established, even in his childhood, a reputation for more than ordinary gravity and seriousness. Those who knew him well will remember that he seldom said much merely to keep up conversation; when he spoke it was generally because he had something to say. Traces of this characteristic were seen even in his boyhood. In the long winter evenings, after the usual study-hour was past, it was customary for the children to gather around the ample kitchen-fire, and regale themselves with nuts, apples, and stories. The fireplace was large enough to admit a seat at either end within the jambs. Theron commonly appropriated one of these positions and usually fell asleep.

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If he joined in the conversation it was the occasion of a little pleasantry on the part of the other boys, until his father interposed in his behalf, with the remark, "Theron does not often speak, but when he does he has something to say worth hearing." This tendency to thoughtfulness, gravity, and seriousness was greatly fostered by all the circumstances of New England life, as it was before the days of railways and the immigration of a foreign population, when that group of little republics was a world by itself, without much intercourse with the rest of mankind. Nature herself, the rigors of her long winters, the sombre shadows of her evergreen forests, and the solemn majesty of her mountains, strongly favored the same tendency. Perhaps no condition of humanity ever existed, better fitted to promote thoughtfulness, gravity, and rigid self-government.

To these influences was added another still more potent,—religion. New Englanders, at the beginning of the present century, generally believed in the Christian religion as the most weighty and solemn of realities. At least this was true in Connecticut, whatever inroads the spirit of negation and unbelief might have made in the region about Boston. Few men could be found who did not accept it as an undoubted truth, that, on the relations of one's character and life to the Christian religion, the destiny of his immortal soul depended. It was not any feeling of the necessity of submitting to a churchly or priestly authority, but of conforming the heart and the life to the Bible as a standard of character.

In this implicit belief our young friend had grown up from his childhood. In common with nearly all around him, he looked on this world as God's world, and on himself as moving towards an unending future, in which his destiny would depend on the deeds done in the body. But so far as is known he felt no special interest in the subject of personal religion, till sometime towards the close of his twentieth year. In April of the year 1821, during a revival of religion, under the ministry of Rev. Joseph Harvey, D. D., his mind was strongly excited by a sense of guilt and danger. His convictions were deep and at times very depressing,—so much so that he envied the beasts and the birds, since, having no souls, they were not accountable. Oppressed and wellnigh in despair, he went to

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the usual weekly prayer-meeting. In the progress of this meeting, while the congregation was singing the hymn in which these words occur, —

> " One only hope can now avail,
> Christ has a weight to turn the scale,"

The gospel plan of salvation through Christ opened to his mind in all its fitness and fulness. It was a moment of divine illumination ; there and then he gave himself to the service of God with an honesty and earnestness which were well attested in all his subsequent life. It is worthy of special notice in this connection that this new light, which shone on all his subsequent path in life, was first experienced in what was then known as a " revival," because so many good people of the present generation are doubtful as to revivals, and even speak disparagingly of their results. Dr. Baldwin fully believed in them through all his life, but in no such sense as to diminish his feeling of obligation to be constant in his religious activity.

At the time of his conversion above mentioned, he was teaching school, and, as was the custom in those days, " boarding around." At Deacon Norton's he was asked to lead the family worship. Scarcely had he pronounced the closing words, when the deacon turned to him and, in an abrupt way, characteristic of himself, said, " You have a call to preach the Gospel. Do you know it ? " This incident may have exerted an important influence in shaping the future course of his life. A year later, when he was twenty-one years old, he began the study of the Latin and Greek languages preparatory to entering college. His place of study was " the most retired room " in his father's house. His teacher was his pastor, Rev. Joseph Harvey, D. D. Twice every week he walked four miles to his pastor's residence, to recite the lessons he had learned, and to receive needed instruction and encouragement. Pursuing his studies under these difficulties, and with help so scanty, he made such progress that in a little more than a year he entered the Freshman Class in Yale College.

In a letter to a brother, shortly after entering college, he said, " Taking everything into consideration, I believe I am about as well fitted as could be expected from the manner in

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which I fitted. I guess it was not generally thought, when I first began to take my book under my arm, and stretch my solitary way over Ivy Mountain, that I should hold out long: but if we succeed in life, we shall have higher mountains to climb than Ivy Mountain." How much soever we may exult in the progress of society in the last fifty years, we must look back with reverent admiration to the social and religious influences which set a young man already twenty-one years old upon fitting for college in such circumstances, and to the energy and pluck that carried him successfully through it. Nor can we fail to notice with honor, the self-sacrificing care of the pastor for the intellectual as well as the spiritual wants of his flock, which induced him to perform his part in that transaction. In many such labors of love were the pastors of New England, fifty years ago, prominent.

It was not in the thought of young Theron Baldwin, that by going to college he should avoid a life of laborious industry; on the contrary, he applied to his studies all those energetic habits which he had learned in his father's house and in the labors of the farm; he still gave his earnest and undivided attention to whatever he had in hand. "Do you know my cousin, Mr. Baldwin?" said a lady to one of his classmates. "Theron Baldwin? No; he has not been seen three feet from college since he entered it." He made it a rule never to rely on the assistance of his fellow-students for the solution of a problem or the overcoming of a difficulty, or to leave any part of a lesson unmastered. "Whoever does that," he would say, "leaves an enemy behind him that will annoy him through the whole course."

Those who knew him personally, or read his letters during his college life, never saw any indications of his being under the influence of that morbid ambition for high college honors which disturbs the tranquillity and impairs the intellectual and moral energy of many students. Yet he was not by any means indifferent to his standing as a scholar; on the contrary he set a high value on a good reputation in that respect, and enjoyed the honorable position which he won. It is certainly greatly to the credit of both his talents and his industry, that in a class in which he had for competitors two men

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who have since acquired a national, or rather, one might say, a universal reputation, — Dr. Bushnell of Hartford, and Dr. William Adams of New York, — he took rank among the foremost scholars of his class.

In those times, perhaps it is still true, crises used sometimes to occur in college which put the moral principle and moral courage of the Christian student to a very severe test. Such crises did occur in his college life. One of them was that rather remarkable event in the history of Yale, — known as the "Corollary Rebellion." It occurred in his class. The students claimed that they had received a promise from the tutors that certain corollaries in Conic Sections were to be omitted at the recitation; they were, however, required as part of the daily lessons. The greater part of the students in the class refused to recite unless these were omitted, and the thing was carried so far as to involve a large majority of the class in an open conflict with the government of the college. Mr. Baldwin's convictions of right would not allow him to join in the rebellion. To return to his home and thus escape from the excitement was only an indirect way of resisting the authorities of the college; for they could give no leave of absence under such circumstances. He had, therefore, no way open to him which satisfied his conscience but to attend recitations as usual, and face the storm of obloquy which assailed him from his classmates; this he therefore steadily persisted in doing. By experiences like this not only he, but many of his college friends, were in those times severely tried, and by the trial made stronger men for the rest of their lives. Colleges certainly were in those days admirable schools of virtue to those who would firmly resist temptation, but, like all the other conditions of human life, schools of vice to those who prefer lazily to float down the stream, rather than make progress upward towards the right, by bravely and stoutly rowing against the current of evil.

An event occurred in the summer of 1826 which exerted a most important influence on all his subsequent life; it was the death of his brother Abram at Montreal, July 12. The circumstances of his death, far from kindred and home, among strangers, in what then seemed much more than now

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a foreign land, deeply affected his feelings; for a long time his heart seemed to bleed afresh at every recollection of it. In the autumnal vacation of that year he visited Montreal, found the house and the room where his brother died, and his clothes hanging as he left them; but the few friends who attended him in his last illness were not in town. With difficulty he found the place where they had laid him. The American Church was then in its infancy, but he made the acquaintance of some its leading members, who had known his brother, and attended the weekly prayer-meeting with them.

Before going to Montreal, Abram Baldwin had been engaged in important and very successful labors in northern Vermont Theron Baldwin, leaving the scenes of his brother's sickness and death with a heart stricken and sorrowful, went to visit some of the churches which his brother had gathered and to which he had ministered. From the few letters received at home, no adequate idea had been gained of the success of his brother's labors in that region, or of the reverence and affection with which he was regarded by the people. Not without a degree of surprise, he found that without any of the peculiar measures adopted by such men as Mr. Finney and Mr. Nettleton, his brother's success in winning souls had been as remarkable as theirs. The tenderness and tearfulness with which his name was everywhere spoken showed how sincerely he was loved and regretted. The religious newspapers of the time, especially the "Christian Intelligencer," contained interesting accounts of his labors and their results. His was a life brief, yet bountiful and beneficent in results.

Mr. Baldwin's reflections upon it, a few months after that visit, were recorded as follows: "That Christian is certainly far advanced who can inquire, in the sincerity of his soul, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' and stand in perfect readiness to go wherever and do whatever the Lord shall command; and yet if we cannot do this, have we any right to conclude that we have any genuine love to the Saviour? I believe that to bring ourselves to this point is one of the first steps towards eminent usefulness, and to this point I think we are justified in saying my brother had fully brought himself. His *death*, I think I can say, has been in a measure sanctified to

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my spiritual good. Never have I had so full a determination, as since that event, to devote all my powers of body and mind to that cause in which he labored with so much ardor and success, or so just a sense of the vanity of the world and its pursuits. Oh that the bright example of his devoted and laborious life might ever live before me in all the vivid colors of reality! But as time passes on, amidst the bustle with which I am surrounded and the business in which I am engaged, it is painful to see them begin to fade."

It is evident that this bereavement, and the events connected with it and directly growing out of it, exerted a most important influence on all his future life. It led him to a more intelligent, thorough, and practical consecration of himself to Christ than he had before reached; perhaps without this experience he never would have attained to it. The short but eminently successful career of his brother as a Home Missionary and an Evangelist gave him a loftier conception of the greatness and excellence of the Christian ministry, considered as an agency for winning souls to Christ. From that time he was ever on a higher plane of religious life and activity.

In another way, also, these events were very important to all that was to follow. Among those in bereavement that knew and honored his brother was one who stood to him in very near and tender relations. With her Mr. Baldwin became acquainted while visiting the scenes of his brother's labors and death. He met her, not as a stranger, but as a sister, who was more than an equal partner in the bereavement he had experienced, and who was in the most perfect sympathy with his brother in the work of the Lord. Considering the strength of this sympathy with the religious character and missionary career of the elder brother, and with the ripening religious purposes of the younger, it is not wonderful that his feelings should have gradually developed into an affection deeper than the love of a brother for a sister, and that some years later she should have consented to share the vicissitudes of missionary life with him. This much it was necessary to say of this matter, because no true account of the providential training by which Mr. Baldwin was prepared for his life-work can be given, if his early relations to Caroline Wilder, of Burling-

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ton, Vt., are left out. On this subject Mr. Baldwin said, under date of 1851, "Our acquaintance commenced under circumstances of the most hallowed interest, and from that early period her views and principles and feelings in reference to the missionary work have had much to do in shaping my course of labor, as well as infusing into my mind and keeping alive that interest in the cause, which for more than twenty years has given impulse to my efforts."

In such a method of forming a matrimonial alliance, there may be little of the romance which is so delightful to the admirers and lovers of fiction, but it was well fitted to imbue domestic life with holy, religious earnestness, and promote that perfect consecration to the cause of the Master which powerfully tends to make public life eminently useful and private life blessed.

It was in the Junior year of Theron Baldwin's college course that his brother's death occurred, and that he made the journey, already described, to Vermont and Canada. Of course his Senior year in college was spent under the influence of the deep religious impressions which these events had made upon him. He graduated in the autumn of 1827 with one of the high honors of his class, and entered immediately upon a course of theological study in connection with the Theological Department of Yale College. To this course of training directly preparatory to the work of the ministry, he brought a mind and character deeply imbued and thoroughly penetrated with the religious influences which have been alluded to, and all the steady energy of will which had so strongly characterized his whole previous life, with much greater definiteness of aim than he had before attained.

That portion of his life which a young candidate for the Christian ministry passes in the Theological Seminary is likely to exert a very important influence on the rest of his life, in two respects. First, it will probably very much modify all his religious opinions, and give some definite direction to his religious thinking; and secondly, during that portion of his life he is likely to choose, with greater or less definiteness, the particular field of religious activity in which his future efforts are

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to be expended. Mr. Baldwin was throughout his life eminently a practical man, and this natural turn of his mind was well illustrated in the Theological Seminary in both of these directions. As a student of Theology his application to study was highly exemplary; but he was little influenced by the curiosity of the mere theorist and speculatist. His aim was to arm and equip himself for the service of Christ and mankind in the Christian ministry; his desire was correctly to conceive of the Gospel of Christ as God's appointed instrumentality for human salvation, and to learn the most successful methods of stating and defending it. The outlook of his mind was ever towards the pulpit, the prayer-meeting, and the inquiry-meeting. He would learn how to quicken the soul dead in worldliness, sensuality, and sin into religious sensibility, and lead the awakened and inquiring sinner to Christ; nor did he ever entirely postpone present effort in Christian work, by yielding wholly to the supposed demands of study preparatory to future usefulness. In religious efforts in his native town during his vacations, and in term-time in New Haven itself and the towns around it, his labors were zealous and self-sacrificing and eminently useful, especially in times of revival. His maturity in years and judgment, and the depth and thoroughness of his Christian experience, eminently qualified him for usefulness in such labors while he was yet a student of Divinity. Whatever may be true of some or of many other theological students, his theological education was not purely or chiefly theoretical; it was eminently practical in aim and spirit, and in the manner of his life while pursuing it.

Very soon after he commenced his theological studies, his attention was strongly drawn towards the question of the choice of his future field of labor. The missionary career of his brother, so short, but so eminently earnest and successful, strongly suggested to him the thought of a missionary life in preference to a settlement as pastor in any of the churches of his native New England; it so enlarged his view of the claims of new and neglected fields, that he could not have accepted such a settlement, without feeling that he was turning a deaf ear to a distinct call of Providence. The same considerations strongly inclined him to select Canada, and the American Prot-

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estant Mission there, in which his brother had commenced and so early terminated his career, as the field of his own life-work. The efforts and successes of his brother, and the influence of Rev. Joseph S. Christmas in the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal, who was also called away from his earthly labors, almost in the very beginning of a brilliant and eminently successful ministry, had awakened in that city an active missionary spirit in the members of that church; and organizations, both male and female, had been formed for promoting Protestant Missions, not only in Montreal but throughout Canada. From the time of Mr. Baldwin's visit to Canada, in 1826, the attention of the friends of his brother in Montreal had been turned towards him as the successor of his brother in the missionary work in that city and vicinity. Early in his Seminary life a correspondence was opened with him, looking towards such an arrangement.

His friend, Miss Wilder, strongly sympathized with him in his leanings towards a missionary life, and encouraged him in it, and was deeply interested in the Canadian field, both for its own sake and as the scene of the labors of her departed friend. Mr. Baldwin entertained the proposition which came to him from that quarter very favorably, and took great pains to inform himself in relation to all matters bearing on Canada as a field of evangelical effort.

But while these inquiries were going on, another Christian enterprise was proposed by certain fellow-students, which excited in his mind a new and absorbing interest. It was, to form an association among the students of the Seminary, with the intention of selecting some one of the then new States of the Mississippi Valley as the field of their united labors as home missionaries, — to found churches, promote education in every department, found a college under evangelical influences, and generally to promote in all possible ways a Christian civilization. The idea of forming such an association, composed of a few kindred spirits in the Seminary, first occurred to Mason Grosvenor; but Mr. Baldwin had great influence in giving that idea a practical embodiment.

On the 25th of Nov. 1828, he read before the Society of Inquiry respecting Missions, in the Seminary, an essay on " The

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encouragements to active individual efforts in the cause of Christ, derived from the examples of eminent Christian philanthropists and the present state of the world." To appreciate the influence of this essay, one must have heard it, with full understanding of the character of the writer and the circumstances under which it was delivered, and in full sympathy with the devout fervor which pervaded and inspired it. In it all those trains of thinking and feeling which had been occupying his mind for the last two years reached their climax, and found fitting utterance. Those were burning words, and they fell on attentive ears and sympathizing hearts. It is impossible at this time adequately to conceive the feelings which were awakened that evening in that group of theological students. Impressions were made, purposes were formed or strengthened, that were to bear fruit in coming years. Thoughtful men were just then becoming fully awake to the prospects of a vast and speedy growth which were opening to our country, in the Valley of the Mississippi. It had then just begun to be apparent that the magnificent resources of that new national domain were to be developed in a single generation, and that a half score of great States was to be added to the Republic. The magnitude of the enterprise of planting Christian institutions in all those rapidly multiplying and widely scattered infant communities, and the urgent, instant necessity of prosecuting that enterprise with the utmost possible energy, was beginning to be appreciated by patriotic and Christian men in the older States. Home evangelization was coming to be regarded with fervid enthusiasm, as the most urgent and imperative necessity of the hour, and as claiming the foremost place in the thoughts and efforts of Christian philanthropists.

In this newly-awakened zeal for planting the seeds of a high Christian civilization all along the ever-receding Western frontier, theological students, certainly those of the Yale Seminary, deeply sympathized. It entered largely into their thinking and their plans for the future. Their minds were therefore prepared to receive the utterances of the occasion referred to with an enthusiasm corresponding to that of the speaker, and to apply his suggestions in the direction of home-missionary enterprise.

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As Mr. Grosvenor went from that meeting to his room, the thought which he had been occasionally pondering for some time was revived with increased interest, and it was soon communicated to Mr. Baldwin, and a few others of his fellow-students, and very favorably entertained by them. Correspondence was opened with Rev. J. M. Ellis, then in the service of the American Home Missionary Society, at Jacksonville, Illinois, and by due course of mail an answer was received which was very encouraging to the views of Mr. Grosvenor and his friends. Of the details of the organization of this association, and of its plans for large and permanent usefulness, in laying the foundations of Christian institutions and a Christian civilization, lack of space forbids me to speak in this place. The public is already in various ways more or less familiar with its history. It is sufficient to say that the plans of its founders embraced the planting of churches, and the founding of a college under Christian influences, affording opportunities for thorough discipline and generous culture, also the establishment of schools of every grade, and for both sexes, and, generally, whatever was necessary for the promotion of the moral and spiritual welfare of a great people, such as the churches, founded by the religious fathers of our country, had provided along the shores of the Atlantic.

In a few weeks a definite plan had been formed; propositions had been received from Mr. Ellis, and other public-spirited men residing in Illinois, inviting and urging the young men to make choice of that State for the development and execution of their plans. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., LL. D., then President of Yale College, and Rev. N. W. Taylor, D. D., and Rev. C. A. Goodrich, D. D., then Professors in the Theological Department of the college, had been consulted, and had given full assurance of their entire approbation of the plan, and commended the young men who were moving in the matter to the confidence of the public. One of the young men had visited New York and laid their plans before Rev. Absalom Peters, D. D., Corresponding Secretary of the A. H. M. S., who called at his office a meeting of some of the leading men who were then acting as directors of that Society, among whom were Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., Rev. John Matthews, D. D.,

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and Rev. Matthias Bruen, before whom the plan was explained, and it met their cordial approval. It cannot fail to occur to the reader whose memory goes back to those times, how things are changed since such men as those named above were heartily co-operating in the work of evangelization through the A. H. M. S. From all these sources came encouraging assurances of support and co-operation. Nothing now remained but for the young men to decide whether they would, with all their energies and hopes, embark in this enterprise for life. This question pressed for a speedy decision, as arrangements must be made for occupying the field of their choice without delay. No one was willing to give his name without the assurance of having such fellow-laborers in the work as would give reasonable hope of efficiency and success.

Mr. Baldwin's adhesion to the enterprise was considered indispensable. It became evident, indeed, that if he withheld his name, the project would be abandoned. A very great pressure was thus providentially brought to bear upon him. As he had full confidence in the importance and practicability of the enterprise, he shrank from the responsibility of defeating it by refusing his co-operation; on the other hand, he regarded himself as already in some degree committed to his friends in Canada. Miss Wilder's feelings and inclinations were strongly towards Canada, though she left him quite free to be guided by his own sense of duty. He had already made a good deal of effort to obtain information from Canada, to enable him to reach a final decision; that information was slow in coming, and one letter of great importance failed to reach him, — a letter so important that, had it been received, it is not improbable it might have given the course of his life another direction. But an immediate decision was indispensable, and as the case was before him he felt it to be his duty to join the Association for Missionary Work in Illinois. He therefore gave his name, the association was organized, consisting at first of seven members, afterwards it was much enlarged, and he and his associates were pledged to the cause of evangelization and of Christian learning in the heart of the then almost unknown and uninhabited "Great West."

It is difficult at the present time to do justice to the bold-

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ness, the hardihood, of this undertaking. Illinois was not then, as now, a great, wealthy, and powerful State, in population the fourth in the American Union. According to the United States Census of 1830, it contained less than 160,000 people, little more than one third the present population of its great commercial city, which then had no existence, and the place where it stands was then some days' journey removed from any abodes of civilized men. The Valley of the Mississippi, north of the Ohio River and west of the State of Ohio, was, to the people of the Atlantic Coast, for the most part an unknown region. The scanty population of the State of Illinois was sparsely scattered over less than half its area, while the northern half of its territory was a wilderness seldom trodden by the feet of civilized men.

These young men had no dreams of wealth to be derived from speculation in new lands : their only aim was to preach Christ's Gospel "in regions beyond," and to plant the institutions of a Christian civilization in an infant State, which was soon to grow to greatness, — though of such a growth as they have witnessed they had no conception. They had faith in the Gospel of Christ, and believed that our fathers of New England were right in carrying the Christian minister and the schoolmaster wherever they formed a new settlement in the wilderness, and that what they did on a small scale, as they spread over the hills and valleys of New England, we must do on a great scale, commensurate with our vast continental domain. They believed in the great destiny of our country, and were impelled by as true a heroism as glowed in the heart of the Crusaders, to turn their backs on the inviting settlements which perhaps might await them in the pleasant churches of New England, to spend their lives in laying new foundations in the wilderness.

By a common consent the writer of this sketch had been early designated to occupy a position as a teacher in the institution of learning which they proposed to found. With this only exception, they purposed to devote their lives to the ordinary, homely conditions of the life of a missionary on the remote frontier, with no expectation of finding relief from its hardships in the professor's chair, however they might be fitted

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to fill and to adorn it. They enlisted as privates, with no stipulation for promotion. In common with his brethren, Mr. Baldwin's ambition was, to be a successful missionary, — successful in Illinois, as his saintly brother had been in Vermont and Canada.

These arrangements were completed early in the spring of 1829, and efforts were at once commenced to procure the funds which the young men had pledged themselves to the friends in Illinois to provide for the contemplated seminary of learning. The enterprise was new and almost romantic, certainly it was exciting; and in all those circles in which the cause of Home Missions in the new Western States was loved and cherished, it was popular. In a few months the requisite sum of $10,000 was pledged to the cause. The urgent necessities of the case imperatively required that two of the brethren at New Haven should enter on their work in Illinois in the autumn of 1829. Mr. Baldwin and the writer of this sketch were designated to this service, neither of whom had completed his theological course by an entire year. But the former was encouraged to expect that after the absence of a year he might return to the seminary and complete his course, and the latter was requested to engage immediately as a teacher in the school which they were about to open, with the expectation that the work of his life would be there. The latter of these expectations has been in the long course of fulfilment for more than forty-five years. Mr. Baldwin, however, never got his third year of theological study, except while riding on horseback over the solemn, lonely prairies of Illinois on his missionary tours, or in the stirring experiences of religious revivals. The two were ordained to the work of the ministry by the Association of Litchfield South, at Woodbury, Conn., August 27, 1829. Rev. Matthias Bruen, of New York, was present in behalf of the A. H. M. S., and gave the charge to the candidates. It was the last service he ever performed for the church on earth. He was taken ill in his pulpit on the next Sabbath, and after a very short illness was called home.

Of the then long and tedious journey to Illinois by the way of Albany, Rochester, Niagara Falls, Cleveland, Wheeling, and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to St. Louis, and thence to

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Jacksonville, about one hundred miles, by a conveyance hired expressly for the journey, there being no public conveyance whatever, there is no room to say anything, although, as contrasted with the present, it seems almost as romantic and fabulous as Virgil's story of the voyage of Æneas from the ruins of Troy to the mouth of the Tiber. About the middle of November we reached Jacksonville, and began to grapple with the great, solemn problems to which our lives were to be devoted.

It is proper here to remark that I have before me, and within my reach, an amount of valuable material which it is quite impossible to bring within the limits allotted to this sketch. I must therefore at this point take leave, for the most part, of our friend's history as connected with Illinois College, and confine myself to that portion of his work which was more directly devoted to the ministry, and especially to his missionary life in Illinois, purposing to avail myself of the kind offer of the editor of this journal, to give space in the July Number for a sketch of Dr. Baldwin's labors as connected with Illinois College and Western education generally.

While at St. Louis Mr. Baldwin, finding, as has been stated, no public conveyance to Jacksonville, bought a horse, and used him for completing the remainder of his journey, and thus made his entrance into the State a soldier fully equipped for the campaign that was before him. That horse was, for many years, almost as well known over the inhabited portions of the State as its rider. Of a chestnut color, slenderly built, and thin in flesh whatever advantages of food and care might be afforded him, nimble and easy in his gait, and capable of almost any amount of endurance, he seemed to have been made to order for the pioneer missionary, and for the very man who owned him and the very service to which he was to be put. There are a few aged people still surviving who remember that horse with a feeling bordering on affection, — no war-horse, prancing and foaming and champing his bit, but a patient, gentle, and swift bearer of a minister of the Gospel of peace.

Of Jacksonville as it was in 1829, letters before me contain a graphic and very interesting picture. But I have only space to say that it was a group of very rudely constructed dwellings,

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on a prairie of moderate extent, one of the richest and most beautiful that could anywhere be seen, with a delightfully undulating surface and a setting of forest and charming native groves. Its natural beauty was the attraction which made it all that it has been, and is. Here our friend spent a few days in consummating certain necessary arrangements for the school that was soon to be opened. These being completed, he set off on his first tour of missionary exploration. The annual meeting of the State Bible Society was soon to be held at Vandalia, eighty miles from Jacksonville, and then the capital of the State. This meeting Mr. Baldwin proposed to attend, but with no design of remaining more than a single night in the place. He was, however, induced to pass the Sabbath there, as it was to be a communion-season in the little Presbyterian Church, and an occasion of more than ordinary interest. He preached once on the Sabbath, and early in the week received an invitation from the church, then without a pastor, to labor with them in the ministry "for the winter and as much longer as should suit his convenience." That it may be seen what was then the condition of things at the State capital, it is well to record, that this invitation was based on a subscription for the support of the Gospel amounting to about two hundred dollars a year. They had commenced the erection of a small church edifice, but it was still incomplete, and services were held on the Sabbath in the State House. Several considerations strongly favored the acceptance of this invitation. Though the place was small, containing only about four hundred people, while it continued to be the capital of the State, it would be important. As a point from which to influence opinion favorably to our college enterprise, it was undoubtedly at that time the best in the State. Experience soon showed that it was a point at which we needed his influence. An act of incorporation was to be obtained for the College, and it was not long in becoming apparent that in this, serious opposition would be encountered. There was some encouragement to evangelical labor there at that time. Four persons were received to the church on the profession of their faith, on the first Sabbath which he spent there. A prominent young lawyer soon after united with the church, together with

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his wife, dating his first earnest attention to the subject of religion from Mr. Baldwin's first sermon in Vandalia. That man was Wiliam H. Brown, Esq., who for forty years subsequently sustained most important relations to the financial and religious interests of the State. At that time no other field of labor seemed so promising, and Mr. Baldwin returned to Jacksonville for his library and other effects, with a view to making Vandalia for the present his home.

His labors at Vandalia may be taken as a specimen of nearly the whole home-missionary work in the new Interior and Western States. Its beginnings are in a day of small things, with little to kindle enthusiasm or gratify the love of the romantic, requiring patient toil and steady fidelity under many difficulties tending to discouragement and despondency. He found no Sunday School. An attempt had been made to establish one the summer previous, but it lived only a few weeks. He preached a sermon on the subject, followed up his sermon by calling on every family in the village, in relation to the subject, and then organized a school of which he was at once superintendent, librarian, and teacher, and in time had the satisfaction of seeing it become a power for good. While he was pursuing his work at Vandalia a church edifice was completed and dedicated, — the first Protestant dedication of a place of public worship that had ever taken place in the State. Mr. Cornelius Riggs of Philadelphia, a large holder of Illinois land, gave a bell in the name of his daughter, Miss "Illinois Riggs," the first Protestant bell ever used in the State.

The impression is very strong in many minds that, in these new States, the Sunday School has been the pioneer of the Church and the ministry. I by no means deny that many facts to favor this view can be adduced; but it is certain that in very many cases the relative order of these institutions has been exactly the reverse of this. The example just given of Vandalia is a specimen. While Mr. Baldwin's labors were in progress at Vandalia, the intelligence came over the Alleghanies that the American Sunday School Union had decided to found a Sunday School in every place in the Valley of the Mississippi where it was practicable. The subject was immediately had under consideration at Van-

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dalia, and Mr. Baldwin, who was about to visit Jacksonville, was appointed to consult with the friends of the cause in other parts of the State. The result was that before his return from that visit, the first Illinois Sunday School Union was formed in a log school-house at Jacksonville. Mr. Baldwin was appointed its Secretary, and made an extended report at its first anniversary at Vandalia, Dec. 8, 1830.

These labors, about the very beginning of things at Vandalia, were continued till the spring of 1831, when he was appointed by the Trustees of Illinois College to solicit funds for the Institution at the East. This appointment he accepted, returned East as early as the rivers were clear of ice after the most rigorous winter ever known in the Mississippi Valley, attended the May Anniversaries in New York, and made a speech at the Anniversary of the A. H. M. S. In June following he entered into his life-long partnership in the work of the Lord with his now long-known and cherished friend, Miss Wilder, a partnership which brought to the work in which he was engaged a blessed accession of faith and hope and wisdom and patient endurance, as well as of affection and sympathy.

In the spring of 1833, having finished his Eastern agency for the college, he returned to Illinois, and entered on a most important work in the service of the A. H. M. S Of this enterprise Dr. Baldwin wrote as follows in 1869, in a letter addressed to Rev. Dr. Roy: "And here I must say a word in regard to the philosophy and scope of the movement which had its origin in New Haven, and resulted in the establishment of Illinois College,— especially in regard to the scope. We had, it is true, a college in view, but this was only a part of the great scheme. The field selected was the State of Illinois, and our object was to put in motion, throughout its length and breadth, all the evangelizing and Christianizing agencies of society. In order to carry out this scheme it became necessary that some one should take the field, and this was coincident with the designs of the A. H. M. S., viz. to reach with the Gospel the advancing waves of emigration wherever they should roll into the wilderness.

The country was so new that very little was done at first in the way of raising funds. It was mainly an exploring, arranging

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agency, up and down the rivers, over the prairies and through the forests, — not in "palace cars," but on horseback or in a diminutive buggy which a good friend named "Pepper-box," — sometimes out of sight of land, not to say under it, striving as far as possible to anticipate evil by getting good influences at work in a combined and organized form, at an early period, in all the new settlements and rising villages and cities; preaching, as you doubtless do still, more or less, in log cabins, forts, steam mills, groves, and barns. Would you know specifically the *method* of home missionary agents in those days? Ask Brothers Hale, or S. G. Wright, or Bascom. I can see now the ox-sled covered with loose boards, drawn up under a tree, which we used for a pulpit in his parish at Pleasant Grove. I believe I state nothing more than has been asserted by the secretaries of the A. H. M. S., when I say that this method of agency inaugurated a sort of new era in Home Missions. And then there is another link in the chain. My experience in home-missionary operations led me to the conception of the celebrated missionary plan of the Alton Presbytery."

Many years after Dr. Baldwin had left the service of the A. H. M. S., and become the principal of the Monticello Female Seminary, he was the chairman of the missionary committee of that Presbytery, of which committee Rev. A. T. Norton was also a member. Long after Dr. Baldwin had ceased to reside in Illinois, and had withdrawn from all connection with Presbyterianism, Mr. Norton publicly ascribed the origin of that plan to his early missionary labors. It is undoubtedly true, as Dr. Baldwin himself states in the same letter above quoted, "that the missionary plan in question, Presbyterialized, became the model of the N. S. Presbyterian Church." But Dr. Baldwin did not "Presbyterialize" it.

It is impossible to review this portion of the missionary and religious history of Illinois without the deepest sorrow. If the plans and methods of Home Missions, pursued for several years by Brothers Baldwin and Hale, could have been persisted in, without the intervention of those denominational rivalries and jealousies which soon rendered them impracticable, results might have been achieved vastly greater and better than we have witnessed. I mean no offence to any one, and to inflict

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no wound on any one's feelings, when I say that, in my humble judgment, the responsibility of this partial failure — failure at least to accomplish all which we might have accomplished — is to be charged to the account of that sectarian spirit, which denominationalized a system of effort which was in its conception purely evangelical and Christian, and not sectarian at all. As it lay in the minds of Baldwin and Hale it was an effort to plant the Gospel, and not any sect in advance of all others. As things were, this mode of agency became impracticable, and in this State we have never been able to return to it.

Of these home-missionary labors Dr. Baldwin further says in the letter already quoted, "One comprehensive and common method of proceeding was, by previous arrangement, to hold meetings at convenient points in new counties, to be continued one, two, or four days, as the case might be, where the scattered Christian families, from five, ten, or twenty miles around, could be gathered, their acquaintance formed, their spiritual wants ascertained, and arrangements be made for the location of a home missionary, and in some instances for the organization of a church." In a single six months of one year Brothers Hale and Baldwin attended as many of these meetings as, at the rate of one a week, would have covered four months and a half of the time. Such labors as these told on the future history of a great State in blessed and imperishable results. I never turn my thoughts to this subject without a regret, for which I can find no fitting expression, that it has not been our policy to maintain such a missionary agency, varying in details with the progress of our population, in all these years to the present time. I have a profound conviction that, if we had done so, the influence of evangelical churches on our population would have been immensely greater than it is, — not only their direct religious influence, but their influence on education and our entire civilization.

In the spring of 1835 another stream of influences was encountered which ultimately gave a new direction to the subsequent course of Mr. Baldwin's life. At that time Rev. Thos. H. Gallaudet was sent West by an association of Christian gentlemen in Hartford, Conn., on an exploring tour, to ascertain the best method of promoting Protestant evangelical education in

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the new States. He proposed to Dr. Baldwin to leave the agency of the A. H. M. S. and engage in the service of the association at Hartford. It was ultimately determined that he should incorporate with the missionary work an agency in behalf of education. To render this practicable, Rev. Albert Hale was appointed to aid him in the former. In the prosecution of this work, he explored those parts of this and neighboring States most exposed to Roman Catholic influences, and where their most important institutions of education were situated, and in all his journeyings sought out, encouraged, and aided Protestant evangelical schools, and sometimes had considerable sums placed in his hands to be disbursed in helping and encouraging such enterprises when found needy and worthy. In connection with this work he studied carefully systems of education both Papal and Protestant, and prepared and delivered lectures and sermons on the subject. The "Common School Advocate" was started at Jacksonville and continued a year, an agent was sent out to lecture on education, and a good deal of interest was excited among the students of Illinois College in relation to devoting themselves to the business of teaching.

In the mean time Capt. Benjamin Godfrey was proposing to lay the foundations of Monticello Female Seminary, with princely munificence, and was urging Dr. Baldwin to become its principal, and, indeed, making it a condition of proceeding with the enterprise, that he should accept the position. After holding the subject under consideration for a year, he consented to the proposition, and dissolved his connection with the A. H. M. S. in April, 1837. For the rest of his life he was directly identified with education in the new States, and to it he devoted the full energies of his mind and heart. He was not less religious, not less a missionary than before; but he was a missionary educator. His life-work lay in building up a system of Christian education, and in penetrating it through and through with Christian influences.

I cannot close this part of my sketch without one remark which the case imperatively calls for. I have met a few men who, in one important respect, were always misunderstood, except by those who knew them most intimately and thoroughly. They are persons whose self-control is so com-

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plete that, when called to make the greatest sacrifices of ease, comforts, worldly advantages, and tender affections, they manifest no emotion; they consent to the sacrifice so cheerfully and so promptly that they seem to the careless by-stander to have no feeling and suffer no pang. Dr. Baldwin was such a man. Rev. William Kirby, also one of the New Haven band, who died with his harness on, in 1851, was, in this respect, a man of like spirit. There are many men, who are really good and true, who utterly fail of attaining to any such grand self-control. They will and do make sacrifices of worldly advantages for the cause of the Master; but they do it with an anguish of spirit so ill-concealed that we are always sympathizing with them, and perpetually on our guard lest their tender sensibilities should receive some unnecessary wound. In the case of uch men as Dr. Baldwin and Mr. Kirby, as they never obtrude their feelings upon us, we are apt to forget that they have any, and even act as though they had none, since, when anything is to be decided affecting their interests, their feelings are kept out of view and never thrown into the scale. Nothing can be more unjust than to judge and treat such men thus. The cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirit with which Dr. Baldwin endured the privations of ease and comforts and domestic pleasures, and the severe toils and hardships to which he was subjected, from 1832 to 1837, were unfailing, and delightful to witness. But he who should hence infer that all this cost him no feeling, no anguish of heart, would manifest a total want of appreciation of his character. His uniform cheerfulness in such circumstances was the result, not of want of feeling, but of hearty devotion to the cause, and of that perfect self-government which he had been acquiring from his early childhood, — the self-control of a genuine New England religious education. It made him very strong both to do and to suffer for any good cause which he espoused.

In the partial sketch of the life of Dr. Baldwin, given in the preceding pages, we have confined ourselves to a hasty review of his life in the Christian ministry and as a home missionary. It is our present design to give an outline of that larger portion of his life which was devoted to the higher education in the then new States bordering on the Great Lakes, and on the

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Mississippi and its branches. It was probably in this department of Christian effort that he rendered the most important and most permanent service to Christian civilization. In the prosecution of this design it will be necessary to retrace our steps to the close of the year 1829, when the first foundations of Illinois College were laid. It is quite impossible to reproduce to the view of the reader the conditions under which that work was begun, for the reason that very few of those into whose hands these lines will fall have ever experienced anything similar to what existed in the only portions of Illinois then inhabited. If the young men of the Association at New Haven had fully appreciated those circumstances, perhaps they would not have had the courage to undertake the enterprise to which they pledged their lives.

Emigrants who go out from civilized communities and seek for themselves a new home in the wilderness, do not generally organize the new communities which they form after any original conception of their own. They do not go forth to subject any new social theories to the test of experiment or to build a better civilization than that which they left behind them, but simply to improve their own material condition. All that can be expected of them is that they should carry with them in their own conceptions the institutions to which they have been accustomed, and reproduce them as fast as they are able.

Up to the year 1830 almost the whole population of Illinois, numbering, as we have said, less than 160,000, were emigrants from the southern and southwestern States. In none of those States, up to that time, did any system of general education exist. Public schools were unknown. Colleges existed, but for the most part with scanty resources and meagre attendance, and by the great body of the people they were regarded with very little interest. Here and there a school-house would meet the view of the traveller, but it was of the rudest and most inexpensive construction. When any one wished to find employment as a teacher, he drew up his "articles," in which he proposed his terms as to the time of his engagement (generally for three months), and as to the rate of compensation for each pupil. If a sufficient number of pupils was signed to meet his expectations as to compensation, he "took up the school"; if

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not, he passed on to another school-house, and made a similar experiment, till he found a satisfactory prospect. Arrangements of this sort were the only reliance of the great mass of the people for the education of their children. Such were, at that time, almost the only arrangements for education which existed in Illinois. Not only colleges but academies, high schools, female seminaries, were for the most part quite unknown. It is not probable that in the year 1830 there was in the whole State one youth who was fitted to enter the Freshman class in Yale College. With the arrangements then existing, no prospect could be discerned in the future but that of ever-multiplying ignorance, — a people, the great majority of whose children would grow up destitute of the very first rudiments of an education. Here and there were men who saw and deplored this condition of things, and keenly felt the necessity of something better; but they were few, scattered, and feeble, and with very little opportunity of co-operating or even consulting with each other, and they were generally very despondent as to anything better in the future.

In such circumstances as these the foundations of Illinois College were laid. Rev. John M. Ellis, a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, laboring at Kaskaskia, who commenced his labors in Illinois in 1826, had become early and powerfully impressed with the necessity of an effort in behalf of education in the State, and, in co-operation with Hon. Samuel D. Lockwood, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State, Thomas Lippincott, then a layman, who afterwards became a minister of the gospel, and several other gentlemen scattered over the whole region from Kaskaskia to Jacksonville and Springfield, had originated a plan to found a seminary of learning, and obtained subscriptions for the object amounting in all to some $2,000 or $3,000. They had also fixed on the site now occupied by Illinois College as the spot on which it should be built. With this incipient enterprise the young men at New Haven had agreed to unite their efforts. Early in December, 1829, Messrs. Baldwin and Sturtevant met the subscribers to this proposed institution, and organized a Board of Trustees according to terms previously agreed on, which Board has been perpetuated by filling its own

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vacancies to the present time. Hon. James Hall, a man at that time of some political prominence in the State, and not unknown to literature, without consultation, so far as known, with any of the projectors of the enterprise, moved that the institution be called ILLINOIS COLLEGE. Without any deliberation or delay, the motion was passed, and the institution has borne that name till now.

These transactions occurred in an unfinished two-story brick building, the erection of which had been begun the summer previous, partly on the faith of the Illinois subscription, and partly relying on the aid pledged by the young men at New Haven. The gentlemen composing the meeting had for the most part no seats, but stood among shavings, lumber, and carpenters' benches. It required some faith to believe that the Institution thus organized would live to bless coming generations, and to do honor to the dignified name which we had conferred upon it. These arrangements being completed, the newly-elected Trustees assembled, organized with all due formality, — and that organization still remains, — and made arrangements to open the Institution for the reception of students.

On the fourth day of January following (1830), in the same building above described, still in a very unfinished state, the writer of this article met with nine students to commence the work of instruction. We first read a portion of Scripture. A few remarks were made fitting the solemnity of the occasion. It was said, "We have come here to-day to open a fountain for future generations to drink at." We then invoked the blessing of Almighty God on the work we were beginning, and proceeded to ascertain the progress our pupils had made in their studies, and assign them lessons. Of course there were no students fitted for a Freshman class, though there were several who had come to commence a collegiate education. Four of the pupils of that morning graduated at Illinois College with highly creditable attainments, and became men of decided mark in the Christian ministry.

All these proceedings were without any act of incorporation. No corporations either for literary or eleemosynary purposes had as yet been chartered in the State. Our prop-

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erty was held by trust deeds. Yet prospects seemed to encourage and invite the enlargement of the Institution. Before the end of the first year, Rev. Edward Beecher, then pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, was chosen President, and in December, 1830, came upon the ground, and commenced his labors in behalf of the Institution. The Legislature was to meet that winter at Vandalia, and it was determined to apply for an act of incorporation. We had some enlightened and earnest friends in that body, and hoped our request would be granted without serious opposition.

Mr. Baldwin's residence in Vandalia seemed exceedingly opportune. Our bill was presented in the Senate and given to the Committee on Education, of which our friend Col. Thomas Mather was chairman. Mr. Baldwin appeared before the committee in behalf of the bill, and his argument was mostly embodied in the committee's report to the Senate. But it was all in vain, the bill was defeated; and Mr. Baldwin never while he lived entirely ceased to amuse himself and his friends by recounting the scarecrows which our sagacious legislators set up, to frighten each other from voting for so dangerous a measure. One of the all-powerful arguments was that it was evidently a plan to unite Church and State, and destroy the liberties of the people. Another was that we had an unlimited control of money, and would buy up the land of the State, lease it out to tenants, and thus control their votes and get the government of the State into our hands. It was four years before an Act of Incorporation was granted, and then it contained two or three exceedingly illiberal limitations, which were not removed till several years later. One of them prohibited a theological department.

The location of the college was in one respect unfortunate. Its site, though beautiful and in itself very desirable, was a mile distant from the then infant village of Jacksonville. This created the necessity of erecting buildings for boarding and lodging students, as a condition of its growth and usefulness. The trustees had no option. They therefore resolved on erecting such buildings, and appointed President Beecher and Mr. Baldwin to go East and raise the necessary funds. The results of this agency were exceedingly impor-

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tant. Not only did it bring into the college treasury the means of erecting the needed buildings, and making other important additions to the resources of the Institution, but the agents also accomplished much in directing public attention to the State, and attracting to it many emigrants from the New England and Middle States of a most excellent character, who have exerted a very powerful and beneficial influence on the intellectual, social, and religious character of the State. Mr. Baldwin entered into that agency with great energy, enthusiasm, and hopefulness, and contributed greatly to its success.

By his labors in this agency his mind also became thoroughly enlisted in behalf of all efforts for the promotion of education in the State of his adoption, he formed the acquaintance of many persons who were deeply interested in benevolent efforts of various kinds, and acquired in a high degree their confidence, and thus established relations between himself and that interest from which it was never possible for him afterwards to release himself. Wherever he might be, he bore a heavy responsibility in respect to the affairs of Illinois College, and all those interests of education to which it stood related. That responsibility he never sought to avoid, although he received no pecuniary compensation for the services he rendered the cause.

The sources of the greatest difficulties which Illinois College has ever experienced were slavery and denominationalism. It may be difficult, at first thought of the subject, to understand how either of these could present any difficulty at all in the way of such an enterprise; but a little reflection will show how wide such a first view is of the reality of the case. Illinois was indeed originally a free State, and it might be expected that therefore all its institutions, especially those devoted to the education of the people, would favor freedom and be adverse to that system of negro slavery which its Constitution solemnly prohibited within its borders; but such expectations fall very far short of exhibiting the state of things which actually existed for the twenty years next following 1830. Of the 156,000 people who were living in the State in 1830, the vast majority of the adults had been born and

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educated in the southern and southwestern slaveholding States, and entertained all the opinions and were subject to all the prejudices and passions which slavery had nurtured in the communities from which they came. About the year 1830 the great antislavery agitation commenced, and so morbidly sensitive were Southern people on that subject that the very first blow which was struck for the freedom of the slave vibrated to the remotest extremity of the slaveholding population of the whole country, and was sensibly felt by every one, wherever found, who was in sympathy with them. Northern men, and especially New Englanders, had long before that been regarded with suspicion and distrust at the South, and a Yankee had been looked on as a marked man wherever slavery existed and exerted its influence. The first beginnings of antislavery agitation at the North greatly increased this distrust, and rendered the situation of all Northern men laboring in the cause of education among populations of Southern ideas and prejudices, difficult and critical. Such passions and prejudices were early and intensely aroused against the young men who were prominent in the management of Illinois College. These men were not among the first to enter decidedly and openly into the agitation. Such a course was absolutely incompatible with the work they had on their hands. But all their opinions and sympathies were with freedom and against slavery, and occasions were sure to occur on which utterance was inevitable; and for many years their situation was not greatly dissimilar to that of men occupying prominent situations in the slaveholding States, who were known to be hostile to slavery. The extent to which this exposed them and the college under their care to distrust, hatred, and malignant attack from the newspaper press of St. Louis and Southern Illinois, and to menaces of violence like that in which Elijah P. Lovejoy perished at Alton in 1837, can be known and appreciated only by those who shared in this experience. For many a year, the best they could say of themselves was, "cast down but not destroyed." That the college was not destroyed many times over in these conflicts is a wonder indeed. In difficulties like these, Theron Baldwin was ever the wise and sagacious man, uniting with his brethren in the Board of Trust in deprecating any surrender

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of the principles of freedom, in the management of the Institution or in the lives of its teachers, but not inclined to push matters to those violent extremes which must have been fatal to the enterprise. Few men of known and avowed antislavery principles retained in so high a degree the confidence of all classes of religious men.

Our readers will not easily gain a just idea either of the power or of the long continuance of this pro-slavery dynasty. To say that it reigned for twenty years with very little mitigation of its rigor would be no exaggeration. It may well be believed that during this long period it put the faith and endurance and courage and wisdom of the men of antislavery principles engaged in this and similar enterprises to a very severe test. That Dr. Baldwin and most of his fellow-laborers outlived that pro-slavery dynasty and saw its utter extinction, is an occasion of rejoicing and devout thanksgiving. "I have seen the wicked in great power, spreading himself like a green bay-tree. Yet he passed away, and lo, he was not! yea, I sought him, but he could not be found." The Psalmist's experience has often repeated itself in ages since. For all good works in this sin-cursed world, endurance is one of the foremost of Christian graces. That Christian grace, Dr. Baldwin and the men who in their youth united with him in founding Illinois College, did in some humble degree illustrate, by their unflinching perseverance in their work.

But great and disheartening as these difficulties were, they were not, on the whole, so great and heart-sickening as those which have sprung from denominationalism. No one can have any just conception of the work of Dr. Baldwin and his associates without being made aware of the nature of these difficulties. The young men who associated themselves at Yale College for missionary labor and the founding of a college in Illinois, had in their minds' view no sectarian aims to be accomplished. They projected the planting of the gospel in that wilderness, and the founding of an elevated and efficient system of education under Evangelical influences; they purposed that and they purposed nothing else whatever. It was not in their thoughts to extend Congregational church polity over one square foot not already covered by it. Neither had they

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any ambition to extend the jurisdiction of Presbyterian church courts over any new provinces reclaimed from the wilderness. They were just as remote from one of these thoughts as from the other. To plant the church of Christ in the wilderness, and the institutions of a high and true Christian culture, was the only aim which could have tempted them to seek a home on the borders of the wilderness. For a quarter of a century it had been the uniform custom of New England Congregational ministers emigrating to the region west of the Hudson, to leave their church polity behind them, and unite themselves with the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Probably there was not a member of the New Haven Association who did not expect to conform to this custom on arriving in Illinois. This was the course which the leading ministers of New England advised them to pursue, and they would by no means have approved at that time of any other.

But the events which followed each other in quick succession in the Presbyterian Church, from 1830 onwards, put a new aspect on the whole question, which had neither been anticipated nor thought of by any of us, nor by our fathers who advised us. No sooner did that great theological controversy about the doctrinal teachings of Dr. N. W. Taylor and the New Haven school, which we had already witnessed in its full intensity in the New England churches, cross the Hudson and begin to extend within the boundaries of the Presbyterian Church, than the genius and spirit of that great ecclesiastical system began to reveal itself under aspects which to us were new, and in very startling contrast to that of the New England churches. The contrast between New England and the great Presbyterian Church under the influence of such a controversy was certainly very striking and instructive, and that could hardly have been a thoughtful mind that could see that contrast as sharply as we were providentially forced to see it, without learning anything from it. Many minds were induced by it to review their opinions on church polity; and they came to the conclusion that they could not accept Presbyterianism with its ponderous standards, enforced by the judicial and legislative authority of its series of ecclesiastical judicatories, in place of the simple and scriptural conception

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which they had received from the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. Ministers who had gone out from the churches and schools and colleges of New England, only that they might transplant them to the new States which were about to spring up in the great interior of the continent, could not consent to plant the church after a model which neither they nor their fathers had known, and which, the more they came to know it, the less they approved.

Soon, without any concerted plan, Congregational Churches began to be organized in Illinois, at various points widely separated from each other. The first movements seldom originated with the ministers, but with communities of laymen, who could see no reason why, in organizing the church of Christ in the wilderness, they were not at perfect liberty to constitute it after a plan which they did know and approve, rather than after one of which they knew but little, and of which from what they did know of it, they could not approve. It is probable that in this way a large majority of all the Congregational Churches in the State originated. The ministers have not led in this matter, but followed. Congregationalism in Illinois is very largely the result of a spontaneous movement of the people themselves.

Some of the men of the New Haven Association were among the first to feel this great impulse and obey it; others deprecated a division from our Presbyterian brethren in church organization, and the weakness which must unavoidably result to both parties. For a time, Dr. Baldwin belonged to the latter class, and for many years he continued his ecclesiastical connection with the Presbyterian Church. But with the progress of events, and of his own thinking, his sympathies were more and more decidedly towards the Congregational conception of the church, as far more in harmony with the general spirit of the gospel. From his position he was almost necessarily connected with the Alton Presbytery, and in a great degree he originated the celebrated missionary system of that body; but with the intense denominationalism with which it came to be imbued, he had no fellowship or sympathy. He was ever true to the aim with which he and his brethren entered on their missionary work, — to extend the church of

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Christ, and not to enlarge the boundaries of any sect. With this aim, he felt increasingly, with the progress of his life, that Congregationalism is, and in all its history has been, peculiarly in harmony, and he therefore regarded it with ever-increasing attachment. Many years before his death, though resident in New York, but wishing still to hold his ecclesiastical relations with his brethren in Illinois, he withdrew from the Presbytery of Alton, and united with the Southern Association of Illinois. With only two or three exceptions, the men of the New Haven Association, one after another, without any concert with each other, withdrew from the Presbyterian Church and entered into Congregational relations. Their tastes and convictions, as ripened by age and experience, required it.

That these events were disastrous, not only to the college but to the whole Home Missionary enterprise throughout the great valley, is true, and no one who experienced them will have any disposition to deny it. But though disastrous, they were inevitable. That Presbyterians and Congregationalists should continue to co-operate on the "Plan of Union" was no longer possible. On the one hand it had become apparent that the practical interpretation put on that compact amounted to confining Congregationalism within the boundary lines of New England, and the handing over of the whole continent west of the Hudson to the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church; and on the other, that recent events in the Presbyterian Church had so shocked the moral sense of thousands and tens of thousands of emigrants from New England, that they would no longer consent to leave the church polity of their fathers behind them when they crossed the Hudson. They could not accept as true what their Presbyterian brethren told them, wherever their feet should tread west of the Hudson, — "This is Presbyterian ground: you have no right to plant Congregational Churches here." The movement did not originate in one mind, or in a few minds in concert, but in the minds of tens of thousands without concert, and under a great providential impulse. There was no one mind and no possible combination of minds that could have prevented it.

The combined co-operation of the existing social elements were not possible, had no Congregational Churches been formed.

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Continued co-operation in the Presbyterian Church was not more easy between the men whose minds were imbued with the theology of New England and those who held the doctrinal views afterwards denominated Old School, than between Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. The young men from New Haven, in choosing for the centre of their operations one of the most beautiful sites in the whole valley and in the heart of one of the richest agricultural districts of the world, had, without the possibility of foreseeing what was to happen, planted themselves precisely where both the theology and the polity of New England were speedily to come into direct and inevitable encounter with the theology known as Old School, and the strictest interpretation of the standards of the Presbyterian Church. They sought not the conflict,—they were men of peace and not of war; they only wanted to preach Christ, and found Christian churches, and establish a college which should be a fountain of pure Christian culture while grass grows and water runs. But they were men of clear and definite convictions, and could not refrain from acting upon them. The difficulties which the great evangelical enterprise of their lives has encountered arose not by their fault. So far as they were concerned, these difficulties were truly providential; and all they were responsible for was to manage their great enterprise, and especially their college, as wisely as possible in circumstances of extreme embarrassment. For piloting such an enterprise through such difficulties and dangers God has given to this age few men of cooler judgment or more persistent, unquenchable hopefulness and enthusiasm than Dr. Baldwin. Neither he nor any of his associates from New Haven were ever willing that the college should be an instrument of sectarian propagandism towards the one side or the other, but they desired to make it a true fountain of Christian culture, as helpful as possible to all Christian parents wishing to fit their sons for eminent service for the Master, whether in the church or state. That the college lives to this hour—having survived all these conflicts, running through so many dark and stormy years—is due to the unwavering firmness with which the liberal aim of these men has been adhered to.

Perhaps it is not unreasonable to believe that the great

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ecclesiastical revolution in the midst of which Illinois College passed the first forty years of its existence was of God. Perhaps it was needful that that conception of the church which crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower should have some part in moulding and forming the Christian civilization of this continent, and in determining the form and spirit of the church order which is to prevail in these vast regions, when they shall be crowded with a population as dense and multitudinous as that which now inhabits the great central valley of China. Perhaps a college whose infancy was invigorated by the pelting of these fierce storms of ecclesiastical strife, may have developed a manly vigor of moral constitution such as will fit it to exert a mighty and beneficent power on the uncounted millions of a not distant future. It seems to some of us that there is much in its past history which eminently tends to fit it for such a grand destiny.

Through all these conflicts till the year 1870, the majority of the Board of Trust of Illinois College was composed of men who adhered to the Presbyterian Church. Since then the majority of these trustees have been men of Congregational connection; and to avoid all danger of internal dissensions, it is doubtless desirable that such should continue to be the fact for the future. This arrangement is most in harmony with the origin of the college and the spirit of its past history. It did not need and could not well endure the overshadowing influence of great ecclesiastical judicatories. The venerable Alma Mater, of which Illinois College is a very small offshoot, has grown under no such shadow, and, in the last half of her second century, she has the confidence of the nation, with very little reference to the peculiarities which distinguish one Christian sect from another. The majority of her Board of Trust has always been composed of Congregational ministers. As long as the spirit of Theron Baldwin lives in the college (and he had more influence in bringing it into its present relations than any other one man), the public may be assured it will be managed for Christ and his church, and not for sect.

The plans of the New Haven band, in respect to education, were never confined to Illinois College. It has already been stated that, at the time when the college was founded, the State

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had no public-school system, and no germs were visible out of which such a system was likely to grow. Very early these men were earnestly advocating the establishment of such a system, and endeavoring to convince the people of its urgent necessity. It would be easy to prove, did our space permit, that these efforts were not without their influence. The men who have been responsible for the management of Illinois College have never desired to merge the whole system of education for all ages and both sexes into one great institution, and call it a university, as comprehending the whole range of learning, or as containing all sorts of pupils. They have desired as far as possible to make it a college, and confine it to the proper sphere of a college, and to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in founding and fostering the whole gradation of schools necessary to form a complete system. Common schools, academies, and female seminaries, they have always regarded as co-ordinate parts of a system, each of which must occupy its own place, and perform its own function.

When, therefore, Capt. Benjamin Godfrey proposed, with a princely munificence, to found Monticello Female Seminary, and invited Mr. Baldwin to take charge of the same as its principal, the proposition was regarded by us all as perfectly in harmony with our original conception of the work we had undertaken; and when he embarked in that enterprise it was understood that another most important step of progress had been made towards the realization of our original design. Mr. Baldwin's relations to that institution from its inception were most intimate and responsible. A site was to be selected, a building was to be designed, a course of instruction and an internal plan of the institution were to be devised and brought into practical working, and a corps of teachers was to be selected, and to each the proper work was to be allotted. Mr. Baldwin's attention had been strongly directed towards systems of education ever since his agency for Illinois College in 1832, and he had acquired such knowledge of the subject as to qualify him in an eminent degree for this organic work, and the institution was admirably arranged and ordered from its very opening.

The proper religious instruction and training of the pupils was a matter which lay near the heart both of the founder and

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of the principal of Monticello Seminary, and to it Mr. Baldwin gave most earnest attention. To it he chiefly devoted his own time and energies, so long as he remained connected with the institution. He succeeded in impressing on it such a religious character as few other seminaries for female education have attained to, and that impress not only continued with it while under his superintendence, but has greatly influenced all its subsequent history. Very few investments for the cause of education in these new Central States have been more uniformly successful or more immediately productive of beneficial results, than that made in Monticello Seminary. Both in the efficiency of its system of intellectual culture and in the healthfulness of its moral and religious tone, it has from the beginning ranked among the best of its class in the whole country. Beautifully situated less than thirty miles from the city of St. Louis, and very easily accessible from it, the institution has always been full to its utmost capacity, and its beneficial influence has therefore been enjoyed by very great numbers for a period of almost forty years, with bright promise for the future.

While Mr. Baldwin was engaged in his highly useful and successful labors as the principal of this great Female Seminary, with no apparent reason why he might not here employ the labors of the rest of his life, a new exigency arose, which imperatively called him to serve the cause of education in the Great Valley, in a very different field of labor. Allusion has already been made to an enthusiasm for planting Christian institutions in the newly-opened regions of the Mississippi Valley, which, as was foreseen, was to be so soon filled with millions of people. That missionary zeal has from the beginning embraced in its aims both the founding and the fostering of churches and the planting and rearing of institutions of education, especially colleges. It was assumed that the fostering of at least one college in each of these new States under Christian influences is an obvious necessity of the Christian cause, and that, in order that these colleges may have a vital connection with society, it is necessary that, like Yale and Cambridge, they should be founded in the very infancy of these communities. There is perhaps, at the present time, some disposition in certain quarters to call in question the soundness of this assump-

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tion. There is little space in which to argue such a question, in this tribute to the memory of our departed friend; nor is it necessary. Such questionings have certainly never arisen from any profound and thorough acquaintance with the subject. What the Christian philanthropist has reason to deplore is, not that such foundations were laid amid the primeval forest or prairie grass, but that these enterprises were not prosecuted with more energy and concentration of effort and resources. There is reason enough to rejoice in the rapid growth and enlargement of the great institutions, as Yale and Harvard and Princeton, and to desire for them still a vast increase of the resources of generous and liberal culture; but no growth of a few such institutions can ever supersede all other colleges, or accomplish that for the cause of learning which was the aim of the colleges that have been founded by the missionaries of Home Evangelization in the Valley of the Mississippi within the last fifty years. If, for example, there is ever to be a deep and widely influential movement in behalf of a truly liberal education in such a State as Illinois, it will not be produced by a great university situated a thousand miles away on the shores of the Atlantic, but by a vigorous and well-appointed institution of learning in the heart of the State, and in intimate contact with its people. If learning is to prosper in the States that are washed by the Great Lakes and by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri, we must have "fresh-water colleges" as well as "salt-water colleges." We must learn that liberal culture is not very nice about the chemical composition of the waters on whose shores its institutions are planted. It is not readily to be believed that the friends of education have reason to deplore that all the resources devoted to it in the United Kingdom of Great Britain were not concentrated at one or two great English universities, and that the noble universities of Scotland and Ireland were ever founded. The men who founded Yale in their weakness and poverty were right, though Harvard was little more than one hundred miles away. Had they not done as they did, had they trusted to Harvard alone, and laid no such foundation in the early history of Connecticut, not only the cause of letters but all the interests of Christian civilization, not merely for

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the little State of Connecticut, but for a continent and the world, would have deeply suffered by their neglect. Coming generations will have reason to rejoice that the young men from New Haven, established not only churches, but a college and a Female Seminary, and that other men engaged in the work of frontier evangelization have done likewise. The men who laid these foundations did not waste their lives in chimerical enterprises. All that the Christian public of to-day has to deplore in respect to this matter is, that these men were so feebly sustained in carrying out their plan of far-seeing wisdom.

Previous to the year 1843 some half-dozen such institutions had been founded in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, all of which in the infancy of these States were greatly dependent on the Christian liberality of the older States. It soon become apparent that so many colleges could not continue to urge their seemingly though not really rival claims before the same Christian public by their own separate and independent agencies. It was seen that as the wants of all the churches which had been planted in the same regions by the labors of Home Missionaries, and still needed to be fostered and aided, were represented by a single organization, the American Home Missionary Society, so it was scarcely less important that the colleges which the same Home Missionaries had founded should also have a common agency to represent their claims and plead their cause before the Christian public. In the year 1843 such an agency was organized under the name of THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING COLLEGIATE AND THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT THE WEST, and by the unanimous consent of all those who were interested in the new organization, Dr. Baldwin was chosen its secretary and financial agent. Nothing but a profound conviction of the urgent necessity of the new organization to the success of the cause to which he and many other noble men had consecrated their lives, and an urgency of appeal from his Christian brethren which fell little short of command and compulsion, would have induced him to leave his sphere of tranquil duty and abundant usefulness at Monticello Seminary, and to enter on a service so full of cares, anxieties, responsibilities, thankless labors, and inevitable uncertainties, as that to which he was invited.

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But his deep conviction of the solemn urgency of the case, and the unanimous opinion of his brethren that it was his duty to take up the burden, prevailed: he became the secretary of the Society for promoting Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, and to the performance of the duties of that office devoted the entire remainder of his laborious and useful life.

The necessities of the new work on which he was now to enter required him to make his home either in the city of New York, or in its immediate vicinity. To that necessity he yielded, but with great reluctance. He had adopted Illinois as his home; in it he expected to live, and die, and be buried. Even long after his removal to the vicinity of New York, he would never admit that he had ceased to be a citizen of Illinois: he felt himself to be absent only on a mission for the general weal. He never removed his relations from the ecclesiastical bodies of this State, always telling his brethren he was one of them still.

To do justice to our friend's labors in the new field to which he had thus devoted himself, would be to give the history of the Society from its beginning to his death. This of course, within the limits of such a sketch as this, is inadmissible; but certain things must be said if we would not utterly fail in what we have undertaken.

1. His labors were always performed under great and peculiar difficulties. The resources of the Society were always distressingly inadequate to the ends at which it aimed. The argument for the necessity of providing in the infancy of a great State, for the higher education as one of the vital organs of the body-politic, was above the clear conception and full appreciation of the thousands of Christian men and women to whom his appeal was necessarily addressed. An appeal for funds to be used in peddling religious tracts by millions among the ignorant and neglected masses, few of whom were ever seen in a place of public worship or could read a tract when placed in their hands, would obtain contributions by hundreds, while the best plea which any man could make for laying the foundations of Christian learning for millions yet unborn would command only tens. The agents of benevolent societies that

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only proposed plausible and ephemeral measures, whose results were immediate and on the surface, would gain easy access to all the churches, while one who represented the cause for which Dr. Baldwin pleaded must beg long and often beg in vain for a hearing. The very weakness and inefficiency of the Institutions which the Society represented, which resulted from the meagreness of the income which annually accrued to its treasury, tended to bring the whole effort into still greater disfavor and neglect. The Christian public was not too wise nor too just to hold the colleges and the College Society responsible for the inevitable consequences of its own niggardliness and inattention to one of the deepest and most permanent wants of those rising communities for which the agents of the Society pleaded.

The same scantiness of resources always obliged him to accept for his laborious and self-sacrificing services a salary much below the necessities of the position which he was obliged to occupy. These difficulties were of so serious a character and so inevitable, during Dr. Baldwin's whole connection with the Society, that they would have utterly disheartened many a good man and driven him from the field. He however never seemed seriously to think of abandoning the work, but only to be looking around him for the means of overcoming the obstacles which he constantly encountered. The reason was not that no other and more inviting fields were open to him. Propositions of this sort were often pressed upon his consideration; but his conviction of the urgent necessity of the work in which he was engaged was too deep and intense to permit him to abandon the cause, and he persevered, while probably many men reputed wise, and perhaps really wise in matters which they had studied, thought he was wasting his valuable life in a hopeless enterprise. So it ever is. The lives of many noble workers must always be expended upon those foundations of whatever is to stand and endure, which foundations the gazing public never sees and scarcely thinks of. How many lives were devoted to those foundations of St. Peter's at Rome, which, while they are concealed from the public eye, bear up and sustain through the ages all that is imposing and magnificent in the superstructure! There must always be oundation builders in spiritual architecture.

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2. The work accomplished was not insignificant and contemptible, even as its results were apparent while Dr. Baldwin was still among us. All the institutions of learning whose necessities led to the formation of the Society were saved from hopeless embarrassment and extinction. There is not one of them to-day which has not a possibility and a promise of rich and beneficent influence on coming generations; some of them occupy positions at this moment so conspicuous and commanding that no other seats of learning in the communities in which they are situated have any promise of a future at all comparable with theirs. They are all true to that conception of a liberal education which has come down to us from the revival of ancient learning, — that its foundations are to be soundly laid in the study of the classics, — and they will remain as open fountains of a truly liberal culture when a thousand and one ephemeral schemes of education, founded on narrow and superficial notions of the practical, shall have passed away and been forgotten. Meanwhile, the results actually achieved for the cause of learning in the last thirty-five years, by Marietta, Western Reserve, Wabash, Illinois, and Beliot Colleges, and Lane Theological Seminary, though far from equalling the aims and wishes of their friends, are by no means small or insignificant.

Nor is this all or nearly all which has been directly accomplished. Not only have the institutions above enumerated been saved to the present and to the future, but a considerably numerous group of colleges, which have been for the most part founded since the College Society was organized, and most of which are situated either in regions lying west of the Mississippi, or in Minnesota or Northern Wisconsin, have been aided and encouraged in their first efforts, and fostered and strengthened into the promise of a vigorous and useful future. Through the whole of that vast region which stretches from the head-waters of the Ohio to the Pacific Ocean, the cause of classical and collegiate education has been greatly aided and strengthened. No wise man will think or speak contemptuously of such results as these.

3. In another line no one who has given attention to the facts in the case will fail to form a high estimate of Dr. Bald-

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win's labors in connection with the College Society. The additions which he made to the literature of collegiate education in his own annual reports, and by the annual addresses and essays exhibited at the anniversaries and annual meetings of the Society, which were prepared by his request by some of the foremost thinkers and educators of the time, are of great and permanent value. They contain a re-discussion of the whole subject, more thorough, comprehensive, and exhaustive than any which had previously occurred in this country, or even in the English language. The value of that discussion has often been acknowledged by the most thoughtful men among us, nor is it improbable that it was one, and perhaps not the least important, of the causes of the present revival and growth of the classical spirit, and the unparalleled liberality which has been manifested in the endowment of our colleges for the last quarter of a century. Dr. Baldwin and his coadjutors thought out the relations of collegiate education to our schools, our churches, and our civilization, and gave to their thinking fervent and effective utterance. There are men who are sustaining the most dignified and responsible relations to some of our most renowned and favored seats of learning, who do not hesitate gratefully to acknowledge the debt which even these institutions owe to the College Society and its indefatigable first secretary.

No one deplores more deeply and feelingly than we do the smallness of the results which have been accomplished by the enterprises which have come under review in this sketch of the life of a noble and eminently useful man. Small they are, not in the aggregate and in fact, but in comparison with what might and ought to have been done, and with what we aimed and ardently aspired to do. Seats of learning founded near the heart of some infant empire, on the broadest and most thoroughly liberal and Christian basis, have often been left to languish in feebleness and comparative inefficiency for the want of needed resources. The gifts of a Christian people to the cause of liberal learning, that should have been concentrated on a few well-planned and well-situated seminaries, have been dispersed and frittered away among a multitude of rival enterprises, rendered utterly impracticable by their very multi-

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plication. Causes entirely beyond the control of reason and good sense have rendered it impossible to arrest thi ever-increasing multiplication of colleges and the consequent wasteful division of resources. The pleaded necessities of sect and the resistless influence of partisanship are stronger than the lessons of wisdom and the interests of learning. So steadily, constantly, and resistlessly have these causes acted, that many who really love learning have come at last to the fatal conclusion that its interests can never more be intrusted to religious men ; that in order that it may prosper, it must for the future be divorced from the church of Christ and controlled only by the civil State.

None have more clearly seen or more deeply deplored the progress of these evil and disastrous influences than Dr. Baldwin and the men who co-operated with him. They firmly believed that the union between pure religion, learning, and freedom is not only natural but vital and inseparable ; and they therefore clearly saw it to be their duty "to hold fast" and "strengthen the things that remain," even though they were "ready to die." In such perseverance only is there any hope of ultimate success and victory. They have been consoled by the consideration that the immediate good results of their work have not been contemptible ; and they have believed that the obstacles encountered are only temporary, and that the ultimate results will be alike permanent and beneficent.

That truly great political philosopher, De Tocqueville, saw some of the causes which are conservative of our democratic republic with great clearness, and stated them with convincing power. But some of them he did not see. He did not see that our system of collegiate education under Christian influences is one of the most effective and indispensable of these conservative forces. What he did not see, Dr. Baldwin did, and he accomplished a noble work for extending that influence over all our continental domain from the rising to the setting sun. When that enterprise shall have been completed, when the Christian college shall be exerting its beneficent power over every State of our mighty republic, the name of Theron Baldwin ought to be held in grateful remembrance from ocean to ocean. Perhaps it will be, but we are not sure of that. God

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often does not appoint that his best and truest servants shall win much of human glory. He has a better reward for them. That better reward is, we are sure, laid up for our departed brother.

Mr. Baldwin was married to Miss Caroline Wilder, at Burlington, Vt., June 20th, 1831. They were blessed with two sons and three daughters, who with their mother still survive. Mr. Baldwin died at Orange, N. J., April 10, 1870.

It would be unpardonable to close this sketch without an attempt to delineate the leading traits of Dr. Baldwin's character, for in these the chief lesson of his life is found. In attempting such a delineation we crave the privilege of speaking, as his friend, in the first person singular.

1. He possessed abundant capability of scholarly attainment, and though he commenced his student life only at the full maturity of his manhood, and though he spent his life much more in affairs than in books, his acquisitions were always regarded by those who knew him best as highly creditable to him. When the trustees of Wabash College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, it was generally felt that it was a fitting recognition of modest and unpretending worth. His studies were never directed with any intention of rendering himself eminent in any one department of learning, or stimulated by any ambition of literary fame. He read and studied and thought that he might understand the work he had in hand in its widest relations, and know how to do it well. In such studies he eminently succeeded.

2. He was a wise, sagacious, far-seeing man. He saw causes at work, and was quick to foresee the results they would produce. He knew the men among whom he lived, and read their aims, their passions, their characters. It is often said in disparagement of ministers that they do not know human nature. He did know human nature. He was not uncharitable or censorious; he was not inclined to speak of the faults of others. But the men of his acquaintance whose success depended on wearing any disguise might have been sure there was one man from whom their disguises concealed nothing. His mind was intensely active, and all its activity had the direction of the practical and not of the merely theoretical.

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He had precisely that sort of mental activity which makes the successful man in affairs however great and complicated.

3. He used this endowment of practical wisdom for the advancement of the spiritual interests of mankind, precisely as worldly men use the like power to acquire for themselves wealth, honor, and power. Few successful merchants in our great metropolis apply a more habitual and intense mental activity to their business and their schemes for the acquisition of wealth than he applied to the carrying out of his great design of promoting the spiritual interests of mankind. Had he given those same powers to worldly gain, as he gave them to Christ, he would not have spent his days in incessant toil for a very scanty pecuniary consideration, and left a family but inadequately provided for; he had easily been among the merchant princes of the land. He was as capable of foreseeing the fluctuations of the market in gold, in stocks, in dry goods, in city lots, as the keenest of them, and as well able to take advantage of such fluctuations for his own emolument. But that power, so highly prized in the city, long the scene of his activity, he used for Christ and for those whom Christ came to save. For many years his office was in an upper story in Wall Street; he saw the surging billows of speculation below, and heard their roar, and knew well their meaning, but he was thinking and working for a Heavenly Master. He lived for many years in the midst of Western speculation; but while so many were planning only to enrich themselves by city sites and corner lots and quarter sections, he was working to found and rear a college, schools, and churches for the present generation and for millions yet unborn. Which is the nobler practical activity? Which is good sense and which is folly? Ye rich and self-indulgent crowd, who have used your talents only for your own worldly aggrandizement, look not down on such an one as our brother as ye roll along in your transient splendor! Pause rather at his grave, or before the humble dwelling where he had his abode, and drop the tear of repentance and learn to lead a wiser and a better life.

4. He was a happy man. When the world is constrained at last to admit that such a life as his is a reality, and in some sort to do homage to it, men still say within themselves, Such

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a life is so sombre, so gloomy, so morose, who can be willing to lead it? A greater delusion has never possessed the heart of man since the tempter said to our first mother, "Thou shalt not surely die." His life sombre, morose, gloomy! He who thinks so knows as little what true happiness is, as the butterfly or kitten does of the bliss which is proper to a rational nature. He lived in perpetual sunshine. I not only reckon him among the holiest men I have known, but also among the happiest. Of all the innocent joys of domestic and social life, he had a keen appreciation. I could never be much cast down in his presence. And then the overflowing happiness of a life spent in the prosecution of ends so high and so noble, — that is true, human, rational happiness; and he who will not so live can never know it. It is a blessed thing to be the wife, the child, of such a husband and such a father. He may not clothe the loved ones that gather around his hearthstone in purple and fine linen, but he will shed over them the brighter, the sweeter lustre of his purity and beneficence; his home will be the abode of peace, of contentment, of thankfulness, and of immortal hope.

5. He had a singular exemption from many of those weaknesses, foibles, follies, with which the lives of most, even good men, are more or less stained. He may have been susceptible to envy; but in all my intercourse with him, for forty years, I never saw the slightest manifestation of it. He doubtless was capable of ambition for personal distinction; but when he saw a good thing which needed to be done, he was far more likely to point it out to some one of his friends, fill him with his own suggestions, and leave to him its execution, than to execute it himself and take the honor of it. He may have sometimes experienced feelings of despondency in circumstances of difficulty or danger; but he seldom manifested any such feelings, even to his intimate friends. His hope was in God, and he believed He would be true; he believed in the soundness of his own principles, and was sure of their triumph; and was ever confident that a temporary defeat was only temporary and seeming, and that ultimate victory was certain. His love of truth immeasurably transcended that of the mere philosopher. It was not merely that excited curi-

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osity that seeks to know the truth solely for the sake of knowing it, but that heavenly curiosity which longs to know the truth as a means of benefiting mankind in their highest and most lasting interests. Such a love of truth cannot long despond, for a benignant God governs the universe.

The cause to which Theron Baldwin's life was devoted is sacred, rendered doubly so by the investment of talent and of Christian energy which has already been made in it. We have no right to surround ourselves with beauties and luxuries and worldly advantages, while we leave uncared for and neglected the cause to which such men as our departed brother have given all that God gave them. We are bound by obligations the most sacred to take up the work where they laid it down, and carry it forward in the name of the Lord. Such lives not only win the favor of God and a crown of glory in heaven, but they lay the age, the church, the world, under obligations, from which God will never release them, to carry on that work till the topmost stone is laid.

There are no death-bed experiences of our brother to be narrated. His last sickness, though confining him to his home and for the most part to his bed for nearly three weeks, was of such a character that at no time did his family relinquish the cheerful hope of his recovery, till, by a sudden change that came over him a few hours before his death, it became apparent that the cold hand was already on him. There is no proof that he was at any time distinctly conscious that death was near. The closing scene was, like his whole life, tranquil and peaceful. He fell asleep in Jesus.

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TRIENNIAL

CATALOGUE

OF THE

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

IN THE

CITY OF NEW-YORK.

DECEMBER, 1865.

New-York:
JOHN A. GRAY & GREEN, PRINTERS, 16 AND 18 JACOB STREET.

1865.

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FOUNDED, January 18, 1836.

OPENED FOR INSTRUCTION, December 5, 1836.

OPENING OF THE SEMINARY BUILDING, December 12, 1838.

INCORPORATED, March 17, 1839.

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1838.

HENRY BELDEN; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1835; And.T.S., '35–6; P.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Presb.) May 2, '39; Pas., Marlborough, N.Y., '39–'40; S.S., New-Windsor, N.Y., '41; S.S., Washingtonville, N.Y., '41–4; Pas. (Cong.) Boonton, N.J., '44–6; Pas., Blooming Grove, N.Y., '46–'52; Pas., N. York City, '52–6; C.M., Brooklyn, N.Y., '56——.

SAMUEL ROBBINS BROWN; Mass.; Y.C., 1832; Prof., D. & D.I., N. York City, '32–5; Col.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 14, '38; F.M., Hong Kong, China, '38–'46; W.C., N. York City, '47–9; Tea., Owasco, N.Y., '50–2; Pas. (R.D.) Sandbeach, N.Y., '52–8; F.M., Kanagawa, Japan, '59——.

BURTIS CUNNINGHAM MEGIE; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1835; And.T.S., '35–6; P.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 31, '38; S.S., New-Paltz, N.Y., '38–9; S.S. & Pas., Dover, N.J., '39——.

ALEXANDER OLYMPUS PELOUBET; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1835; Aub. T.S., '35–7; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Cong.) '39; S.S., Mount Hope, N.Y., '39–'40; S.S. (Presb.) Unionville, N.Y., '40–6; S.S., Lloyd, N.Y., '46–9; Pas., Circleville, N.Y., '50–9; Pas., Cairo, N.Y., '60–5; Pas., Mecklenburgh, N.Y., '65——.

*THOMAS SYDENHAM WARD; N.J.; U.N.Y., 1835; Aub.T.S., '35–7; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Presb.) '39; Pas., Hanover, N.J., '39–'42; W.C., Bloomfield, N.J., '43; S.S., Sparta, N.J., '44–6; W.C., Bloomfield, N.J., '46–'51; Pas., Carbondale, Pa., '51–'64; Died, do., Feb. 13, '64, æt. 52.

GEORGE INGERSOLL WOOD; Ct.; Y.C., 1833; N.H.T.S., '35–6; U.T.S., '36–8; Ord. (Presb.) May 18, '40; Pas., Washington, D.C., '40–1; Pas., West-Hartford, Ct., 41–6; S.S., North-Branford, Ct., '46–7; Pas. (Cong.) Ellington, Ct., '48–'57; Pas., Guilford, Ct., '58——. 6.

AARON MERRICK COLTON; Vt.; Y.C., 1835; And.T.S., '35–7; U.T.S., '37–8; And.T.S., '38; Ord. (Cong.) June 10, '40; Pas., Amherst, Mass., '40–'53; Pas., E. Hampton, Mass., '53——.

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ROBERT RANSOM KELLOGG; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1835; Aub.T.S., '35–6; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 5, '38; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '39; Pas., Romeo, Mich., '40–8; Pas., Detroit, Mich., '48–'53; D. Sec., A. & F.C.U., Detroit, Mich., '53–5; Pas., Leroy, N.Y., '55–7; Pas., Lima, N.Y., '57–9; W.C., Elizabeth, N.J., '60; Pas., Milford, Pa., '61——.

*JAMES B. TOWNSEND; Pa.; U.C., 1835; Aub.T.S., '35–7; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Presb.) '40; S.S., Paris and Florida, Mo., '42–4; Pas., St. Louis, Mo., '45–'50; Pas., Cincinnati, O., '51–3; W.C., do., '54; W.C., St. Louis, Mo., '55–7; W.C., Bloomington, Ill., '57–'61. Died, do., '64, æt. 54. 3.

1839.

LUTHER HORN ANGIER; Mass.; A.C., 1833; U.T.S., '36–9; Ord. (Presb.) March 4, '40; Pas., Buffalo, N.Y., '40–5; S.S., Port Gibson, Miss., '47–8; Pas. (Cong.) Concord, Mass., '50–8; S.S., South-Malden, Mass., '59–'61; S. S., Sandwich, Mass., '63–4; Pas., Rockport, Mass., '64——.

WILLIAM BELDEN; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1835; U.T.S., '36–9; Res. Lic., '39–'40; Ord. (Presb.) '40; Pas., Newark, N.J., '40–2; S.S., Milford, Pa., '43–4; Tea., N. York City, '45——.

WILLIAM BUSH BOND; Mass.; A.C., 1835; L.T.S., '36–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 18, '40; Pas., Lee, Mass., '40–5; W.C., Stockbridge, Mass., '46–7; Pas., St. Johnsbury, Vt., '47–'58.

*JOSIAH ADDISON CARY; Mass.; A.C., 1832; U.T.S., '36–9; Res. Lic., '39–'43; Ord. (Presb.) May 13, '44; Prof., D. & D. Inst., N. York City, '32–'51; S.S. (R.D.) do.,'51; Principal, D. & D.I., Columbus, O., '51–2.½ Died, do., Jan. 7, '52, æt. 39.

CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN; Mass.; B.U., 1836; And.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Cong.) July 8, '42; H. M., Ohio & Ind., '39–'41; Pas., Berkley, Mass., '42–4; S.S., Freetown, Mass., '45–7; S.S., Mendon, Mass., '47–'50; Pas., Auburn, Mass., '50–3; Pas., Ashford, Ct., '53–7; Pas., Eastford, Ct., '58——.

PHILEMON ELMER COE; N.J.; C.N.J., 1834; P.T.S., '34–6; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (P. Ep.) June 30, '43; Rec., Hammondsport, N.Y., '44; H.M., Medina & Royalton, N.Y., '45–'50; H.M., Stafford, N.Y., '50–1; H.M., Plainfield & Scotch Plains, N.J., '51–9; H.M., West-field, N.J., '59——.

CORNELIUS STADGE CONKLING; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1836; U.T.S., '36–9; Res. Lic., '39–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 7, '40; Pas., Boonton, N.J., '40–4; S.S., West-Milford, N.J., '44–6; Pas., Mt. Pleasant, N.J., '46——.

JAMES SAMUEL EVANS; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1836; U.T.S., '36–9; Res. Lic., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) June 12, '44; Tea., N. York City, '39–'43; Pas., Middletown (L.I.) N.Y., '44–9; Pas., Setauket (L.I.) N.Y., '50——. D.D., U.N.Y., '57.

SAMUEL WARE FISHER; N.J.; Y.C., 1835; P.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '39; Pas., Bloomfield, N.J., '39–'43; Pas., Albany, N.Y., '43–7; Pas., Cincinnati, O., '47–'58; Prest., H.C., Clinton, N.Y., '58——. Mod., Gen. Assem., '57; D.D., Mi.U., '52.

ALEXANDER GULICK; N.Y.C.; P.T.S., 1836–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. '41; Pas., Mt. Pleasant, Greenville, & Union, O., '41–6; Pas. (R.D.) Woodstock, N.Y., '48–'53; Pas., W. Hurley, N.Y., '53–9; W.C. (Presb.) Woodstock, N.Y., '59——.

JOHN G. HALL; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1836; U.T.S., '36–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 29, '39; Pas., New-Lebanon, N.Y., '39–'42; Pas., S. Egremont, Mass., '42–'50; Pas., Cherry Valley, N.Y., '50–7; S.S. (R.D.) Fort Plain, N.Y., '57–'63; S.S. (Presb.) Freedom, O., '63. Address, Ravenna, Ohio.

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*James Hildreth; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1837–9; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 10, '40; Pas., Haverstraw, N.Y., '40–7; U.S.A., '47–9; S.S., Davenport, Io., '49–'50; Died, Savannah, Ill., July 20, '51, æt. 39.

Isaac Farwell Holton; Vt.; A.C., 1836; U.T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Presb.) '59; Tea., N. York City, '39–'45; S.S., Meredith Bridge, N.H., '55–6; Prof., M.C., '56–7; S.S., Lawrence, Ill., '58–'61; S.S., Alden, Ill., '61–2; S.S., Hill's Grove, Ill., '62–4; Ed., Boston, Mass., '65——.

*James Shepherd Judd; N.Y.; O.I., 1837; U.T.S., '37–9; S.S., Bridgewater, N.Y., '40; Inv., Warrensburgh, N.Y., '40–5; Died, do., Jan. 8, '45, æt. 33.

Charles Kenmore; N.Y.C.; O.I., 1837; U.T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Presb.) '41; S.S., Kendall & Carlton, N.Y., '41–2; S.S., Churchville, N.Y., '42–3; S.S., Holland & Colden, N.Y., '46–8; S.S., Milton, N.Y., '48–9; S.S., Covington & Blossburgh, Pa., '49–'50; S.S., Andover, N.Y., '51–3; S.S., Rose, N.Y., '54–5; S.S., Weston, N.Y., '55–6; S.S., Dyersville, Io., '57; S.S., Mt. Vernon, Ill., '57–8; Inv., Monticello, Miss., '58——

Jeremiah Skidmore Lord; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1836; U.T.S., '36–9; Ord. (R.D.) Aug. 20, '39; Res. Grad., '39–'40; Pas., Montville, N.J., '39–'43; Pas., Griggstown, N.J., '43–7, Pas., Harlem, N.Y., '48——. D.D., U.N.Y., '59.

Daniel Elston Megie; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1836–9; Res. Lic., '39–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 17, '40; Pas., Succasunna, N.J., '40–4; Pas., Boonton, N.J., '44——.

Benjamin Gilbert Riley; N.Y.; W.C., 1834; And.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 25, '40; Pas., Hartwick, N.Y., '40–2; Pas., Livonia, N.Y., '43–'55; Tea., Lima, N.Y., '55; S.S., Horseheads, N.Y., '56–7; S.S., Lodi, Wis., '57–'63; S.S., Berlin, Wis., '63–4; S.M., Lodi, Wis., '64——.

Joseph Addison Saxton; Ct.; U.N.Y., 1835; N.H.T.S., '36–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Presb.) June 7, '43; Pas., Greenport (L.I.) N.Y., '43–5; S.S., New-River Parish, Ascension, La., '46–9; S.S., Plymouth, Ct., '50–2; S.S., Fire-Place (L.I.) N.Y., '52–4; Tea., N. York City, '54–6; Tea., Norwich Town, Ct., '57——.

*Peter Snyder; N.Y.; U.C., 1836; P.T.S., '36–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Presb.) April, '40; S.S., Whippany, N.J., '40–2; S.S., New-Rochelle, N.Y., '42–4; Pas., Cairo, N.Y., '44–8; Pas., Watertown, N.Y., '48–'63; Died, do., Dec. 13, '63, æt. 49.

Francis Warriner; Mass.; A.C., 1830; U.T.S., '39; Res. Lic., '39–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 26, '41; Pas., Chester, Mass., '41–7; W.C., Waterford, Vt., '48–'54; Pas., do., '54–'60; S.S., Chester Center, Mass., '60——. 21.

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*John Edward Farwell; Mass.; A.C., 1836; And.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–8; And. T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 30, '39; Pas., Rochester, N.H., '43–'51; Tem. Sup., var. places, '51–8; Died, Fitchburgh, Mass., Dec. 24, '58, æt. 49.

Barnabas Maynard Fay; Mass.; Y.C., 1833; Prof., D. & D.I., N. York City, '33–8; U.T.S., '36–8; Ord. (Cong.) May 20, '40; Pas., Hardwick, Mass., '40–2; Tea., Elizabeth, N.J., '43–4; Pas., Wilmington, Mass., '45–'50; Prof. Blind Asylum, Indianapolis, Ind., '50–4; Prof., D. & D.I., Flint, Mich., '54–'64; W.C., Saginaw, Mich., 64——.

Jared Ware Fox; N.Y.; O.I., 1837; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Cong.) Oct., '39; S.S. & Evang., W.N.Y., '39–'60; Pas., Burlingame, & S.S., Ridgeway, Kan., '61——. Address, Ridgeway, Kan.

Horace Fraser; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1837; U.T.S., '36–7; Aub.T.S., '38–40; Ord. (Presb.) '42; S,S., Branchport, N.Y., '42–7; S.S., Angelica,

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N.Y., '47–9; S.S., Branchport, N.Y., '49–'52; S.S., La Fayette, N.Y., '54–6; S.S., Canoga, N.Y., '57–9; W.C., do., '59–'63; S.S., Varick, N.Y., '64——.

Oris Fraser; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1837; U.T.S., '36–7; Aub.T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Presb.) Feb., '41; S.S. & Pas., Bath, N.Y., '39–'43; S.S., Springfield & Brooklyn, Pa., '44–7; S.S., Rocky Stream & Eddytown, N.Y., '48–'62; W.C., Florida, N.Y., '63——.

*Jeremiah Jay Greenough; Mass.; D.C., 1828; U.T.S., '36–8; Died, '60, æt. 52.

Joseph Haven; Mass.; A.C., 1833; U.T.S., '36–7; And. T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov., '39; Pas., Unionville, Mass., '39–'46; Pas., Brookline, Mass., '47–'50; Prof., A.C., '51–8; Prof., C.T.S., Chicago, Ill., '58——. D.D., Ma. C., '59, & A.C., '63.

*Jedidiah Vincent Huntington; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1835; U.T.S., '36–7; Ord. (P.Ep.) Feb. 24, '42; S.S., Middlebury, Vt., '40; Trav., Europe, '42–9; Ed. (R.C.) Baltimore, Md., & St. Louis, Mo., '49–'56; N. York City, '56–'61; Died, Pau, France, '62, æt. 47.

*Samuel Moseley; Mass.; Y.C., 1836; N.H.T.S., '36–7; U.T.S., '37–8; N.H.T.S., '38–9; Agent, Ct.; Died, Ct., '45, æt. 35.

Charles Chauncy Shackford; N.H.; Har. C., 1835; U.T.S., '37–8; Ord. (Cong.) May 19, '41; Pas., South-Boston, Mass., '41–3; W.C., Burlington, Io., '44–6; Pas. (Unit.) Lynn, Mass., '46–'64; Tea., Boston, Mass., '65——.

*Ransom Taylor; R.I.; U.N.Y., 1835; Prof., D. & D.I., N. York City, '35–7; U.T.S., '36–8; Died, Augusta., Ga., Feb. 4, '38, æt. 31. 11.

1840.

Erasmus James Boyd; N.Y.; H.C., 1837; L.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 3, '42; S.S. & Pas., Brooklyn, Mich., '40–'50; Tea., Monroe, Mich., '50——.

Charles Peck Bush; N.Y.; N.H.T.S., 1837–9; U.T.S., '39–'40; Res. Lic., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 15, '41; Pas., N. York City, '41–5; Pas. (Cong.) Norwich, Ct., '46–'56; Ed. & S.S., Chicago, Ill., '56; Pas. (Presb.) Beloit, Wis., '57–9; D. Sec., A.T.S. of B., N. York City, '60–3; D. Sec., A.B.C.F.M., Rochester, N.Y., '63——.

Edward Fowler Dickinson; Mass.; U.C., 1837; And.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–'40; Res. Lic., '40–1; Ord. (Cong.) May 17, '43; S.S., Conneaut, O., '43–'54; C.M., Chicago, Ill., '54——.

George Duffield, Jr.; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1837; U.T.S., '37–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 27, '40; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '40–7; Pas., Bloomfield, N.J., '47–'52; Pas., Philadelphia, Pa., '52–'60; Pas., Adrian, Mich., '60–5; Pas., Galesburgh, Ill., '65——.

Chester Fitch; Mass.; W.C., 1834; U.T.S., '37–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 27, '41; Pas., New-Marlboro', Mass., '41–'52; Pas., Binghamton, N.Y., '53–8; Pas. (Presb.) N. York Mills, N.Y., '58——.

Josiah Leonard; N.Y.; U.C., 1837; U.T.S., '37–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. '40; Pas., Mexicoville, N.Y., '40–2; Pas., Oswego, N.Y., '42–5; Pas., Delhi, N.Y., '45–8; Pas., Malden, N.Y., '48–'56; Pas., Fulton, Ill., '56——.

*Francis E. Lord; N.Y.; U.C., 1837; P.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 27, '42; S.S., Evans, N.Y., '41–2; Pas., Walworth, N.Y., '42–5; S.S. & Pas., Wayne, O., '45–'51; Pas. (Cong.) Olivet, Mich., '52–5; Died. do., '55, æt. 44.

Hiram Slauson; N.Y.; U.C., 1837; U.T.S., '37–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 17, '40; Pas., Whitehall, N.Y., '40–2; Pas. (R.D.) Northumberland,

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N.Y., '44–'52; Pas., Deer Park, N.Y., '52–7; S.S., Whitehall, N.Y., '57–9; Pas., New-Salem & Clarksville, N.Y., '59——. Address, New-Salem, N.Y.

*James M. Smith; N.Y.C.; M.D., N.Y., 1832; P.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–'40; Ord. (Presb.) '39; Pas., Upper Ten-Mile Creek & Mt. Nebo, Pa., '39–'43; S.S., Bethlehem & North-Branch, Pa., '43–4; Pas., Tarentum, Pa., '44–'53; W.C., Grand Spring, Wis., '53–4; Died, do., '54, æt. 44.

George Palmer Tyler; Vt.; Y.C., 1836; U.T.S., '37–'40; Res. Lic., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 13, '41; Pas., Lowville, N.Y., '41–'53; Pas. (Cong.) Battleboro, Vt., '53——. D.D., M.C., '64.

Edmund Freeman Waldo; N.Y.; A.C., 1837; U.T.S., '37–'40; Ord. (Presb.) Feb., '42; S.S., Huron, N.Y., '41–5; S.S., Allegan, Mich., '45–9; S.S., Wayland, Mich., '49–'52; S.S., Dowagiac, Mich., '52–6; S.S., Rochester, Mich., '56–7; S.S., Palmyra, Wis., '57–8; S.S., Jefferson, Wis., '58–'63; S.S., Pardeeville, Wis., '63–4; S.S., Byron, Mich., '65——.

*Francis Chandler Woodworth; Ct.; O.I., 1837; U.T.S., '37–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 28, '40; Pas., Fair Haven, Vt., '40–2; Pas., S. Norwalk, Ct., '42–4; Ed., N. York City, '45–'59; Died, do., June 5, '59, æt. 46. 12.

David Ely Bartlett; Ct.; Y.C., 1828; U.T.S., '37–8; Prin. D. & D.I., Va., '38–'40; Prof., D. & D.I., N. York City, '41–'53; Tea., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '53–5; Prof., D. & D.I., Hartford, Ct., '56——.

Elias Clark; Ct.; U.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–9; N.H.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 7, '51; H.M., Franklin, O., '49–'51; Pas., Egremont, Mass., '51–4; S.S., Rochester, Minn., '57–'60; S.S. Bellevue, Io., '61–4; S.S., Ottumwa, Io., '64——.

Robert Crawford, N.Y.C.; W.C., 1836; P.T.S., '36–7; Tut., W.C., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Res. Lic., '39–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 20, '40; Pas., North-Adams, Mass., '40–'55; Pas. (Presb.) Phila., Pa., '55–7; Pas. (Cong.) Deerfield, Mass., '58——. D.D., J.C., '58.

William Hall, Jr.; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1835; U.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 20, '48; Pas., Ludlow, Mass., '48——

Stedman Wright Hanks; Ct.; A.C., 1837; N.H.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 20, '40; Pas., Lowell, Mass., '40–'53; D. Sec., S.F.S., Boston, Mass., '53——.

Edwin H. Hawley; N.Y.; U.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–9; N.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Bap.) '41; Pas., Bedford, O., '41——

*Henry H. Loomis; N.Y.; U.C., 1837; T.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; N.H.T.S., '39–'40; Died, Fulton, N.Y., Sept. 23, '41, æt. 28.

*Hezekiah H. Loomis; N.Y.; U.C., 1837; T.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; N.H.T.S., '39–'40; S.S., Lockport, N.Y., '40–1; Died, Cazenovia, N.Y., Jan. 6, '42, æt. 29.

Charles Backus McLean; Ct.; Y.C., 1836; And. T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 7, '44; Pas., Collinsville, Ct., '44——.

Matthew Meigs; N.Y.; U.C., 1836; U.T.S., '37–9; Prof., U.M., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '42; Pas., Pontiac, Mich., '43–4; Tea., Winchester, Va., '44–6; Prof., Del. C., '46–'50; Prest., do., '50–1; Tea., Pottstown, Pa., '51——.

Robert Curtis Mills; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1837; U.T.S., '37–'40; N.T.S., '40; Res. Lic., U.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Bap.) March 17, '42; Pas., Colchester, Ct., '41–5; Pas., Springfield, Mass., '45–8; Pas., Salem, Mass., '48——. D.D., B.U., '61.

*Alexander Montgomery; N.Y.; A.C., 1837; And.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Ord. (Cong.) Aug., '39; Pas. (Presb.) Maysville, N.Y., '40–2;

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Ag., Chicago, Ill., '53–'61; Ag., Beloit, Wis., '57–8; Died, Beaver Dam, Wis., Feb. 18, '59, æt. 50.

JONAH DE FOREST RICHARDS; Vt.; D.C., 1836; L.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; And. T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Cong.) May 28, '41; Pas., Charlestown, N.H., '41–'53; Pas., Chester, Vt., '53–7; S.S., Weathersfield, Vt., '58–'62; W.C., Monroe, Mich, '63——.

GEORGE WASHINGTON SCHUYLER; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1837–8.

*JACKSON SMITH; N.J.; U.N.Y., 1836; U.T.S., '36–8, '9–'40; N.T.S., '40; Ord. (Bap.) '41; Pas., Lyons' Farms, N.J., '41–5; Pas., Penn's Neck, N.J., '46–8; Died, Middletown, N.J., '48, æt. 32.

JAMES WASHINGTON WOOD; N.Y.; L.F.C., 1837; U.T.S., '37–9; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 11, '39; Pas., Deckertown, N.J., '39–'45; Pas., Chester, N.Y., '45–'62; W.C., Easton, Pa., '62–5; Pas., Allentown, Pa., '65——. 16.

1841.

ERASTUS SMITH BARNES; N.Y.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 29, '41; Pas., Martinsburgh, N.Y., '41–7; Pas., Chazy, N.Y., '47–'51; Pas., Booneville, N.Y., '51–6; S.S., Lyons' Falls & Port Leyden, N.Y., '56–9; Pas. (Cong.) Munnsville, N.Y., '59——.

JESSE KENDALL BRAGG; Mass.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 19, '42; Pas., Middleboro', Mass., '42–'52; Pas., Brookfield, Mass., '52–9; S.S., Sandwich, Mass., '61–2.

JOHN LIDDEL CHAPMAN; N.J.; U.T.S., 1838–'41; Ord. (R.D.) Nov. 16, '42; Pas., Clintonville, N.J., '42–9; Tea., do., '49–'64; S.S., Irving, Kan., '64——.

*HERVEY SMITH DALE; Mass.; B.U., 1834; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Bap.) '41; Pas., Newport, O., '41–'51; Pas., Lebanon, O., '52–6; Ag. W.B. Ed. Soc., Cincinnati, O., '56–7; Died, do., '57, æt. 45.

JOSIAH GARDNER DAVIS; Mass.; Y.C., 1836; And. T.S., '38–9; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Cong.) May 22, '44; Pas., Amherst, N.H., '44——.

GEORGE GEMMEL; N.Y.; O.I., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 6, '42; S.S., Buffalo Grove & Grand Detour, Ill., '41–3; S.S., Byron, Ill., '43–'58; S.S., Spring Grove, Io., '58–9; W.C., Quasqueton, Io., '59——.

JAMES L. S. GRANDIN; N.J.; U.T.S., 1838–'41; Ord. (M.E.) Aug. 23, '46; Pas., Angelica, N.Y., '41–2; Pas., Westfield, N.Y., '43–4; Pas., Tioga, N.Y., '44–5; Pas., Southport & Jackson, N.Y., '45–6; Pas., Springfield, N.Y., '47–8; Pas., Loyalsock, Pa., '48–'50; Pas., Bethel, N.Y., '50–1; Pas., Henrietta, N.Y., '51–2; Pas., Canadice, N.Y., '52–4; Pas., Groveland, N.Y., '54–5; Pas., Ridge, N.Y., '55–7; Pas., Coke's Chapel & Bristol, N.Y., '57–8; Pas., Springwater, N.Y., '58–60; Pas., Enfield, N.Y., '60–2; Pas., Orange, N.Y., '62–3; Pas., Baldwin, N.Y., '63–5.

MILO JUDSON HICKOK; Vt.; M.C., 1835; Prof. Del. C., '35–8; U.T.S., '38–'41; Tut., M.C., '40; Ord. (Cong.) May 4, '42; Tut., Ma. C., & Pas., Harmar, O., '42–4; S.S. (Presb.) Utica, N.Y., '44–5; Pas., Rochester, N.Y., '45–'54; S.S., Montreal, C.E., '54–5; Pas., Scranton, Pa., '55——. D.D., C.N.J., '61.

SILAS JESSUP; N.Y.; Wab. C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Presb.) '44; S.S., Oregon City, Ill., '42–3; S.S., Albany, Ill., '43–5; S.S., Elkhorn Grove, Ill., '46–'55; S.S., East Paw Paw, Ill., '55–7; Inv., Rockton, Ill., '58——.

JOHN MILLS JOHNSON; N.J.; C.N.J., 1835; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 19, '41; Pas., Hanover, N.J., '41–9; Inv., Morristown, N.J., '49–'55; Pas., Hanover, N.J., '55——.

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*Timothy W. Lester; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1838–'41; Ag., U.T.S., N. York City, '41–3; Died, Chester, N.Y., Ap. 4, '43, æt. 33.

Michael Frederick Liebenau; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 28, '41; Pas., New-Paltz Landing (now Highlands) N.Y., '41–6; Pas., Paterson, N.J., '46–9; Pas., Highlands, N.Y., '50——.

William Andrew Mandell; Mass.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 21, '42; Pas., Bridgeton, N.J., '42–4; C.M., Phila., Pa., '44–5; Pas., Dartmouth, Mass., '46–'54; Pas., Lunenburgh, Mass., '56–'65. W.C., do., '65——.

James McChain; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 18, '43; Pas., Franklin, N.Y., '43–5; Pas., Abingdon, Va., '46——.

Miles Tomlinson Merwin; Ct.; Y.C., 1828; U.T.S., '39–'41; P.T.S., '41–2; Ord. (Presb.) '46; S.S., Erie Co., Pa., '42–5; Pas., Irvine, & S.S., Sugar Grove, Pa., '45–9; Pas. & S.S., Clearfield, Pike & Bradford, Pa., '49–'54; S.S., Toms River, N.J., '54–5; W.C., Marianna, Fla., '55–7; W.C., New-Haven, Ct., '57–8; W.C., & S.S., Phila., Pa., '58——.

*George Monilaws; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 10, '42; S.S., Somers, N.Y., '42–5; S.S., Apalachicola, Fla., '46–7; Pas., Somers, N.Y., '47–8; Died, do., Ap. 6, '48, æt. 34.

Joseph Henry Myers; N.Y.; U. Vt., 1837; U.T.S., '38–'41; Ord. (Cong.) Oct., '43; S.S. & Pas., East-Poultney, Vt., '42–6; Pas., Knoxville, Tenn., '47–'51; Prof., U.E.T., '49–'51; S.S., St. Augustine, Fla., '52–7; S.S., Plainfield, N.J., '57–9; S.S., St. Augustine, Fla., '59–'61; Tea., Monticello, Miss., '61–4; Tea., Savannah, Ga., '64–5; Tea., Bergen Point, N.J., '65——. D.D., U. Vt., '58.

Joel Edson Rockwell; N.Y.; A.C., 1837; U.T.S., '37–8, '9–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 13, '41; Pas., Valatie, N.Y., '41–7; Pas., Wilmington, Del., '47–'51; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '51——. D.D., Jef. Col., '59.

Alexander Trotter; N.Y.; O.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Presb.) July 11, '43; S.S., Battle Creek, Mich., '43–6; Ag., A.P.S., '47–'50; S.S., Hunter, N.Y., '51–5; Pas., Centreville, N.Y., '55–8; Pas., Livingstonville, N.Y., '58–'63; Pas., Vassar, Mich., '63——.

Horace Winslow; N.Y.; U.C., 1841; Aub.T.S., '38–'40; U.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) May 28, '42; Pas., New-Windsor, N.Y., '42–3; Pas., Lansingburgh, N.Y., '43–5; Pas. (Cong.) Rockville, Ct., '45–'52; Pas., New-Britain, Ct., '52–8; Pas., Great Barrington, Mass., '58–'62; Ch., U.S.A., '62; Pas., Binghamton, N.Y., '63——. 20.

Robert Atkinson; Ireland; M.D., Dublin, 1833; U.T.S., '38–'40.

Hermann Bokum; Russia; Ger.Tea., Har.C., 1835–8; U.T.S., '38–'40; Ord. (Ger. Ref.) '40; Pas., Columbia, Pa., —; Ch., Phila., Pa., '63——.

Moses Woodruff Dodd; N.J.; C.N.J., 1837; P.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '38–9; Publisher, N. York City, '39——.

*James Drummond; Me.; B.C., 1836; Tea., '36–8; U.T.S., '38–9; B.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 12, '42; S.S. & Pas., Lewiston Falls, Me., '42–'58; Pas., Springfield, Mass., '58–'61; Died, Lynn, Mass., Nov. 29, '61, æt. 46.

Justin Field; Mass.; A.C., 1835; U.T.S., '38–9; And.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (P.E.); W.C., Roxbury, Mass., '43–5; Rec., Stockbridge, Mass., '46–'50; Rec., Great Barrington, Mass., '50–2½; Rec., Medford, Mass., '52–'62; Rec., Lenox, Mass., '63——.

Stephen Symonds Foster; N.H.; D.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–9; Anti-Slavery Lecturer. Address, Canterbury, N.H.

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HENRY LAURENS HAMMOND; Mich.; O.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'40; And. T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 8, '41; S.S., Kingston, Mass., '41–2; S.S., Homer, Mich., '42–4; S.S., Detroit, Mich., '44–7; S.S., Morrisville, N.Y., '48–'51; Pas., Grand Rapids, Mich., '51–6; Ed., Chicago, Ill., '57–'61; S.S., Princeton, Ill., '61–2; Ag., Chicago, Ill., '62——.

*WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MEIGS HAND; Ct.; W.U., 1836; U.T.S., '38–9; Died, Middletown, Ct., May 16, '39, æt. 22.

JAMES S. H. HENDERSON; Md.; U.T.S., 1838–9; P.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 18, '41; S.S., Smyrna, Tenn., '41–3; S.S., Augusta, Ky., '44–9; S.S. & Pas., Big Spring, Pa., '51–'62; S.S., Middlebrook, Md., '63——.

THOMAS DAVID HOOVER; D.C.; Cn. C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'40; P.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) '41; S.S. & Pas., Harper's Ferry, Va., '41–5; Tea., Darien, Ga., '45–9; W.C., N. York City, '50–2; Tea., Princeton, N.J., '53–7; Pas., Cranberry, N.J., '57——.

CHARLES KELLOGG; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; And. T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 10, '41; S.S., Richmond, Mich., '41–6; S.S., Almont, Mich., '46–'56; Trade, Detroit, Mich., '57——.

ANSON MCLOUD; Ct.; Y.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'40; P.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 8, '41; Pas., Topsfield, Mass., '41——.

*JONATHAN BRYAN MARSHALL; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–9; Died, '61, æt. 44.

JOSHUA LELAND MAYNARD; Ct.; U.T.S., 1839–'40; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 14, '41; Pas., Cornwall, Ct., '41–'52; Pas., E. Douglas, Mass., '52–'64; Pas., Plainfield, Ct., '64–5; Pas., Williston, Vt., '65——.

OLIVER WILLIAM NORTON; U.T.S., 1838–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 10, '40; S.S., Angelica, N.Y., '39–'40; S.S., Castile, N.Y., '40–2; S.S. (Presb.) Rockford, Ill., '40–4; S.S., Roscoe, Ill., '44; S.S., Sycamore, Ill., '47; S.S., Jefferson, Wis., '48–9; C.M., N. York City, '50; S.S., Ashville, N.Y., '51; S.S., Stanhope, N.J., '52–3; S.S., Ararat & Gibson, Pa., '54–6; S.S., Springfield, Pa., '59–'60; S.S., Brooklyn, Mich., '62–5; S.S., Somerset, Mich., '65——.

CHARLES MOSES OAKLEY; N.J.; U.T.S., 1838–9; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 25, '41; S.S., Nyack, N.Y., '41–2; Pas., Millville, N.J., '43–6; Pas., N. Germantown, N.J., '47–'51; S.S., Farmingdale (L.I.) N.Y., '53——.

WHITMAN PECK; Ct.; Y.C., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'40; And. T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 23, '44; S.S., Erving & S. Orange, Mass., '41–2; Pas., Genoa, N.Y., '41–9; S.S., North-Branford, Ct., '51–3; W.C., Greenwich, Ct., '54–'61; Tea., Ridgefield, Ct., '62–4; Tea., Fishkill, N.Y., '65——.

JOHN D. PERRYMAN; Tenn.; N.U., 1835; U.T.S., '38–'40; Ord. (Cum. Presb.)

FRANKLIN AUGUSTUS SPENCER; N.Y.; O.I., 1838; U.T.S., '38–'40; Ord. (Presb.) June 8, '42; Pas., Westmoreland, N.Y., '41–'53; Pas. (Cong.) New-Hartford, Ct., '53–'63; Pas., Terryville, Ct., '63–5; S.S. (Presb.) Fulton, N.Y., '65——.

FRANCIS WILLIAM UPHAM; N.H.; B.C., 1837; U.T.S., '38–'41; Phys., N. York City.

LORIN VERY; Pa.; U.N.Y., 1838; U.T.S., '38–9; Tea., N. York City. 21.

1842.

JAMES AIKEN; N.H.; D.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 30, '43; Pas., Hollis, N.H., '43–8; Pas., Gloucester, Mass., '48–'52; Pas., Putney, Vt., '54–8; Pas., Hanover, Mass., '58——.

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JAMES MAC WHORTER BRUEN; Pa.; U. Pa., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) July 1, '45; S.S., New-Brunswick, N.J., '44–5; Pas., New-Windsor, N.Y., '45–8; W.C., Newark, N.J., '48–9; S.S. & Pas. (R.D.) Clintonville, N.J., '49–'52; W.C., Irvington, N.J., '52——.

CHARLES HENRY AUGUSTUS BULKLEY; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 17, '42; Pas., N. Brunswick, N.J., '42–3; H.M., Wis., '43–5; Pas., Mt. Morris, N.Y., '47–'50; S.S. (R.D.) Ithaca, N.Y., '50–2; S.S. (Cong.) Winsted, Ct., '53–8; Pas., Paterson, N.J., '59–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–3; Pas., Owego, N.Y., '65——.

*ABEL BENJAMIN BURKE; N.H.; D.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'42; S.S., Jacksonville, Fla., '42–6; Tea., Alexander, Ga., '46–7; Died, do., May, '47, æt. 30.

AARON LUCIUS CHAPIN; Ct.; Y.C., 1837; Tea., Baltimore, Md., '37–8; Prof., D. & D.I., N.Y., & U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 24, '44; Pas., Milwaukee, Wis., '44–'50; Prest., Bel. C., Beloit, Wis., '50——. D.D., W.C., '53.

CHARLES FREDERICK DIVER; Pa.; J.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 22, '44; Pas., Providence, Pa., '44–7; S.S., Hublersburgh & Spring Mills, Pa., '47–'51; Pas., Waterford, Pa., '51–2; Pas., Cedarville, N.J., '52–'61; W.C., do., '61——.

HORACE EATON; N.H.; D.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) June 21, '43; Pas., N. York City, '43–9; Pas., Palmyra, N.Y., '49——.

CHARLES GILLETTE; N.Y.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Res. Lic., '42–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 26, '45; Pas., Granville, N.Y., '45–7; Pas., Fort Covington, N.Y., '47–'58; Pas., Milford, N.Y., '58——.

BENJAMIN MORE GOLDSMITH; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 25, '45; S.S., Southport, N.Y., '42–5; Pas., do., '45–9; Pas., Benton, N.Y., '49——.

EDWARD HOPPER; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '43; Pas., Greenville, N.Y., '42–'51; Pas., Sag Harbor (L.I.) N.Y., '52–8; W.C., N. York City, '59–'64; S.S., Plainfield, N.J., '65——.

WILLARD MINOR HOYT; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–42; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 9, '43; Pas., Nineveh, N.Y., '43——.

CHARLES KENDALL; Mass.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 24, '44; Pas., Bernardston, Mass., '44–'54; S.S., S. Royalston, Mass., '54–6; S.S., Petersham, Mass., '56–'60; S.S., Auburn, Mass., '60——.

DANIEL DECIUS TOMPKINS MCLAUGHLIN; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1834; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 16, '46; S.S., New-Windsor, N.Y., '43–4; S.S., Somers, N.Y., '45–6, '48–'56; Pas., Sharon, Ct., '59–'65; W.C., do., '65——.

WILLIAM WESTON PATTON; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 18, '43; Pas., Boston, Mass., '43–5; Pas., Hartford, Ct., '46–'57; Pas., Chicago, Ill., '57——. D.D., I.A.U., '63.

JOSEPH PECKHAM; Mass.; A.C., 1837; And.T.S., '37–8; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 30, '42; Pas., Kingston, Mass., '42–'56; H.M., Minnesota, '56–9; S.S., Clintonville, Mass., '59; S.S., Kingston, Mass., '60——.

JOHN WAINWRIGHT RAY; N.Y.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; Aub. T.S., '40–1; U.T.S., '41–2; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 16, '42; Pas., Glenn's Falls, N.Y., '42–5; S.S., Norwich, Ct., '45–6; As. Sec., A.E.S., N. York City, '46–7; S.S., Oswego, N.Y., '47–8; Pas., Clyde, N.Y., '48–9; Ag., A.TS., S. Ala., '49–'51; S.S., Danville, N.Y., '51–2; S.S., Plainfield, Mich., '52–3; Pas., Rockville, Ct., '53–5; S.S., Avon Springs, Minn., '55–7; Law, Kansas, '58——.

*MOSES ROBINSON; Vt.; M.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) '43; S.S., Livonia, Ind., '43–4; S.S., Brownston, Ind., '44–5; S.S., Westfield, O., '45–7; Pas., Enosburgh, Vt., '47–'51; S.S., Newport, Vt., '51–4;

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S.S., Iowa City, Io., '55; S.S., Waterloo, Io., '55–6; S.S., Steamboat Rock, Io., '56–'65; Died, do., Sept. 2, '65, æt. 50.

*Cyrus Egbert Rosenkrans; N.Y.; A.C., 1837; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 16, '43; Pas., Troy, Wis., '42–4; S.S., E. Troy, Wis., '44–9; Pas., Columbus, Wis., '49–'59; S.S., Otsego & Hampden, Wis., '59–'60: Died, Columbus, Wis., March 8, '61, æt. 52.

*Joseph Rosenkrans; N.Y.; U.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. Feb. 15, '43; Pas., Bethlehem, N.Y., '43–5; S.S., Newport, N.Y., '45–8; S.S., Dunnsville, N.Y., '49–'51; S.S., Martinsburgh, N.Y., '51–3; Pas., Onondaga Valley, N.Y., '52–6; Pas., Romulus, N.Y., '56–'61; S.S., Onondaga Valley, N.Y., '61–3; Died, do., June 19, '63, æt. 51.

*Henry Ostrander Schermerhorn; N Y.C.; U.T.S., 1839–'42; Res. Lic., '42–4; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 8, '45; S.S. & Pas., Ticonderoga, N.Y., '44–7; Tea., N.Y., '47–9; Pas. (Cong.) N. York City, '49–'54; Died, Utica, N.Y., Sept. 23, '54, æt. 36.

Raymond Hoyt Seely; Ct.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Res. Lic., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) July 5, '43; Pas., Bristol, Ct., '43–9; Pas., Springfield, Mass., '49–'58; Ch., Paris, France, '58–9; Pas., Haverhill, Mass., '60——. D.D., U.N.Y., '64.

Henry Seymour; Mass.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Cong.) March 1, '43; Pas., Deerfield, Mass., '43–9; Pas., Hawley, Mass., '49——.

Stephen Montfort Vail; N.Y.; B.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (M.E.) May, '46; Pas., Fishkill, N.Y., '42–4; Pas., Sharon, Ct., '44–6; Pas., Pine Plains, N.Y., '46–7; Prin. of Sem., Pennington, N.J., '47–9; Prof., Bib. Inst., Concord, N.H., '49——. D.D., G. C., '54.

Samuel Jessup White; N.Y.; W.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'42; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 9, '42; S.S., Yorktown, N.Y., '42–3; Pas., Franklin, N.Y., '43–'51; S.S., Cannonville, N.Y., '52–9; S.S., Gilbertsville, N.Y., '60——.

24.

*Abijah Pratt Beebe; N.Y.; O.I., 1837; U.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Presb.) May 2, '43; Pas., Oriskany, N.Y., '42–5; Inv., N.Y. Mills, N.Y., '45–8; do., Elgin, Ill., '48–9; Died, Rome, N.Y., Sept. 6, '49, æt. 36.

Allen Henry Brown; N.Y.C.; C.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; P.T.S., '40–2; Ord. (Presb.); Pas., May's Landing, N.J., '47–'60; H.M., Absecon, N.J., '60——.

Richard Abraham Chalker; Ct.; U.T.S., 1839–'40; Ord. (M.E.) June 15, '44; Pas., Amenia, N.Y., '40–1; Pas., Johnsville, N.Y., '41–2; Pas., Hyde Park & Milan, N.Y., '42–3; Pas., Farmington, Ct., '43–4; Pas., Hyde Park, N.Y., '44–6; Pas., Sing Sing, N.Y., '46–8; Pas., Peekskill, N.Y., '48–'50; Pas., Saugerties, N.Y., '50–1; Pas., N. York City, '51–3; Pas., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '53–4; Pas., Kingston, N.Y., '54–6; Pas., Chester, N.Y., '56–7; Pas., New-Brunswick, N.J., '57–9; Pas., Bordentown, N.J., '59–'61; Pas., Salem, N.J., '61–3; Pas., Pennington, N.J., '63–5; Pas., Mount Holly, N.J., '65——.

Ephraim Deyoe; N.Y.; U.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Ev. Lu.); Pas., German Valley, N.J.; Pas., Saddle River, N.J.

James Pinkerton Fisher; N.Y.; U.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–41; Ord. (Presb.) '45; S.S., Glen, N.Y., '45–6; S.S., West-Galway, N.Y., '46–7; Ag. A.B.C.F.M., Schenectady, N.Y., '47–'53; S.S. & Pas., Johnstown, N.Y., '53–'60; S.S., Buffalo, N.Y., '61–2; Ag. U.S.C.C., Wash. City, D.C., '64——.

Ashbel Fuller; Ct.; U.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'40; Tea., Kent, Ct., '40——.

William Osman Gorham; Mass.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39; Ord. (P. Ep.)

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*Alonzo Hayes; N.H.; D.C., 1839; U.T.S., '40–1; And. T.S., '41–2; Ord. (Cong.) May, '43; Pas., W. Barnstable, Mass., '43–'50; Pas., Dublin, N.H., '51–2; Died, do., '52, aet. 41.

William P. Hotchkiss; N.Y.; O.I., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Cong.) May 11,'43; S.S., Concord, Mich.,'41–3; S.S., Centerville, Mich.,'43–4.

Timothy Bloomfield Jervis; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1840–1; Aub.T.S.,'41–2; U.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Presb.) July 12, '43; S.S., Oriskany, N.Y., '44–5; S.S., Unadilla, N.Y., '45–6; Pas., Richfield Spa, N.Y., '47–'53; S.S., Oakfield, N.Y., '53–5; S.S., Newport, N.Y., '56–9; S.S., Oriskany, N.Y., '59–'64; S.S., Burr Oak, Mich., '65——.

William M. Jones; N.Y.C.; M.D., 1828; U.T.S., '41.

John W. Lane; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1839–'40; Ord. (Presb.) '42; S.S. Wilson, N.Y., '42–4; S.S., Pembroke, N.Y., '50–3; S.S., Centerville, N.Y. '54–'61; S.S., Bethany, N.Y., '61–2; S.S., Centerville, N.Y., '62–4.

John Wesley Lindsay; N.Y.C.; W.U., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (M.E.) May 15, '46; Pas., New-Paltz & Plattekill, N.Y., '43–5; Pas., Lenox, Mass., '45–7; Tut., W.U., '47–8; Prof., W.U., '48–'60; Pas., N. York City, '60–5; Prest., G.C., Lima, N.Y., '65——. D.D., W.U., '63.

Gilbert Hamilton Littlejohn; Mich.; O.I., 1839; U.T.S., '40–1; Trade, Whitesboro, N.Y.; do., N. York City; R.R.Sup., Cleveland, O.; do., Ill., '54——.

Charles Eliphalet Lord; Me.; D.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'41; N.H.T.S., '41–2; Ord. (Presb.) May 8, '44; Pas., Niles, Mich., '44–7; S.S., Evansville, Ind., '48–9: S.S. (Cong.) Stratham & New-Market, N.H., '50–2; S.S., Westbrook & C. Elizth., Me., '53–6; Pas., Mt. Vernon, N.H., '58–'61; Pas., South-Easton, Mass., '63——.

Chester Smith Lyman; Ct; Y.C., 1837; Tea., Ellington, Ct., '38–9; U.T.S., '39–'40; N.H.T.S., '40–2; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 15, '43; Pas., New-Britain, Ct., '43–5; Inv., Sand. Islds., '45–6; Inv., Cal., '47–'50; Lit., New-Haven, Ct., '50–8; Prof., Y.C., New-Haven, Ct., '58——.

William Mulford Martin; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1837; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Presb.) '52; Pas., Woodbridge, N.J., '52–'63; S.S., Columbia, Cal., '63–4; Pas., Virginia City, Nev., '64——.

Joseph Pennell; Me.; B.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39.

Frederick Trenck Perkins; N.H.; Y.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; N.H.T.S., '40–2; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 11, '43; Pas., E. Cambridge, Mass., '43–'51; Pas., Manchester, Ct., '51–6; Pas., Williamsburgh, Mass., '57–'60; Pas., Galesburgh, Ill., '60——.

John Hancock Pettingell; N.Y.; Y.C., 1837; Prof., D. & D.I., N.Y., '37–'43; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 6, '43; S.S., South-Dennis, Mass., '43–9; Pas., Saybrook, Ct., '49–'50; D. Sec. A.B.C.F.M., Albany, N.Y., '53–6; Trav., Europe and Asia, '56–7; D. Sec. A.B.C.F.M., Albany, N.Y., '57–'60; Pas., Saxonville, Mass., '60–3; Pas., Westbrook, Ct., '63——.

Zenas Montague Phelps; Mass.; W.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'41; Tea., Sing Sing, N.Y.; Tea., Riverdale, N.Y.,——.

Almon B. Pratt; Ct.; U.T.S., 1839–'41; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 13, '52; Pas., Genesee & Vienna, Mich., '52——.

John Morrison Reid; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (M.E.) May 15, '46; Pas., Wolcotville, Ct., '44–6; Pas., Bakerville, Ct., '46–7; Pas., Jamaica (L.I.) N.Y., '47–9; Pas., Birmingham, Ct., '49–'51; Pas., Middletown, Ct., '51–2; Tut., W.U., '52–3; Pas., N. York City, '53–5; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '55–7; Pas., Bridgeport & Fairfield, Ct., '57–8; Prest., G.C., '58–'64; Ed., Cincinnati, O., '64——. D.D., U.N.Y., '58.

James Champlain Smith; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1839–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 21, '42; S.S., Cutchogue (L.I.) N.Y., '42–5; S.S. & Pas., Pompey Cen-

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tre, N.Y., '45–'51; S.S., Oran, N.Y., '51–2; S.S., Oneida Lake, N.Y., '52–6; Pas., Summer Hill, N.Y., '56–'60; S.S., Red Creek, N.Y., '60–4; S.S., Romulus, N.Y., '64——.

*Erastus Carter Spooner; Vt.; M.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'41; Died, Brandon, Vt., Dec. 11, '41, æt. 27.

Benjamin Franklin Stead; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'41; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 22, '42; Pas., Phila. (Bridesburgh) Pa., '42–'52; Pas., Astoria (L.I.) N.Y., '52——. D.D., U.N.Y., '65.

Andrew Leete Stone; Ct.; Y.C., 1837; Tea., Uxbridge, Mass., '37–8; Prof., D. & D.I., N.Y., '38–'41; U.T.S., '39–'41; And.T.S., '41–2; Sec., S.S.U., Phila., Pa., '42–4; Ord. (Cong.) Sep. 3, '44; Pas., Middletown, Ct., '44–9; Pas., Boston, Mass., '49——. D.D., A.C., '61.

Edward Strong; N.Y.; Y.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'40; Tut., Y.C., '40–2; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 14, '42; Pas., New-Haven, Ct., '42–'62; S.S., Kalamazoo, Mich., '64; Pas., Pittsfield, Mass., '65——. D.D., H.C., '64.

Jacob Van Nostrand; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'41; Prof., D. & D.I., N. York City, '38–'57; Prest., D. & D.I., Austin, Texas, '57——.

Hiram Wheeler; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '39–'40; Ord. (Ev. Lu.) —; Pas., Claverack, N.Y., '53——; Pas., Sharon Springs, N.Y., '59——

Ephraim Munroe Wright; Mass.; W.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39; N.H.T.S., '40–1; Trade, Westhampton, Mass.; Sec. of State, Mass., '53–5.

Abraham Teter Young; N.Y.; U.C., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'40; P.T.S., '40–2; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 10, '43; Pas., E. Aurora, N.Y., '43–7; Pas., Warsaw, N.Y., '47–'50; Pas., E. Bethany, N.Y., '50–6; S.S., Charlotte, N.Y., '56–9; Pas., Sackett's Harbor, N.Y., '59–'64; S.S., Oak's Corners, N.Y., '64——. 32.

1843.

Richard Harrison Bull; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '39–'41, '42–3; Tea., N. York City, '43–'53; Prof., U.N.Y., '53——.

William Avery Clift; Ct.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 18, '44; Pas., Stonington, Ct., '44–'64; Ag., N. York City, '64——.

William Thomas Doubleday; N.Y.; Y.C., 1838; U.T.S., '39–'41, '42–3; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 3, '47; S.S., Bainbridge, N.Y., '43–5; S.S., Truxton, N.Y., '46–9; S.S., Gilbertsville, N.Y., '50–'60; Pas., Delhi, N.Y., '60–3; Pas. (Cong.) Goshen, Ct. '63——.

Henry Bond Elliott; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1840; U.T.S., '40–2; And. T.S., '42–3; U.T.S., '43; Ord. (Cong.) June, '43; S.S., Alexandria, N.J., '44; Pas., Waterbury, Ct., '45–'51; S.S., Springfield, Mass., '52–4; Pas., Brooklyn (E.D.) N.Y., '54; Pas., Stamford, Ct., '55–7; Pas., Columbus, O., '58–'60; W.C., Brooklyn, N.Y., '61–3; W.C., N. York City, '63–5; S.S., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '65——.

Nathaniel Elmer; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Presb.) '45; S.S., Stanhope, N.J., '43–5; S.S., Circleville, N.Y., '45–7; S.S., Factoryville, N.Y., '48–'50; S.S., Waverly, N.Y., '51–7; Pas. E., Manlius, N.Y., '57–8; Pas., E. Avon, N.Y., '58–'62; S.S., Stone Church, N.Y., '62——.

Samuel Haight Hall; N.Y.; U.C., 1837; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 29, '45; S.S., Tallmadge, O., '44; Pas., Marshall, Mich., '45–'53; Pas., Syracuse, N.Y., '53–6; Pas., Owego, N.Y., '56–'64; Ag., A.B.S., N. Orleans, La., '64–5; Sec., A.S.F.S., N. York City, '65——. D.D., Ing.U., '61.

George Kerr; N.Y.; W.C., 1839; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (R.D.) '45; Pas., Conesville, N.Y., '45–6; Tea., Franklin, N.Y., '46–'61; Tea., Watertown, N.Y., '61——. LL.D., H.C., '52.

Henry Derring Latham; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1840–3; Ord. (M.E.) May

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19, '47; Pas., Essex, Ct., '43–5: Pas., Fair Haven, Ct., '45–6; Pas., Madison, Ct., '46–8; Pas., Riverhead (L.I.) N.Y., '48–9; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '49–'53; W.C., '53–4; Pas., W. Granby, Ct., '54–6; Pas., Colebrook River, Ct., '56–8; Pas., Westport & Poplar Plains, Ct., '58–'60; Pas., Windsor & Windsor Locks, Ct., '60–2; Pas., Essex & Saybrook, Ct., '62–4; Pas., Northport & Centreport (L.I.) N.Y., '64——.

*JOHN LEWIS; Mass.; D.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Cong.) May 1, '43; S.S., Fairplay & New-Diggings, Wis., '43–4; S.S., New-Diggings, Wis., '45–7; Pas. (Presb.) Platteville, Wis., '47–'60; Died, do., Sept. 2, '60, æt. 43.

*THOMAS HICKS MUDGE; Mass.; W.U., 1840; N.T.S., '40–2; U.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (M.E.) April 30, '47; Pas., Brookfield, Mass., '43–4; Pas., Leominster, Mass., '44–6; Pas., Grafton (Farmansville,) Mass., '46–8; Pas., Weston, Mass., '48–'50; Pas., Natick & Needham, Mass., '50–1; Pas., S. Hadley Falls, Mass., '51–2; Pas., Spencer, Mass., '52–3; Pas., Walpole, Mass., '53–5; Pas., Rockbottom, Mass., '55–6; Tea., Ellington, Ct., '56–7; Prof. McK.C., Lebanon, Ill., '57–8; Pas., Waterloo, Ill., '58; Pas., St. Louis, Mo., '59–'60; Pas., Ironton, Mo., '60–1; Pas., Independence, Mo., '61–2; Pas., Baldwin City, Mo., '62; Died, do., July 24, '62, æt. 46.

GEORGE FRANCIS NEEDHAM; N.Y.; W.U., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Ind. Meth.) '43; Pas., E. Solon, N.Y., '43–'51; Tea., Rochester, N.Y., '52–4; Trade, Buffalo, N.Y., 55——.

ORIN F. OTIS; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Cong.) '46; S.S. & Pas., Chepachet, R.I., '44–'64; W.C., Berlin, Ct., '64——.

*SAMUEL L. PITCHER; Va.; C.N.J., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; S.S., Springfield X Roads, Pa., '43–4; Died, do., '44, æt. 27.

WILLIAM KING PLATT; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 13, '44; Pas., Milan, N.Y., '44–7; Pas., Orangeville, N.Y., '47–9; S.S., Sweden, N.Y., '49–'55; S.S., Fairport, N.Y., '55–7; Pas., Somers, N.Y., '57–'64; Pas., Hector, N.Y., '64——.

WILLIAM PORTER; Mass.; W.C., 1839; And.T.S., '40–1; U.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 25, '47; W.C., '43–'54; Prof., Bel. C., Beloit, Wis., '54——.

EDWARD ERASTUS RANKIN; N.J.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Presb.) April 23, '44; Pas., Springfield, N.J., '44–'50; Pas., N. York City, '50–'63; S.S., Newark, N.J., '64——. D.D., R.C., '63.

LUBIN BURTON ROCKWOOD; N.H.; D.C., 1839; And.T.S., '40–1; U.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (Presb.) April 18, '45; Fin. Ag., U.T.S., '43–'50; Pas., (Cong.) Rocky Hill, Ct., '50–8; D. Sec., A.T.S. (of N.Y.) Boston, Mass., '59——.

JOHN WILLIAM SCHERMERHORN; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1836; U.T.S., '39–'41, '42–3; Res. Lic., '43–4; Tea., N. York City; '44–'52; W.C., N. York City, '53——.

HENRY MARTYN SCUDDER; Ceylon; U.N.Y., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 12, '43; F.M., Madras, India, '44–'51; F.M., Arcot, India, '51–'63; Pas. (R.D.) Jersey City, N.J., '64–5; Pas. (Presb.) San Francisco, Cal., '65——. M.D., U.N.Y., '53; D.D., R.C., '59.

THOMAS JAMES SHEPHERD; Va.; Cn. C., 1839; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 5, '43; Pas., Lisbon, Md., '44–'52; Pas., Phila., Pa., '52——. D.D., Cn. C., '65.

THOMAS HARVEY SKINNER, JR.; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1840; U.T.S., '40–2; And.T.S., '42–3; U.T.S., '43; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 8, '43; Pas., Paterson, N.J., '43–6; Pas., N. York City, '46–'55; Pas., Honesdale, Pa., '56–9; Pas. (R.D.) Stapleton (S.I.) N.Y., '59——.

JUDSON BURR STODDARD; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Cong.) May 16, '44; S.S., Yorktown, N.Y., '43–4; Pas., Sherman, Ct., '44–'54; Inv., '54–5; Pas., S. Windsor, Ct., '55–'63; S.S., Phila., Pa., '63; S.S. (Presb.) Croton Falls, N.Y., '63——.

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GEORGE BENJAMIN UTTER; N.Y.; O.I., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Bap.) June 5, '43; Ed., N. York City, '44–'61; Ed., Westerly, R.I., '61——.

ELIPHALET WHITTLESEY; Ct.; W.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–3; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 23, '43; F.M., Maui, S. Islds., '44–'54; Inv., Hammonton, N.J., '54——. 24.

JOHN BOYD ALLEN; Mass.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; E.W.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (Presb.) March, '46; S.S., Covington, Pa., '45–'50; Pas., Gustavus, O., '50–6; Pas., Brooklyn, O., '56——.

WILLIAM RHODES BAGNALL; Mass.; W.U., 1840; U.T.S., '40–2; Ord. (M.E.) April 30, '47; Tut., W.U., '42–4; Pas., Walpole, Mass., '44–5; Ag., W.U., '45–6; Pas., Northampton, Mass., '46–7; Tea., Providence, R.I., '47–9; Pas., Holliston, Mass., '49–'50; Pas., Southbridge, Mass., '50–2; Pas., Shrewsbury, Mass., '52–4; Pas., Malden, Mass., '54–6; Pas., Charlestown, Mass., '56–8; Pas., Boston, Mass., '58–9; Pas., Chelsea, Mass., '59–'60; W.C., Malden, Mass., '60——.

JOSEPH BARTLETT; N.H.; D.C., 1835; And.T.S., '40–1; U.T.S., '41–2; And.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 7, '47; S.S., Waterville, Me., '46–7; Pas., Buxton, Me., '47——.

*HORACE THOMPSON BLAKE; Mass.; A.C., 1838; U.T.S., '40–1; Died, '41, æt. 30.

ISAAC GEORGE HUBBS; N.Y.C.; C.N.J., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; Tea. N. York City, '41–'62; Ag., A.M.A., N. Orleans, La., '63–5; N. York City, '65——.

JOSEPH T. LEE; S.C.; Ch. C., 1830; U.T.S., '40–1.

WILLIAM HENDERSON MCCARER; Pa.; J.C., 1838; U.T.S., '40–2; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '43; Pas., W. Nantmeal, Pa., '43–9; S.S. & Pas., Evansville, Ind., '49——.

JAMES P. MORANGE; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; Law, N. York City.

*JOHN COFFIN NAZRO; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1840–1. Deranged. Died, N. York City.

THOMAS GILBERT OSBORN; N.Y.; W.U., 1840; U.T.S., '41; Ord. (M.E.) June, '48; Pas., Southampton (L.I.) N.Y., '44–6; Pas., Bridgehampton (L.I.) N.Y., '46–8; Pas., Patchogue (L.I.) N.Y., '48–'50; W.C., '50–1; Pas., Birmingham, Ct., '51–3; Pas., Bridgeport, Ct., '53–5; Pas., Waterbury, Ct., '55–7; Pas., N. York City, '57–'61; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '61–2; Pas., New-Haven, Ct., '62–4; W.C., New-Haven, Ct., '64——.

JOHN FRANCIS PINGRY; Mass.; D.C., 1836; U.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Presb.) June 28, '42; Pas., Fishkill, N.Y., '42–6; Tea., do., '46–'54; Pas., Roseville, N.J., '54–'60; Tea., Elizabeth, N.J., '62——.

HARRIS RIGHTER; N.Y.; U.C., 1831; U.T.S., '40–1; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 28, '42; Pas., S. Middletown, N.Y., '42–6; W.C., Oyster Bay (L.I.) N.Y., '47–'53; W.C., Newark, N.J., '53——

ALDEN BURRILL ROBBINS; Mass.; A.C., 1839; And.T.S., '40–1; U.T.S., '41–2; And.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) Sept., '43; S.S. & Pas., Muscatine, Iowa, '43——.

AMBROSE SPENCER ROGERS; Ct.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; Tea., Cornwall, Ct., '41; Tea., New-Milford, Ct., ——.

WILLIAM SALTER; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1840; U.T.S., '40–2; And.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 5, '43; H.M., Jackson Co., Iowa, '43–6; Pas., Burlington, Iowa, '46——. D.D., Io. U., '64.

PETER D. SCHORY; N.Y.C.; C.N.J., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; And.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (G.R.) '43; Pas., New-Holland & New-Providence, Pa., '43–8; Pas., Upper & Lower Mt. Bethel, Pa., '49–'54; Pas., Lancaster, O., '56–'62; W.C., do., '62——.

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BYRON SUNDERLAND; Vt.; M.C., 1838; U.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (Presb.) May, '44; S.S., Alexander, N.Y., '43–5; Pas., Batavia, N.Y., '45–'51: S.S., Syracuse, N.Y., '51–2; Pas., Wash. City, D.C., '52——. Ch., A. & F.C.U., Paris, France, '64–5; D.D., M.C., '55.

*WILLIAM A. THOMPSON; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1840; U.T.S., '40–2; N.H.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) —; S.S., Troy, Bloomfield & Fox, Io., '43–5; S.S., Fairfield, Io., '45–'50; S.S., Port Byron, '50–2; Drowned, n. Albany, Ill., May 3, '52, æt. 41.

*ALBERT GALLATIN UPHAM; N.H.; B.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1; M.D., Vt. Med. Acad., '42; Prof., do., Castleton, Vt., '42–4; Paris, France, '42–4; Phys., Boston, '44–7; Died, do., June 16, '47, æt. 28.

*GEORGE STAYLEY VAN CLEEF; N.Y.C.; C.C., 1837; U.T.S., '40–2; And.T.S., '42–3; Res. Lic., '44–5; S.S., Sandy Hill, N.Y., '45; S.S., Bridport, Vt., '46; Insane, '46–'63; Died, N.York City, Nov. 29, '63, æt. 46. 20.

1844.

SAMUEL HOWE ALLEN; Mass.; A.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Cong.) April 22, '46; Pas., Windsor Locks, Ct., '46–'62; W.C., do., ——.

GEORGE WASHINGTON BARROWS; Vt.; U.T.S., 1841–4; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 28, '45; Pas., Salisbury, Vt., '45–'64; Pas., Elizabethtown, N.Y., '64——.

ELIJAH HAYWARD BONNEY; Mass.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 25, '47; S.S., Bennington, Vt., '45–6; S.S. & Pas., Pawlet, Vt., '46–'53; S.S., Bellows Falls, Vt., '53–4; S.S., Plainfield, Mass., '54–5; S.S., Albion, N.Y., '55; S.S. (Presb.) Vernon Centre, N.Y., '55——.

*GEORGE ATHERTON DAVIS; Vt.; D.C., 1838; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) April, '45; S.S. & Pas., Hanover C.H., Va., '43–6; Died, do., Oct. 9, '46, æt. 33.

WILLIAM COWPER FOSTER; N.H.; D.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '44–5; Ord. (Cong.) '48; S.S., Westboro, Mass., '46–7; S.S., Cuyahoga Falls, O., '47–9; Pas., Boston, Mass., '49–'51; Pas., Lawrence, Mass., '52–7; S.S., Chicago, Ill., '57–8; S.S. & Pas., North-Becket, Mass., '59——.

EZRA HALL GILLETT; Ct.; Y.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; Res. Lic., '44–5; Ord. (Presb.) April 16, '45; Pas., Harlem, N.Y., '45——. D.D., H.C., '64.

CHARLES HAWLEY; N.Y.; W.C., 1840; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 29, '45; Pas., New-Rochelle, N.Y., '45–8; Pas., Lyons, N.Y., '48–'57; Pas., Auburn, N.Y., '57——. D.D., H.C., '61.

HARRISON OTIS HOWLAND; Mass.; A.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; Res. Lic., '44–5; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 23, '46; Pas., Ashland, N.Y., '46–'50; S.S. & Pas. (Cong.) Warner, N.H., '53–7; Pas., Chester, N.H., '57–'62; Pas. (Presb.) Girard, Pa., '64——.

JAMES HOYT; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '41–4; Res. Lic., '44–5; Ord. (Presb.) April 12, '46; S.S., Stanwich, Ct., '45; Pas., Tuskegee, Ala., '46–9; Tea., Talladega, Ala., '49–'52; S.S. (Cong.) Stamford, Ct., '53–5; S.S., New-London, Ct., '55; Pas. (Presb.) Orange, N.J., '56——.

ZERAH TAYLOR HOYT; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 17, '46; S.S., W. Greenfield, N.Y., '44–5; S.S., Stanwich, Ct., '45; S.S., Hastings, Mich., '45–'55; S.S. (Cong.) W. Greenfield, N.Y., '55——.

FREDERICK FRELINGHUYSEN JUDD; N.Y.; C.N.J., 1839; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) May 18, '59; Tea., Berkshire, N.Y., '47–'59; Pas., Parsippany, N.J., '59–'63; S.S., Catskill, N.Y., '63–4; S.S., Hunter, N.Y., '65——.

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AMOS EDWARD LAWRENCE; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) June 25, '48; Clk., A.H.M.S., N. York City, '44–8; Pas., Cutchogue (L.I.) N.Y., '48–'51; Pas. (Cong.) Southbury, Ct., '51–'60; Pas., Lancaster, Mass., '60–5.

*NATHANIEL CLARK LOCKE; Vt.; M.C., 1838; Tea., Loundesboro, Vt., '38–'41; U.T.S., '41, 2–4; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '45; H.M., Eastville, Va., '44–6; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '47–'50; Pas., Hempstead (L.I.) N.Y., '52–'60; Died, do., July 21, '62, æt. 47. D.D., U. Ala., '58.

SAMUEL JUNIUS PARKER; N.Y.; A.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; S.S., Ramapo, N.Y., '45–6; S.S., Geneva, N.Y., '46–7; S.S., Volney, N.Y., '48–'51; W.C., Ithaca, N.Y., '52–4; W.C., Mobile, Ala., '54–6. Phys., Ithaca, N.Y., '57——.

EDWARD J. VAIL; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) '45; S.S., Oriskany, N.Y., '45–6; W.C., Brooklyn, N.Y., '46–7; S.S., Jamesville, N.Y., '47–8; Pas., Babylon (L.I.) N.Y., '48–'51; Uniontown, Cal., '51–4; W.C., San Francisco, Cal., '54–7; W.C., Crescent City, Cal., '57–'61; W.C., San Francisco, Cal., '61——.

LEVI FAY WALDO; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Cong.) June 11, '44; Pas., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '44–'54; Pas., N. Brookfield, Mass., '54–6; Tea., Kewanee, Ill., '56–7; Pas., Buda & Milo, Ill., '58–9; Pas., Lasalle, Ill., '59–'61; Pas. & Tea., Allegan, Mich., '61——.

JOHN WARD; N.J.; U.N.Y., 1841; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) Mar., '45; Pas., Stanhope, N.J., '45–8; W.C., Bloomfield, N.J., '48–9; Pas., Clyde, N.Y., '49–'55; Ag., Utica, N.Y., '55–7; W.C., Phila., Pa., '57–8; Pas., do., '58–'60; W.C., Newark, N.J., '60–2; S.S., Freedom Plains, N.Y., '63——.

*CHARLES D. WHARTON; Va.; U.Va., 1839; U.T.S., '41–4; S.S., Leesville, Va., '44–5; Died, do., '45, æt. 27.

JOHN LIVINGSTON WILLARD; N.Y.; U.C., 1842; U.T.S., '41–4; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 3, '44; S.S. & Pas., Galway, N.Y., '44–7; S.S., Haverstraw, N.Y., '48–9; W.C., N. York City, '50; S.S., do., '51; Pas. (Cong.) N. Stamford, Ct., '52–6; Pas. (Presb.) Sparta, N.J., '56–'60; Pas., Port Jervis, N.Y., '60–2; S.S., Sparta N.J., '62–3; Pas., Marshall, Mich., '63——.

GEORGE FRANKLIN WISWELL; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1841–4; Ord. (Presb.) June 18, '45; Pas., Southold (L.I.) N.Y., '45–'50; Fin. Sec., U.T.S., '50–3; Pas., Peekskill, N.Y., '53–6; Pas., Wilmington, Del., '56——. A.M., M.C., '52. 20.

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*EPHRAIM TUCKER BARSTOW; Ct.; Y.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–2; Died, Chatham, Ct., '45, æt. 31.

*JAMES FANNING; N.Y.; U.C., 1840; U.T.S., '41–2; Tea., N. York City, '43–'63; Died, do., March 9, '63, æt. 46.

PATTERSON FLETCHER; Va.; Wash.C.Va., 1840; U.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (Presb.) '44; S.S. & Pas., Duffield's, Va., '44——.

WILLIAM CLARK FRENCH; N.Y.; Ken. C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (P. Ep.) Dec. 25, '46; Rec., Granville, O., '46–'50; Rec., Delaware, O., '50–1; Rec., Worthington, O., '52–5; Rec., Ironton, O., '55–9; Rec., Oberlin, O., '59——.

WILLIAM T. FRENCH; Va.; U.T.S., 1842.

*THOMAS EWING HATHAWAY; N.Y.C.; H.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41; Died, Chicago, Ill, '50, æt. 39.

HENRY HICKOK; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1841–3; Ord. (M.E.) Aug., '47; Pas., Starkey & Barrington, N.Y., '43–4; Pas., Lockport, N.Y., '44–5; Pas., Brockport, N.Y., '45–6; Pas., Penfield, N.Y., '46–7; F.M., Fuh Chau, China,

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'47–9; Pas., Palmyra, N.Y., '49–'51; Pas., Elmira, N.Y., '51–3; Pas., Rochester, N.Y., '53–4; Pas., Elmira, N.Y., '54–6; S.S. (Presb.) Wampsville & Vernon, N.Y., '56–'64; W.C., Vernon, N.Y., '64——.

JOHN H. KEDZIE; O.; O.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–3; N.H.T.S., '43–4; Law, Chicago, Ill.

SAURIN ELIOT LANE; N.Y.; U.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–3; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 22, '45; Pas., Galway, N.Y., '47–'62; Pas., Carmel, N.Y., '63——.

SABIN MCKINNEY; N.Y.; A.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–2; Aub.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 16, '45; S.S., Union Village, N.Y., '45–7; Pas., Fredonia, N.Y., '47–'51; S.S., Franklin, Pa., '52–4; Ag., A & F.C.U., E. Bloomfield, N.Y., '54–5; Pas., Bergen, N.Y., '55–7; W.C., Binghamton, N.Y., '57——.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PARSONS; N.Y.C.; B.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–2; B.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 25, '47; Pas., Waukegan, Ill., '47–'52; Pas., Dover, N.H., '53–'60; Pas., Nashua, N.H., '61——.

*WILLIAM HENRY PORTER; Mass.; Y.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–2; N.H.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 29, '45; Pas., Litchfield, N.H., '45–9; W.C., Boston, Mass., '51–'61; Died, Roxbury, Mass., May 26, '61, æt. 43.

ABRAHAM T. SEELY; Pa.; U.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–2.

*EPHRAIM TENNEY; Vt.; W.C., 1841; U.T.S., '41–2; Died, Brooklyn, N.Y., Feb., '42, æt. 28.

JAMES N. TOMPKINS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '41.

HENRY W. WILLOUGHBY; N.H.; U.T.S., 1841. 16.

1845.

JACOB JACKSON ABBOTT; Vt.; D.C., 1839; U.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 27, '45; Pas., Bennington, Vt., '45–7; Ag., A.T.S., Car. & Ga., '47–8; S.S., Hollis, N.H., '48–9; Pas., Uxbridge, Mass., '50–'64; S.S., Northbridge (Whitinsville) Mass., '64——.

SAMUEL WORDSWORTH BAILEY; R.I.; Y.C., 1839; U.T.S., '44–5; Ord. (Cong.) May, '49; S.S., Greenpoint (L.I.) N.Y., '46–7; S.S., Waymart & Prompton, Pa., '47–8; S.S., Pittsburgh, Pa., '48–9; S.S., W. Springfield, Mass., '49–'50; S.S., Cold Spring, N.Y., '50–2; S.S., N. York City, '52–'60; W.C., do., '60——.

FREDERICK GORHAM CLARK; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1842; U.T.S., '45; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 29, '45; S.S., Greenwich, Ct., '45–6; Pas., Astoria (L.I.) N.Y., '46–'52; Pas., N. York City, '52——. D.D., U.N.Y., '64.

REESE C. EVANS; Pa.; J.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 8, '46; Pas., Lewiston N.Y., '46; C.M. (P. Ep.) Phila., Pa., '47–'55; Rec., Doylestown, Pa., '55–7; S.S., Phila., Pa., '58——.

HENRY CLAY FISH; Vt.; U.T.S., 1842–5; Ord. (Bap.) June 26, '45; Pas., Somerville, N.J., '45–'51; Pas., Newark, N.J., '51——. D.D., U.R., '58.

*WILLIAM FORREST, Jr.; N.Y.C.; C.C., 1840; U.T.S., '42–5; Res. Lic., P.T.S., '45–6; Tea., N.Y., '46–8; S.S., Milford, Pa., '48–9; Tea., N. York City, '49–'56; Died, N. York City, Feb., '56, æt. 35.

TIMOTHY HILL; N.H.; D.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 22, '46; S.S., St. Charles, Mo., '46–'51; S.S., St. Louis, Mo., '51–'60; S.M., do., '60–1; S.S., Rosamond, Ill., '61–3; S.S., Shelbyville, Ill., '63–5; S.S., Kansas City, Mo., '65——.

EDWARD HOWE; Me.; B.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–5; Tea. of Music, U.T.S., '45–'52; Do., N. York City, '52——.

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*Horatio S. Howell; Pa.; U.T.S., 1842–5; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 15, '46; Pas., E. Whiteland, Pa., '46–9; Pas., Elkton, Md., '49–'53; S.S., Del. Water Gap, Pa., '53–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–3; Killed, Gettysburgh, Pa., July 1, '63, æt. 42.

William Ware Howland; Mass.; A.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 14, '45; F.M., Batticotta, Ceylon, '46——.

*Samuel Hurlbut; Vt.; M.C., 1839; Tea., Castleton, Vt., '39–'42; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Cong.) June 2, '47; S.S., Lodi, N.J., '45–6; Pas., New-Haven, Vt., '46–'56; Died, do., Dec. 2, '56, æt. 40.

Joseph Paul Lestrade; Pa.; U. Pa., 1841; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) '48; H.M., Bedford Co., Va., '48–'50; C.M., N. York City, '50–4; Pas., Hunter, N.Y., '54–9; C.M., N. York City, '59——.

*Joseph McKee; N.Y.C.; Bft.C., 1829; U.T.S., '44–5; Ord. (Presb.) May 25, '48; Tea., N. York City, '45–7; S.S., N. York City, '47–8; Pas., Peekskill, N.Y., '48–'52; Pas. (R.D.) N. York City, '52–8; Tea., N. York City, '59; Tea., Newark, N.J., '60–3; Died, Newark, N.J., Aug. 10, '63, æt. 58.

William Hull Megie; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1839; U.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Presb.) '50; S.S., N. Stamford, Ct., '46–9; S.S., Williamstown, N.Y., '50; S.S., Sparta, N.J., '51; S.S., W. Milford, N.J., '52–5; S.S., Junius, N.Y., '55——.

Henry Osborn; N.Y.; W.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 12, '46; S.S., Tallahassee, Fla., '45–6; Pas., Hunter, N.Y., '46–9; Tea., Windsor, N.Y., '49–'51; S.S., New-Milford, Pa., '52–6; Tea., Elmira, N.Y., '56–7; Tea., Chester, N.Y., '58–9; S.S., Circleville, N.Y., '59——.

Henry S. Osborn; Pa.; U.Pa., 1841; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) '46; S.S., Coventry, R.I., '45–6; Pas., Hanover C.H., Va., '46–9; Pas., Richmond, Va., '49–'53; Pas., Liberty, Va., '53–8; S.S., Salem, Va., '58–9; Pas., Belvidere, N.J., '59——.

*Noah Ford Packard; Mass.; B.U., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; S.S., Cranston, R.I., '45–6; S.S., Stanwich, Ct., '46; S.S., N. Orleans, La., '46–7; Died, do., Sept. 3, '47, æt. 32.

Charles Peabody; N.H.; D.C., 1839; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 10, '45; Ag., A.T.S., St. Louis, Mo., '45–'61; Supt., Soldiers' Home, St. Louis, Mo., '61——.

Winthrop H. Phelps; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 8, '48; S.S., Greenfield, N.Y., '45–6; S.S., Hillsdale, N.Y., '46–9; Pas., Stockbridge (Curtisville) Mass., '49–'54; Pas., Monterey, Mass., '55–9; W.C., do., '60–4; S.S., Barkhamstead (Hitchcockville) Ct., '64——.

Samuel Sandford Potter; N.J.; U.N.Y., 1842; Ord. (Presb.) May 26, '46; S.S., Scienceville, N.Y., '45–7; S.S. & Pas., Newark, N.J., '47–9; Pas., Lawrenceburgh, Ind., '51–3; Pas., Glendale, O., '56–'63; Ch., U.S.A., '63——. Address, New-Albany, Ind.

Benjamin J. Relyea; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1842–5; Ord. (Presb.) May 27, '46; S.S., Delhi & Pittsburgh, Ind., '45–7; S.S. (Cong.) N. Scituate, R.I., '47–'50; Pas., Fall River, Mass., '50–6; S.S. & Ed., Brooklyn, N.Y., '57–'61; Pas., Green's Farms, Ct., '61——.

Alonzo Berry Rich; N.Y.; U.Vt., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 18, '46; S.S., Mt. Pleasant, N.J., '45; S.S., Deckertown, N.J., '46–8; Pas. (Cong.) Stanwich, Ct., '48–'51; Pas., Beverly, Mass., '52——.

Socrates Smith; N.H.; D.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 23, '45; S.S., Beardstown, Ill., '45–6; S.S., Panther Creek, Ill., '46–9; Tea., Greenville, Ill., '50–3; H.M., Jerseyville, Ill., '53–5; S.S., Troy, Ill., '55–9; W.C., Greenville, Ill., '59——.

*Frederick Merrick Starkweather; Mass.; A.C., 1841; U.T.S.,

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'42–5; S.S., Springfield, N.J., '46; S.S., Chester, Mass., '47; W.C., Northampton, Mass., '48–9; Tea., Baltimore, Md., '50; Died, Northampton, Mass., March 13, '51, æt. 31.

RUFUS PORTER WELLS; MASS.; A.C., 1842; E.W.T.S., '42–3; U.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 26, '46; S.S. & Pas., Jonesborough, Tenn., '45–'62; S.S., Prairie du Sac, Wis., '63–4; S.S., Thorntown & Bethel, Ind., '64–5; S.S., Knoxville, Tenn., '65——.

SHEPARD WELLS; Mo.; I.C., 1840; U.T.S., '40–1, 3–5; Ord. (Presb.) '45; Ag., A.T.S., Columbia, Tenn., '45–'61; Ag., C.C., St. Louis, Mo., '62——. 26.

LAUREN ARMSBY; Mass.; A.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; And.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Cong.) May 27, '46; S.S., Pittstown, Me., '45–6; Pas., Chester, N.H., '46–'56; Pas., Faribault, Minn., '56–'64; Ch., U.S.A., '64——.

THOMAS S. ARTHUR; S.C.; R.M.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–4; Ord. (P. Ep.) '45; Rec., Greenville, S.C., '45——.

*JOSEPH H. BABCOCK; Mass.; U.T.S., 1843–4; Ord. (Presb.) '45; S.S., Portland, Ind., '45–7; S.S., New-Corydon, Ind., '47–8; Died, do., March 15, '48, æt. 27.

SIMON BARROWS; Mass.; D.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) Jan., '55; Pas., Tipton, Ill. '55–6; Ag., Davenport, Io., '56——.

*JOHN CROMWELL; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1842; U.T.S., '42–4; Tea., N. York City, '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) '46; Pas., Wilmington, O., '46; Died, do., Nov., '46, æt. 26.

HENRY DARLING; Pa.; A.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; Aub.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Presb.) Dec., '46; Pas., Hudson, N.Y., '46–'53; Pas., Phila., Pa., '53–'61; Inv., do., '61–3; Pas., Albany, N.Y., '64——. D.D., U.C., '60.

LUKE DORLAND; O.; M.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–3; P.T.S., '43–4; Ord. (Presb.) '47; H.M., Platte Co., Mo., '45–7; Pas., Pleasant Hill & Lexington, O., '47–'55; H.M., O. & Ind., '55–'62; S.S., Belleville & Waterford, O., '62——. Address, Belleville, O.

DIVIE BETHUNE DUFFIELD; Mich.; U.T.S., 1842–3; Law, Detroit, Mich., '44——.

SAMUEL WITT EATON; Mass.; Y.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; N.H.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 28, '48; S.S., Montgomery, Mass., '45–6; S.S., Lancaster & Big Platte, Wis., '47——.

SAMUEL WARE FISHER; Mass.; W.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–3; Northampton, Mass.

DANIEL DELAVAN FROST; N.Y.; W.C., 1840; U.T.S., '42–4; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 29, '47; Pas., Redding, Ct., '47–'57; Pas., W. Stockbridge, Mass., '57–'62; W.C., New-Fairfield, Ct., '62——.

JAMES MASON HOPPIN; R.I.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '42–4; And.T.S., '44–5; Ord. (Cong.) March 27, '50; Pas., Salem, Mass., '50–'61; Prof., Y.C., New-Haven, Ct., '61——.

WILLIAM SOLOMON LEAVITT; Mass.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '42–4; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 3, '45; Pas., Newton, Mass., '45–'53; Pas. (Presb.) Hudson, N.Y., '53——.

AARON LARDNER LINDSLEY; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1842–4; P.T.S., '44–5; Ord. (Presb.) May 8, '46; S.S., Waukesha, Wis., '46–'52; Pas., South-Salem, N.Y., '52——.

JAMES LITTLE; N.Y.; W.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–3.

*HENRY GILBERT LUDLOW LIVINGSTON; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1840; U.T.S., '42–4; Ord. (Presb.) '44; Pas., Carmel, N.Y., '44–9; Pas. (R.D.) Phila., Pa., '50–4; Died, Carmel, N.Y., Jan. 27, '55, æt. 34.

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CHARLES FRENCH LOW; N.H.; D.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; And.T.S., '43–5.

WILLIAM OTTINGER; Pa.; J.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–4; Ord. (Presb.) '45; S.S., Fairton & Cedarville, N.J., '44; S.S., Unionville, Pa., '45; S.S., Monument, Mass., '46–7; S.S., Opequan & Cedar Creek, Va., '47–9; S.S., Unadilla & Otego, N.Y., '50; S.S., Mt. Kean & Edinborough, Pa., '51; S.S., Belle Valley, Pa., '52; S.S., Titusville & Cherry Tree, Pa., '53–4; Tea., Kossuth, Io., '55–6; Tea., Grandview, Io., '57; S.S., Swedes' Point & Boonsboro, Io., '58; Tea., Millington, Md., '60; Tea., Newark, Del., '61; Tea., Germantown, Pa., '61——.

WILLIAM W. PAGE; N.Y.; U.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; Ord. (Cong.) —; S.S., Kent, Ct., —'57; S.S., Danbury, Ct., '57–8.

WHEELOCK HENDEE PARMLY; N.Y.C.; C.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; H.T.S., '43–4; Ord. (Bap.) April 19, '46; Pas., Shelbourne Falls, Mass., '47–'50; Pas., Burlington, N.J., '50–4; Pas., Jersey City, N.J., '54——.

BENJAMIN THOMAS PHILLIPS; N.Y.C.; C.N.J., 1842; U.T.S., '42–3; P.T.S., '43–4; Ord. (Presb.) '44; Pas., May's Landing, N.J., '44–5; H.M. & S.S., N. York City, '46–8; Pas., Rondout, N.Y., '48–'62; Ch., U.S.A., Newburgh, N.Y., '62——.

NATHANIEL EDWARDS PIERSON; N.J.; W.C., 1841; U.T.S., '42–4; Ord. (Cong.) July 11, '44; S.S., N. Stamford, Ct., '44–5; S.S., Sparta, N.J., '46–'50; Pas., Unionville, N.Y., '50–7; Pas., Horseheads, N.Y., '57–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '62; Pas., Ridgebury, N.Y., '63——.

CHARLES RICHARDS; Ct.; U.C., 1841; Aub.T.S., '42–3; U.T.S., '43–4; Ord. (Presb.) May 25, '47; S.S., Rensselaerville, N.Y., '51–5; S.S., Monroeville, O., '55–8; S.S., Maumee City, O., '58——.

JOHN COTTON TERRETT; Ct.; W.C., 1833; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 13, '45; S.S., South-Middletown, N.Y., '45–6; Trade & Agric., '47——. Address, Sharon, Ct.

JOHN R. YOUNG; N.Y.; U.C., 1842; U.T.S., '42–5; Ord. (Presb.) June, '47; Pas., Phelps, N.Y., '47–9; S.S., Painted Post, N.Y., '49–'52; S.S., Baldwinsville, N.Y., '52–6; S.S., Cortland, N.Y., '56–7; S.S., Keeseville, N.Y., '57–8; Pas., Plattsburgh, N.Y., '58–'63; W.C., Mamaroneck, N.Y., '63–5; W.C., Newport, R.I., '65——. 25.

1846.

EDWIN THEODORE BRANTLY; Ala.; U.E.T., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) May 19, '49; S.S., Marshall Co., Tenn., '49; S.S., Giles Co., Tenn., '49–'50; S.S., Wilson Co., Tenn., '50–6; S.S., Greenville, Tenn., '56–'61; S.S., Cherry Valley, Wilson Co., Tenn., '61——.

EDWARD BALDWIN BRUEN; Pa.; U. Pa., 1842; P.T.S., '43–5; U.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Presb.) June 25, '48; S.S. & Pas., Phila., '46–'57; W.C., '57–9; S.S., do., '59–'61; W.C., do., '61–4; S.S., do., '64——.

AUGUSTUS WOODRUFF COWLES; N.Y.; U.C., 1841; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 16, '47; Pas., Brockport, N.Y., '47–'56; Prest. Fem. Coll., Elmira, N.Y., '56——. D.D., Ing. U., '58.

*WILLIAM DEMPSEY; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1843–6; Res. Lic., '46–7; Tea. W.R.C.; '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S., Plymouth, O., '50; S.S., Chester, O., '51; Pas., Chester, O., '52–6; S.S., Middlebury, O., '57–'63; S.S., Medina, O., '63–4; Died, Medina, O., May 18, '64, æt. 45.

*CHARLES C. DURGIN; N.H.; Gil.T.S., 1843–4; U.T.S., '45–6; S.S., Somers, N.Y., '46; Res. Lic., '47–8; S.S., Allendale, R.I., '48–9; W.C., Gilmanton, N.H., '49–'51; S.S., Hillsboro Centre, N.H., '51–2; S.S., Epsom, N.H., '52; W.C., Manchester, N.H., '52–6; Died, do., Nov. 21, '56, æt. 41.

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AMASA STETSON FREEMAN; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb) April 14, '47; S.S. & Pas., Haverstraw, N.Y., '47——.

*MATTHEW DAVIDSON GORDON; N.Y.; M.C., 1840; Ag., '40–2; U.T.S., '42–3; Tut. M.C., '43–4; U.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 7, '46; Ch. & Warden, Sing Sing, N.Y., '46–8; S.S., Cairo, N.Y., '48–9; Pas., Hollis, N.H., '49–'51; Tea., Groton, Mass., '51–2; Tea., Barhamville, S.C., '52–3; Died, Hoosick Falls, N.Y., Aug. 21, '53, æt. 40.

ALFRED HUDSON GUERNSEY; Vt.; O.I., 1840; U.T.S., '41–3, 5–6; Lit. & Ed., N. York City, '46——.

EUROTAS PARMELEE HASTINGS; N.Y.; H.C., 1842; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 6, '46; F.M., Batticotta, Ceylon, '47–'57; F.M., Manepy, Ceylon, '58——.

SAMUEL JAMES JONES; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S., Cincinnati, O., '46–'52; S.S., Oakhill, O., '52–4; S.S., Oakhill & Madison, O., '54–6; S.S., Bangor, Wis., '57–9; S.S., Wesleyville, Pa., '61–2.

SAMUEL PENNIMAN LEEDS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Res. Lic., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) June 18, '51; S.S. & Pas., Cuyahoga Falls, O., '49–'55; S.S., Philadelphia, Pa., '55–7; W.C., '57–'60; S.S. & Pas., Hanover, N.H., '60——.

CHARLES EDMUND LINSLEY; O.; Ma. C., 1840; L.T.S., '42–4; U.T.S., '45–6; Res. Lic., '46–8; Ord. (Presb.) June 28, '50; Pas., New-Rochelle, N.Y., '50–8; Pas. (Cong.) Southport, Ct., '60——.

JOSEPH H. MARTIN; Tenn.; U.E.T., 1841; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) '48; Sea. Ch., N. Orleans, La., '46–8; Pas., Huntsville, Ala., '48–9; S.S., Madisonville, Tenn., '49–'51; S.S., Knoxville, Tenn., '52–'63; S.S., ——, S.C., '63——.

EDWIN R. MCGREGOR; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) '48; S.S., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '46–8; Pas., Wappinger's Falls, N.Y., '48–9; Ed. & Sec. Am. Jews' Soc., N. York City, '49–'54; S.S. (R.D.) N. York City, '55; W.C., Steubenville, O., '56; Pas., New-Lisbon, O., '56–7; Deposed, '58.

*JOHN B. MEEK; Tenn.; Mv. C., 1845; U.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) '47; S.S. & Pas., Athens, Tenn., '46–8; Died, do., '48, æt. 26.

DAVID CLARK MEEKER; N.J.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) June 29, '47; S.S., Marshall, Ind., '46–8; S.S., Lima, Ind., '48–'50; Pas., Fairton, N.J., '50–5; S.S., Darby, Pa., '55–7; S.S., N. Hardiston, N.J., '57–'60; Pas., Wallace, Pa., '60——.

JACOB HARRIS PATTON; Pa.; J.C., 1839; U.T.S., '43–6; Tea., N. York City, '46——.

JOHN PECK; Ct.; W.R.C., 1842; W.R.T.S., '43–5; U.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 14, '48; H.M., Ind., '46–'51; H.M., Ill., '52–5; S.S., Marathon, N.Y., '56–9; S.S., Traverse des Sioux, Minn., '59——.

*WILLIAM L. RICHARDS; S. Islds.; J.C., 1841; U.T.S., '43–6; Res. Lic., '46–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 14, '47; F.M., Fuh Chau, China, '48–'51; Died, at sea, near St. Helena, So. Atl., June 5, '51, æt. 27.

COLLINGWOOD RUTHERFORD; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1843–6; Ord. (M.E.) May 21, '55; Pas., Princeton, N.J., '47–8; Pas., Rockaway, N.J., '48–9; Tea., Hempstead (L.I.) N.Y., '49–'53; Pas., Southampton (L.I.) N.Y., '53–5; Pas., New-Hartford, Ct., '55–6; Pas., E. Granby, Ct., '56–8; Pas., W. Suffield, Ct., '58–9; Pas., Haddam, Ct., '59–'60; Pas., Westbrook, Ct., '60–1; Tea., Fordham, N.Y., '61——.

CHARLES NOYES TODD; Mass.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '41–3, 5–6; Res. Lic., And.T.S., '46–7; S.S., Rowley, Mass., '46–9; Tea., Honesdale, Pa., '49–'54; Tea., Indianapolis, Ind., '54–'61; Trade, do., '63——.

DAVID TORREY; Pa.; A.C., 1843; And.T.S., '43–4; U.T.S., '44–6;

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Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 29, '50; Pas., Delhi, N.Y., '50–'60; Pas., Ithaca, N.Y., '60–5; W.C., Honesdale, Pa., '65——. D.D., H.C., '63.

GEORGE MILLER TUTHILL; N.Y.; A.C., 1839; U.T.S., '43–6; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 22, '47; S.S., St. Louis, Mo., '47–9; S.S., Monticello, Ill., '49–'51; S.S., Kalamazoo, Mich., '51; Pas., St. Clair, Mich., '52–8; S.S., Pontiac, Mich., '58–'64; Pas., Ashtabula, O., '65——.

WILLIAM HENRY WILLCOX; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–6; Res. Lic., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 5, '51; Pas., Kennebunk, Me., '52–7; Pas., Reading, Mass., '57——. 24.

JOHN GUEST ATTERBURY; Mich.; Y.C., 1831; U.T.S., '43–4; Ord. (Presb.) July, '45; Pas., Flint, Mich., '45–'51; Pas., New-Albany, Ind., '51——. D.D., Ma. C., '63.

WILLIAM BARROWS; Mass.; A.C., 1840; U.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 4, '45; Pas., Norton, Mass., '45–'50; Pas., Needham, Mass., '50–5; Pas., Reading, Mass., '55——.

WILLIAM P. BREED; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1843; U.T.S., '43–4; P.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) '47; Pas., Steubenville, O., '47–'56; Pas., Philadelphia, Pa., '56——. D.D., U.N.Y., '64.

*JAMES J. GILES; N.Y.; U.C., 1843; U.T.S., '43–4; P.T.S., '44–6; Died.

HENRY MARTYN GOODWIN; Ct.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '43–5; N.H.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 19, '51; Pas., Rockford, Ill., '51——.

EDWIN RUTHVEN HODGMAN; Me.; D.C., 1843; And.T.S., '43–4; U.T.S., '44–5; And.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Cong.) May 17, '49; S.S., Belmont, Me., '46; S.S., Orford East, N.H., '47–'51; Pas., Lunenburgh, Mass., '52–6; Pas., Lynnfield Centre, Mass., '56–8; W.C., Townsend, Mass., '58–9; S.S., Westford, Mass., '59–'64; W.C., do., '65——.

*JOHN SMITH KELLEY; Ct.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '43–4; Died, N. York City, Dec. 29, '44, æt. 23.

CHARLES KING MCHARG; N.Y.; U.C., 1842; U.T.S., '43–5; N.H.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 27, '49; S.S., Cohoes, N.Y., '47–8; Pas., Cooperstown, N.Y., '49–51; Pas., Syracuse, N.Y., '51–2; W.C., Cooperstown, N.Y., '52–4; Pas., Irvington, N.Y., '54–'64; Pas., Cooperstown, N.Y., '65——.

WILLIAM H. MATTHEWS; Va.; U.T.S., 1844–5; Ord. (Presb.) '47; H.M., Franklin Co., Va., '45–7; S.S. & Pas., Leesville & Otter, Va., '47——.

CHARLES CARROLL PARKER; Vt.; U.Vt., 1841; U.T.S., '43–4; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 4, '48; S.S. & Pas., Waterbury, Vt., '53——.

NEHEMIAH PRUDEN PIERCE; Ct.; A.C., 1842; U.T.S., '43–5; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 30, '46; S.S., Whippany, N.J., '45–'51; Pas. (R.D.) Brooklyn, N.Y., '51——.

*SOLOMON DWIGHT PITKIN; Mass.; A.C., 1843; U.T.S., '43–5; N.H.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Presb.) '47; S.S., New-Diggings & Benton, Wis., '47–'50; S.S. & Pas., Battle Creek, Mich., '50–8; Died, do., '58, æt. 36.

LUDLOW DAY POTTER; N.J.; C.N.J., 1841; U.T.S., '43–4; P.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 12, '48; S.S., Brookville & Fairfield, Ind., '47–8; Pas., Brookville & Matamora, Ind., '48–'54; Tea., Dunlapsville, Ind., '54–5; Prof. Gl. C., Glendale, O., '56——.

FRANCIS GREENLEAF PRATT; Mass.; A.C., 1840; U.T.S., '43–5; And.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 18, '49; Pas., S. Malden, Mass., '49–'58; S.S., Peacedale, R.I., '58; W.C., E. Middleboro', Mass., '58——.

ADDISON VAN COURT SCHENCK; N.Y.C.; C.N.J., 1843; U.T.S., '43–4; P.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) June 28, '50; S.S. & Pas., Lexington, Mo.,

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'49–'54; Tea., do., '54–6; Pas., St. Joseph, Mo., '56–8; S.S., St. Charles, Mo., '58–'60; Prest. Fem. Coll., do., '60–3; Prof. Wtm. C., Fulton, Mo., '63——.

*Cortland William Shattuck; Mass.; D.C., 1840; U.T.S., '43–6; And.T.S., '46; Died, Groton, Mass., '47, æt. 37.

Andrew J. Stevenson; N.Y.C.; Ep.T.S., 1843–4; U.T.S., '44–5.

*John Adams Walker; Mass.; W.C., 1840; And.T.S., '42–3; U.T.S., '43–4; Tut., W.C., '44–5; U.T.S., '45–6; Law, Lenox, Mass., '47–'64; Died, do., '64, æt. 43. 18.

1847.

Robert Aikman; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1843; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 11, '47; Pas., Washingtonville, R.I., '47–9; A.Pas. (Presb.) Troy, N.Y., '50–2; Pas., Elizabeth, N.J., '52——.

Nathan S. Aller; N.J.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) '51; S.S., Jeffersonville, Pa., '47–'50; Pas., (G.R.) Pleasantville. Pa., '51——.

Robert C. Anderson; Va.; H.S.C., 1843; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S., Appomattox, Va., '47–'51; S.S., Irisburgh, Va., '51——.

Marshall Bullard Angier; Mass.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Cong.) June 8, '53; S.S., Orange, Mass., '48–'51; S.S. & Pas., Hopkinton, N.H., '52–'60; Pas., Neponset, Mass., '60–2; Pas., Sturbridge, Mass., '63——.

George Bowen; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) July 4, '47; F.M., Bombay, India, '47——.

Edwin Adolphus Bulkley; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 11, '47; Pas. (Cong.) Geneva, N.Y., '47–'50; Pas., Groton, Mass., '50–'64; Pas. (Presb.) Plattsburgh, N.Y., '64——.

Charles Whittlesey Camp; Ct.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 28, '48; S.S., Genesee & Palmyra, Wis., '47–8; S.S., Genesee, Wis., '48–'53; Pas., Sheboygan, Wis., '53–'64; Pas., Fond du Lac., Wis., '65——.

Joseph Gallup Cochran; N.Y.; A.C., 1842; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 10, '47; F.M., Oroomiah, Persia, '47–'57; do., Seir, Persia, '57——.

James Geddes Craighead; Pa.; Del.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 11, '47; S.S., Watertown, Wis., '47–'50; Pas., Northumberland, Pa., '51–4; W.C., N. York City, '54–5; S.S., Ovid, N.Y., '55–6; Ed., N. York City, '56——.

*Seneca Cummings; N.H.; D.C., 1844; L.T.S., '44–6; U.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. '47; F.M., Fuh Chau, China, '48–'55; Died, New-Ipswich, N.H., Aug. 12, '56, æt. 39.

Alfred Henry Dashiell; Tenn.; Del. C., 1843; U.T.S., '45–7; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 26, '47; S.S., Rock Hill, Mo., '47–9; W.C., N. York City, '49–'50; Pas. (Cong.) Stockbridge, Mass., '50–'60; S.S., do. (Curtisville) Mass., '60–3; Ch., do., '63——.

Halsey Dunning; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1842; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 17, '47; Ch., Sing Sing, N.Y., '47; S.S., Richmond, Va., '48–'54; Pas., Baltimore, Md., '54——.

*William R. Durnett; N.Y.; U.T.S. 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 13, '47; Pas., Del. City, Del., '47–'51; S.S., Cedarville, N.J., '51–2; Pas., Phila., Pa., '52–4; Died, Craneville, N.J., Sept. 10, '54, æt. 40.

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SAMUEL G. DWIGHT; C.E.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 17, '47; F.M. & Tea., Molokai, S. Islds., '48——.

JONATHAN EDWARDS FORD; N.Y.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 26, '47; F.M., Aleppo, Syria, '48–'54; F.M., Beirut, Syria, '54–'62; F.M., Sidon, Syria, '63——.

AMZI W. FREEMAN; N.J.; C.N.J., 1843; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 26, '49; S.S. & Pas., Covington, Ind., '47–'52; Pas., Fort Wayne, Ind., '53–5; S.S. & Pas., Aurora, Ind., '55——.

ROBERT GRAY; Va.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) '48; H.M., Franklin Co., Va., '48–'57; Pas., Piedmont, Va., '57——. Address, Sydnorsville, Va.

*JAMES MONROE KIMBALL; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 9, '48; Pas., Portsmouth, Va., '47–9; Died, Wash. City, D.C., Mar. 2, '49, æt. 27.

*HENRY KINNEY; N.Y.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 6, '47; F.M., Hawaii, S. Islds, '48–'54; Died, Sonora, Cal., Sept. 24, '54, æt. 38.

JAMES M. MCLEAN; Miss.; Mi. C., 1845; U.T.S., '44–6, 6–7; Ord. (Presb.) July 11, '48; S.S., Marion, Miss, '47–9; S.S., Lexington, Miss., '50–2; S.S., Greenwood, Miss., '52–4; S.S. & Pas., Mobile, Ala., '54——.

HENRY MATTHEWS; Md.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) '48; S.S., Ann Arundel Co., Md., '47–8; Pas., Woodstock, Md., '48–'51; W.C., Baltimore, Md., '51–2; Pas., Shepherdstown, Va., '53——.

CYRUS TAGGART MILLS; N.Y.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 2, '48; F.M., Batticotta, Ceylon, India, '49–'55; S.S., Berkshire, N.Y., '56–8; Prest. Oahu Coll., S. Islds., '59–'64; W.C., Ware, Mass., '64–5; Ag., A.B.C.F.M., San Francisco, Cal., '65——.

*WILLIAM OLMSTEAD; Ct.; E.W.T.S., 1844–5; U.T.S., '45–7; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 11, '49; S.S., Brooklyn, N.Y., '47–8; S.S., Mason Village, N.H., '48–'51; Died, Colchester, Ct., June 6, '51, æt 30.

HENRY ELIJAH PARKER; N.H.; D.C., 1841; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 13, '49; S.S., Eastport, Me., '47–9; S.S. & Pas., Concord, N.H., '49——. Ch., U.S.A., '61–3.

*THOMAS H. PARISH; Tenn.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) '47; S.S., Gallatin, Tenn., '47–9; Died, do., '49, æt. 23.

BENJAMIN F. PETERS; Va.; U.T.S., 1844–7; Ord. (Presb.) '48; S.S., Eastville, Va., '47–8; S.S., Richmond, Va., '48–'51; S.S., Mindon, La., '52–4; S.S., Red Bluff, La., '54–8; S.S., Reachie, La., '58–9; H.M., Gordo, Ala., '60——.

JOHN SAILOR; Pa.; L.T.S., 1844–5; U.T.S., '45–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 28, '48; S.S., Nelson, Pa., '47–9; S.S., Campbell, N.Y., '49–'50; Pas., Warren, Pa., '50–5; Pas., Mich. City, Ind., '55–'62; Ch., State Prison, do., '61–3; S.S., Niles, Mich., '63–5; Pas., Allegan, Mich., '65——.

MATSON MEIER SMITH; N.Y.; C.C., 1843; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 23, '49; Pas., Ovid, N.Y., '49–'51; Pas., (Cong.) Brookline, Mass., '51–8; Pas., Bridgeport, Ct., '59–'65. D.D., C.C., '63.

GEORGE IRA TAYLOR; N.Y.; U.C., 1843; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '49; S.S., Schroon & W. Moriah, N.Y., '48–9; Pas., Kingsbury, N.Y., '49–'51; Pas., Charlton, N.Y., '51–4; S.S., Winchester, Miss., '54–6; S.S., Lawrenceburgh, Ind., '56–'65; S.S., Middletown, O., '65——.

TOWNSEND ELIJAH TAYLOR; N.Y.; M.C.; 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '47; Sea. Ch., Lahaina, S. Islds., '47–'52; Pas., Honolulu, S. Islds., '53–5; W.C., do., '55–7; Sea. Ch., Kailua, S. Islds., '58–9; S.S., Honolulu, S. Islds., '59–'60; S.S., Columbia, Cal., '60–2; S.S, Petaluma, Cal., '62–5; D. Sec., H.M.C., S. Francisco, Cal., '65——.

GEORGE UHLER; Pa; U.N.Y., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.)

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Oct. 17, '47; S.S., Bloomingdale, N.Y., '47–8; S.S., Centerville, R.I., '48–9; Pas. (Cong.) Greenville, R.I., '49–'52; S.S., Harrisville, R.I., '52–4; Pas., Curtisville, Mass., '55——.

THOMAS ALLEN WEED; N.Y.C.; O.C., 1843; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 8, '48; Pas., Mexico, N.Y., '47——.

WILLIAM WOOD; N.H.; D.C., 1842; U.T.S., '44–7; Ord. (Cong.) July 8, '47; F.M., Satara, Ind., '48–'62; U. States, '62——.

*JOHN J. ZIELIE; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–7; Died, Schoharie, N.Y., Sept., '47, æt. 28.

JOHN H. ZIVLEY; Tenn.; L.T.S., 1844–5; U.T.S., '45–7; Ord. (Presb.) '48; S.S., Midway, Ky., '47–9; Pas., Huntsville, Ala., '49–'51; S.S., Austin, Texas, '51——. 35.

*SAMUEL MILLS CONANT; Vt.; M.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–5; Tea., Brooklyn, N.Y., '46–8; Law, Brandon, Vt., '49–'55; Died, do., Sept. 25, '55, æt. 34.

*ENOCH HASKIN CASWELL; Vt.; M.C., 1843; Tea., '43–4; And.T.S., '44–5; U.T.S., '45–6; And.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) June 28, '48; Pas., Salisbury, N.H., '48–9; S.S., Stockbridge, Vt., '49–'50; S.S., Barnet, Vt., '51–4; Tea., Bristol, N.H., '56; S.S., Hooksett, N.H., '58–'61; S.S., Bennington, N.H., '61–3; Died, do., Nov. 11, '63, æt. 45.

JESSE WOOD DENISON; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–5; N.W.B.T.S., '45–6; Ord. (Bap.) June 17, '46; H.M., Ill., '46–'50; Tea., Ill., '50–3; Pas., Bromfield, Ill., '53–4; Tea., do., '54–5; W.C., Denison, Io., '55——.

WALTER PRICE DOE; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1844–6; And.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 10, '47; S.S., Greenville, R.I., '47–9; S.S. (R.D.) Gansevoort, (L.I.) N.Y., '52–3; S.S. (Cong.) Mendon, Mass., '54–5; S.S., W. Stockbridge, Mass., '55–6; W.C., Providence, R.I., '56; Pas., Moreau, N.Y., '57–8; S.S., Rehoboth, Mass., '58–'60; W.C., Providence, R.I., N. York City, & Saratoga, N.Y., '60——.

DAVID AMBLER HOLBROOK; N.Y.; H.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–6; Tea., Brooklyn, N.Y., '49–'52; Tea., Clinton, N.Y., '52–'65; Tea., Adams, N.Y., '65——.

GEORGE WASHINGTON KIMBALL; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1844; U.T.S., '44–6; U.S. Consul, St. Helena, S. Atl., '48–'60; Died, do., June 19, '60, æt. 38.

JOSEPH RICH MANN; N.Y.C.; C.C., 1839; U.T.S., '44–5; P.T.S., '45–7; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 22, '48; Pas., N. York City, '48–'58; S.S., do., '59–'61; Pas., Princeton, N.J., '61–4; W.C., do., '64——. D.D., C.N.J., '62.

*SAMUEL DEXTER MARSH; Mass.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–6; N.H.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 9, '47; F.M., Umlazi, S. Af., '48–'53; Died, do., Dec. 11, '53, æt. 35.

*JOHN HOAR MORSE; Vt.; U. Vt., 1842; U.T.S., '44; Died, N. York City, Nov. 19, '44, æt. 23.

EDWARD WARREN OSGOOD; Mass.; A.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–5; Banker, S. Francisco, Cal.

ROYAL PARKINSON; N.H.; D.C., 1842; U.T.S., '44–6; And.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 18, '48; S.S. & Pas., Cape Elizth., Me., '47–'51; S.S., Windham, Vt., '52–5; Pas., Falmouth, Me., '55–7; S.S., Sandwich, N.H., '60–1; S.S., Queechy, Vt., '61–2; S.S., Randolph, Vt., '63–4; Ch., U.S.A., '64. Address, Randolph, Vt.

*WILLIAM STEDMAN PECK; Ala.; Y.C., 1843; U.T.S., '44–6; Ord. (Presb.) June 25, '48; Pas., Livingston, Ala., '48–9; Died, Rome, Ga., Sept. 10, '49, æt. 26.

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*Martin Shaw Pixley; Mass.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–6; Tea., Plainfield, Mass.; Died, do., '48, æt. 28.

Garret Lansing Roof; N.Y.; U.C., 1831; Law, '33–'45; U.T.S., '45; Ord. (R.D.) '47; Pas., Glen, N.Y., '47–'50; Pas., Port Jackson, N.Y., '50–4; Pas., W. Troy, N.Y., '54——.

*Hohannes Der Sahagyan; Turkey; U.T.S., 1844–5; Ord. (Cong.) May 16, '49; Pas., Ada Bazar, Turkey, '49; Pas., Scutari, Turkey; Pas., Nicomedia, Turkey; Died, do., Feb., '65, æt. 57. 16.

1848.

Andrew Abraham; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 13, '48; F.M., Mapumulo, S. Af., '49——.

Charles Moody Atkinson; Mass.; A.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) '48; S.S., Grenada, Miss., '48–9; S.S., Carrollton, Miss., '49–'51; S.S., Canton, Miss., '52——.

Jacob Best; N.Y.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 6, '48; F.M., Gaboon, W. Af., '49–'61; S.S., Prompton & Waymart, Pa., '64——. Address, Waymart, Pa.

John D. Carnes; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1845–8; Ord. (Cong.) '50; S.S., Ridgefield & Napoleon, O., '48–9; S.S., Algonac, Mich., '50——.

*George Clark; Mass.; W.C., 1843; Tea., Tallahassee, Fla., '43–5; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) '49; Pas., St. Louis, Mo., '48–9; Tea., Tallahassee, Fla., '49–'50; Died, do., Dec. 24, '50, æt. 28.

Oliver Crane; N.J.; Y.C., 1845; And.T.S., '45–7; U.T.S., '47–8; Ord. (Presb.) June 29, '48; F.M., Broosa, Turkey, '49–'50; F.M., Aintab, Syria, '51–3; Pas., Huron, N.Y., '55–7; Pas., Waverley, N.Y., '57–'60; F.M., Adrianople, Turkey, '60–3; Pas., Carbondale, Pa., '64——.

*James Perrine Cutler; N.J.; Y.C., 1843; U.T.S., '45–8; Died, Insane Asylum, Trenton, N.J., Sept. 25, '51, æt. 28.

*Richard Salter Storrs Dickinson; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1844; Aub.T.S., '45–7; U.T.S., '47–8; Ord. (Presb.) March 28, '49; Pas., N. York City, '49–'51; S.S., Phila., Pa., '53–5; Ch., A. & F.C.U., Paris, France, '56; Died, Edinburgh, Scotland, Aug. 28, '56, æt. 32.

Alexander Burritt Dilley; Pa.; W.C., 1843; U.T.S., '43–4, 5–8; Ord. (Cong.) '49; Pas., Bentonport, Io., '48–'52; S.S., Bangor, N.Y., '52–'64; Ch., U.S.A., '64——.

*Edward Mills Dodd; N.J.; C.N.J., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) June, '48; F.M., Thessalonica, Turkey, '49–'53; F.M., Smyrna, Asia, '53–'60; F.M., Marsovan, Asia, '60–5; Died, do., Aug. 19, '65, æt. 41.

John Waldo Douglas; N.Y.; Y.C., 1840; U.T.S., '44–6, 7–8; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 29, '48; S.S., San Francisco, Cal., '48–9; S.S., San Jose, Cal., '49–'50; H.M., Los Angeles, Cal., '51–2; Ed., S. Francisco, Cal., '52–5; W.C., San Fran., Cal., '56–7; W.C., Ithaca, N.Y., '58–'60; W.C., Trenton, N.Y., '61——.

Charles Algernon Downs; Ct.; U.N.Y., 1845; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Cong.) May, '49; Pas., Lebanon, N.H., '49——.

John Welch Dulles; Pa.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 2, '48; F.M., Madras, India, '49–'53; Sec., A.S.S.U., '53–7; Sec., P.P.C., Phila., Pa., '57——.

Israel Edson Dwinell; Vt.; U.Vt., 1843; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 22, '49; Pas., Salem, Mass., '49–'63; Pas., Sacramento, Cal., '64——. D.D., U.Vt., '64.

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CORNELIUS EARLE; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1845; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Dec., '48; Pas., Unionville, Pa., '48–'52; Pas., Catasaqua, Pa., '53——.

LUTHER CALVIN HALLOCK; N.Y.; L.T.S., 1845–6; U.T.S., '46–8; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 8, '48; S.S., Wading River (L.I.) N.Y., '48–'52; W.C., Port Jefferson (L.I.) N.Y., '53–4; H.M., Charleston, S.C., '54–5; S.S., Comac (L.I.) N.Y., '56–7; S.S., New-Village (L.I.) N.Y., '57–8; W.C., Wading River (L.I.) N.Y., '58–'63; W.C., Miller's Place (L.I.) N.Y., '63——.

RUFUS KING; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Cong.) '50; Pas., Amesbury, Mass., '50–3; Pas. (Presb.) Jamestown, N.Y., '55–'60; Tea., do., '60–2; W.C., do., '62——.

SAMUEL YOUNG LUM; N.J.; U.T.S., 1845–8; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 14, '52; S.S., Newark, N.J., '48–9; Travel in Cal., '49–'50; Pas., S. Middletown, N.Y., '52–4; S.S., Lawrence, Kansas, '54–7; Ag., A.H.M.S., Kansas, '57–8; W.C., Lawrence, Kansas, '59–'61; S.S., Rehoboth, Mass., '62–4; S.S., Madison, N.Y., '64–5; S.S., Groton, N.Y., '65——.

WILLIAM H. MARBLE; N.H.; Gil.T.S., 1845–6; U.T.S., '46–8; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 11, '50; S.S., Winchester, N.H., '48–'51; Pas. (Presb.) Columbus, O., '52–5; S.S., Chesterfield, N.H., '55–6; S.S. & Pas. (Cong.) Oshkosh, Wis., '56–'63; S.S., Waupun, Wis., '63——.

DAVID MURDOCH; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 18, '50; Pas., New-Milford, Ct., '50——.

CHARLES PARKER; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1845–8; Ord. (Cong.) Nov., '48; S.S., Pleasant Valley, West, N.Y., '48–9; S.S., Ramapo, N.Y., '49–'50; S.S., N. York City, '50–1; S.S., West-Hoboken, N.J., '51–3; S.S. & Pas. (R.D.) Hoboken, N.J., '54–7; Pas., Bergen Point, N.J., '58–'60; S.S. (Presb.) Irving, Kansas, '61——.

ALEXANDER PARKINS; Va.; Del.C., 1845; U.T.S., '45–8; Ed., Berryville, Va., '49–'61; Reb. Army, '61——.

JUSTIN WRIGHT PARSONS; Mass.; W.C., 1845; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 26, '49; F.M., Thessalonica, Turkey, '50–4; F.M., Smyrna, Asia, '54–7; F.M., Baghchejuk, Turkey, '57–'60; F.M., Nicomedia, Asia, '61——.

HAMILTON W. PIERSON; N.Y.; U.C., 1843; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 13, '53; Ag., A.B.S., '49–'50; Ag., A.B.C.F.M., N. York City, '51–3; Ag., A.B.S., Louisville, Ky., '54–7; Prest., Cumb. C., Princeton, Ky., '58–'61; Ag., U.S.C.C., Wash. City, D.C., '62–5. Address, Bergen, N.Y. D.D., U.C., '60.

SAMUEL SAWYER; N.Y.; C.N.J., 1842; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 29, '49; S.S., Rogersville, Tenn., '48–'57; S.S., Marion, Ind., '57–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–4; Ag., P.C.H.M., Knoxville, Tenn., '64——.

STEPHEN CHESTER STRONG; Mass.; W.C., 1845; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 12, '54; Pas., Southampton, Mass., '54–9; Pas., Gorham, Me., '60——.

JOSEPH EMERSON SWALLOW; N.H.; D.C., 1843; And.T.S., '45–6; U.T.S., '46–8; Ord. (Cong.) July 18, '48; Pas., Greenport, N.Y., '48–'50; Pas., Wilmington, Mass., '51–5; Pas., Nantucket, Mass., '56–8; S.S., Stoneham, Mass., '58–9; Pas., Southampton, Mass., '59–'62; S.S., Burlington, Mass., '63——.

EDWARD BROWN WALSWORTH; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; Aub.T.S., '45–7; U.T.S., '47–8; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 27, '48; Pas., E. Avon, N.Y., '48–'52; Pas., Marysville, Cal., '52–'61; S.S., Oakland, Cal., '62–4; Prest., Fem. Coll., do., '64——.

SAMUEL HOPKINS WILLEY; N.H.; D.C., 1845; U.T.S., '45–8; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 30, '48; S.S., Monterey, Cal., '48–'50; S.S. & Pas., San Francisco, Cal., '50–'62; V. Prest., Cal. C., San Francisco, Cal., '62——. 29.

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*Joseph Whiting Browning; O.; Ma.C., 1844; L.T.S., '45–6; U.T.S., '46–7; Died, N. York City, Ap. 9, '47, æt. 27.

William A. Crawford; Va.; Del.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–6; Tea. & Prof., Del. C., '46–'56; Tea. & Agric., ——, '56–'62; Ch., Reb. Army, '62–4.

*Silas W. Deuel; N.Y.; U.C., 1845; U.T.S., '45–6. Died, Esperance, N.Y., '46, æt. 24.

Francis Fowler; Mass.; U. Vt., 1843; U.T.S., '45–6; Tea.

Edward Whiting Gilman; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1843; U.T.S., '45–7; N.H.T.S., '47–8; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 4, '49; Tut., Y.C., '47–9; Pas., Lockport, N.Y., '49–'56; Pas., Cambridgeport, Mass., '56–8; Pas., Bangor, Me., '59–'63; Pas., Stonington, Ct., '64——.

*James H. McNeill; N.C.; Del.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–7; P.T.S., '47–8; Ord. (Presb.) '49; S.S. & Pas., Pittsboro, N.C., '48–'53; Sec., A.B.S., N. York City, '50–'61; Ed., Fayetteville, N.C., '61–3; Reb. Army, '63–5; Killed, Petersburgh, Va., Ap. 2, '65, æt. 40.

Silas Goodyear Randall; Vt.; M.C., 1845; U.T.S., '45–6; And.T.S., '46–8; Ord. (Presb.) '49; S.S., Roscoe, Ill., '48–'50; W.C., Essex, N.Y., '51–2; W.C., Elgin, Mich., '53–4; W.C., Rockford, Ill., '54; W.C., Chicago, Ill., '55; W.C., Rockford, Ill., '56——.

William Ebenezer Tyler; Mass.; A.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45–7; Tea. D. & D.I., Columbus, O.

John Elias Whitehead; N.Y.C.; R.C., 1844; U.T.S., '45; Tea., N. York City. 9.

1849.

William Aikman; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 26, '49; Pas., Newark, N.J., '49–'57; Pas., Wilmington, Del., '57——.

Isaac Henry Brayton; N.Y.; H.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 18, '50; S.S. & Pas., San José, Cal., '50–3; Ag., San Francisco, Cal., '53–4; Ed., do., '54–9; Prof., Cal. C., Oakland, Cal., '60——.

Robert Campbell; Miss.; Mi. C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S., Vicksburgh, Miss., '49–'51; S.S., Monticello, Miss., '51–3; S.S., Trinity, La., '54–7; Tea., do., '57——

Nathan Colton Chapin; Ct.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 2, '51; S.S., Watertown, Wis., '51–3; S.S., Kenosha, Wis., '54–7; Pas., La Crosse, Wis., '57——.

Alexander Crocker Childs; Mass.; Y.C., 1845; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Cong.) May 18, '53; Pas., E. Falmouth, Mass., '53–5; Pas., Amesbury, Mass., '56–8; Pas., W. Rehoboth, Mass., '59–'62; Pas., Chatham, Mass., '62——.

George Whitefield Coan; N.Y.; W.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) June 6, '49; F.M., Oroomiah, Persia, '49——.

Charles Fanning; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1845; U.T.S., '46–9; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '49–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 23, '50; Pas., Belvidere, Ill., '50–4; Trade, N. York City, '55——.

Horace W. Finch; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (R.D.) '57; S.S., Danby, Vt., '49–'51; S.S., E. Whitehall, N.Y., '51–7; Pas. (R.D.) Greenport, N.Y., '57–'60; W.C., Whitehall, N.Y., '60——.

George De Forest Folsom; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1845; N.H.T.S., '46–7; U.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Cong.) July 11, '50; Pas. (Presb.) Elbridge, N.Y., '50–3; Pas. (Cong.) N. York City, '53–5; Pas., Springfield, Mass., '55–'60; Pas., Fair Haven, Ct., '62——.

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CHARLES HEDGES FORCE; N.J.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 22, '49; S.S. (Cong.) Central Falls, R.I., '49–'50; S.S. (Presb.) Unadilla, N.Y., '51–6; Pas., S. Ottawa, Ill., '56–'64; S.S., Ottawa, Ill., '64——.

FISK HARMON; Vt.; U.T.S., 1845–6, 7–9; Ord. (Cong.) July 9, '50; Pas., Hebron, N.Y., '49–'51; S.S., Fall River, Mass., '52; Ag., N. York City, '53; S.S. (Presb.) Pittstown & Johnsonville, N.Y., '53–4; S.S., Lisbon, Wis., '54–6; S.S., Panora, Io., '56–8; Pas., Swede Point, Io., '58——.

GEORGE WASHINGTON HERVEY; N.Y.; Cn.C., 1847; N.T.S., '46–7; U.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Bap.) '49; Pas., Red Bank, N.J., '49–'51; Pas., Hudson, N.Y., '51–8; Pas., Canton, Mass., '58–'60; Lit., N. York City, '60–3; Pas., Oppenheim, N.Y., '63–5; Lit., N. York City, '65——.

*EDMUND DYER HOLT; N.Y.; A.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) May 28, '50; Pas., Rock Island, Ill., '50–2; Pas., Montrose, Io., '52–6; S.S., Chatfield, Minn., '56–'65; Died, do., June 11, '65, æt. 47.

WILLIAM EDWARD HOLYOKE; Ill.; K.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 18, '52; S.S. & Pas., Farmington, Ill., '51–4; Pas., Elgin, Ill., '54–8; S.S. & Pas. (Presb.) Palo, Ill., '58——.

JACOB AUGUSTINE HOOD; Mass.; D.C., 1844; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 2, '50; Pas., Middleton, Mass., '50–4; Pas., Pittsfield, N.H., '54–'62; Pas., Loudon, N.H., '62——.

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE; Scotland; O.C., 1845; O.T.S., '46–7; U.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 15, '51; S.S., Williston, Vt., '49–'51; Pas., Plympton, Mass., '51–5; S.S., Matapoisett, Mass., '55–9; Explorer, E. Africa, '59——.

JONATHAN LYONS; Va.; U.T.S., 1846–9; Ord. (Presb.) '50; H.M., Salem, Va., '50–2; Ag., A.B.S., Madisonville, Tenn., '52–4; Do., Greenville, Tenn., '54–7; Do., Benton, Tenn., '57–8; S.S., Jeffersonville, Va., '58——.

DWIGHT WHITNEY MARSH; O.; W.C., 1842; And.T.S., '46–7; U.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 2, '49; F.M., Mosul, Turkey, '50–'62; Tea., Rochester, N.Y., '63——.

JAMES MORTON; N.Y.; Y.C., 1845; U.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 12, '51; S.S., Turin, N.Y., '50–4; S.S., Del. City, Del., '54–9; S.S., N. York City, '60–1; S.S., Tremont, N.Y., '61–3; S.S., Galesburgh, Ill., '64; W.C., N. York City, '65——.

ISAAC N. NAFF; Va.; U.T.S., 1846–9; Ord. (Presb.) June 8, '51; S.S., Eastville, Va., '49–'51; S.S., Jeffersonville, Va., '51–7; S.S., New-Dublin, Va., '57——.

GURDON WHEELER NOYES; Ct.; A.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 19, '49; Pas., Portsmouth, Va., '49–'51; Pas. (Cong.) Cornwall, Vt., '52–4; S.S. & Pas., New-Haven, Ct., '54–'61; Pas., Fair Haven, Ct., '61——.

ISAAC LEWIS PEET; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1845; U.T.S., '46–9; Prof., D. & D.I., N. York City, '45——.

ISRAEL BRYANT SMITH; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) July 13, '51; S.S., E. Hampton (L.I.) N.Y., '49–'50; S.S., Fresh Pond (L.I.) N.Y., '51–6; S.S., Mt. Pleasant & Uniondale, Pa., '57–'60; S.S., Northport (L.I.) N.Y., '60——.

WILLIAM CLARKE ULYAT; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Bap.) '51; S.S., Princeton, N.J., '49–'51; Pas. & Ed., Norwalk, Ct., '51–7; Pas., Hudson, N.Y., '58–'62; Lit., N. York City, '63——.

JOSEPH CLINTON WHITNEY; N.Y.; O.C., 1845; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Presb.) May 28, '50; S.S., Stillwater, Minn., '49–'53; Pas., Minneapolis, Minn., '53–8; S.S., Forest City, Minn., '58–62; U.S.A., Minneapolis, Minn., '62——. 25.

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CLEMENT EDSON BABB; Mich.; Di.C., 1840; U.T.S., '46–7; L.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '48; Pas., Indianapolis, Ind., '48–'52; Ed., Cincinnati, O., '53——. Pas., College Hill, O., '64–5; Ed., Cincinnati, O., '65——.

EDWARD GRIFFIN BARTLETT; N.H.; Y.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–7; M.D., U.N.Y., '50; Physician, N. York City, '49——.

BRONSON BURTON BEARDSLEY; Ct.; Trade, Bridgeport, Ct., 1835–'45; U.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 8, '50; S.S., White Plains, N.Y., '49–'50; H.M., Arkansas, '50–1; S.S., Hartford, Ct., '52–3; S.S., Shirley, Mass., '53–9; C.M., Hartford, Ct., '59; Inv., Bridgeport, Ct., '60——. A.B., Y.C., '51.

JONATHAN KELSEY BURR; Ct.; W.U., 1845; U.T.S., '46–7; Ord. (M.E.) Ap. 12, '52; Pas., Rome & Wantage, N.J., '48–9; Pas., Milford, N.J., '49–'51; Pas., Orange, N.J., '51–3; Pas., Burlington, N.J., '53–5; Pas., Hoboken, N.J., '55–7; Pas., Trenton, N.J., '57–8; Pas., Newark, N.J., '58–'60; Pas., Orange, N.J., '60–2; Pas., Paterson, N.J., '62–4; Pas., Hoboken, N.J., '64——.

JAMES GLENTWORTH BUTLER; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1846–7; N.H.T.S., '47–9; Res. Lic., do., '49–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 2, '52; Pas., West-Phila., Pa., '52——. D.D., H.C., '64.

*JOSEPH C. CHAMBERLAIN; Del.; Del. C., 1844; U.T.S., '46; Died, N. York City, Nov. 9, '46, æt. 20.

HENRY PERRIN COON; N.Y.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '46–7; P.T.S., '47; M.D., W.C.; Physician, Taconic, N.Y., '50——.

*GEORGE WASHINGTON DUNMORE; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–8; B.T.S., '48–9; Ord. (Cong.) Feb., '50; F.M., Aintab, Syria, '51; F.M., Diarbekr, Turkey, '51–4; F.M., Arabkir, Turkey, '54–5; F.M., Kharpoot, Turkey, '55–7; F.M., Erzeroom, Asia, '58–'60; Ch., U.S.A., '61–2; Killed, Languelle Creek, Ark., Aug. 3, '62, æt. 42.

EZRA W. GOODRICH; N.Y.; U.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9.

MARSHALL HENSHAW; Pa.; A.C., 1845; U.T.S., '46–7; Tut., A.C., '47–9; Tea., Derry, N.H., '49–'53; Tea., Byfield, Mass., '53–9; Prof., R.C., '59–'63; Prest., Williston Sem., E. Hampton, Mass., '63——. LL.D., U.N.Y., '63.

*JOHN HOWARD; Va.; U.T.S., 1846–9; Ord. (Presb.) '53; S.S., Richmond, Va., '49–'53; S.S., P. Edward C.H., Va., '54–5; S.S., Woodstock, Va., '55–6; Died, do., Feb. 27, '57, æt. 37.

ZEPHANIAH MOORE HUMPHREY; Mass.; A.C., 1843; U.T.S., '46–7; And.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. '50; Pas., Racine, Wis., '50–6; Pas. (Cong.) Milwaukee, Wis., '56–9; Pas. (Presb.) Chicago, Ill., '59——. D.D., U.Ch., '64.

RICHARD G. E. HUMPHREYS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–9; Ord. (Cong.) '52; S.S. (Presb.) Cairo, N.Y., '51–2; W.C., N. York City, '53——.

LEWIS JESSUP; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1846–8; B.T.S., '48–9: Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 19, '51; Pas., Northfield, Ct., '51–5; Pas., Millbury, Mass., '56–'60; S.S., Lisbon, Ct., '61–4; S.S., Jewett City, Ct., '64——.

*GEORGE MCNEILL; N.C.; Del. C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–7; P.T.S., '47–9; Ord. (Presb.) '53; S.S., Ashboro, N.C., '50–4; S.S., Washington, N.C., '54–5; Inv., Fayetteville, N.C., '55–7; Ed., do., '58–'63; Died, do., Sept., '61, æt. 34.

EMMONS THOMPSON MOCKRIDGE; N.J.; W.C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–7; Trade, '48——.

HENRY A. NITCHIE; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1846–7.

AUSTIN N. PARKHURST; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–7.

JOHN CHESTER PHELPS; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1846–8.

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JOHN J. ROBINSON; Ga.; U.E.T., 1845; U.T.S., '46–8; Ord. (Presb.) '50; S.S., Maryville, Tenn., '50–1; Prof., Mv. C., do., '52–'61; Ch., Reb. Army, '62–5.

*WILLIAM LYMAN SILCOX; Mass.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '46–8; Died, N. York City, Ap. 6, '48, æt. 28.

JOSEPH GILLIARD WILLIAMSON; Pa.; Del. C., 1846; U.T.S., '46–8; P.T.S., '48–9; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 21, '49; Pas., Bethlehem, N.J., '49——. Address, Sidney, N.J. 22.

1850.

FRANCIS EBEN MERIAM BACHELER; N.Y.C.; B.U., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) May 16, '54; S.S. & Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '51–7; Pas., Patchogue (L.I.) N.Y., '58–9; S.S., Killingly (Dayville) Ct., '59–'62; W.C., Lebanon, Ct., '62–3; Pas., Sparta, N.J., '64——.

JOHN BRADSHAW; N.Y.; M.C., 1839; Tea., Addison Co., Vt., '39–'41; Tea., Ft. Covington, N.Y., '41–3; Tea., Ogdensburgh, N.Y., '43–8; U.T.S., '49–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '51; S.S., Elizabethtown, N.Y., '50–3; Pas., Crown Point, N.Y., '53——.

UZAL WADE CONDIT; N.J.; W.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 23, '50; Pas., Lynnfield Centre, Mass., '50–5; Pas., Deerfield, N.H., '55–'64; Pas., Salisbury, N.H., '64——.

ANDREW CLARK DENISON; Ct.; Y.C., 1847; E.W.T.S., '47–9; U.T.S., '49–'50; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 4, '51; C. Pas., Leicester, Mass., '51–6; Tea., Boston, Mass., '56–8; S.S., Westchester, Ct., '58–'61; Pas., Portland, Ct., '61——.

WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE EDDY; O.; W.C., 1845; U.T.S., '47–'50; Res. Lic., '50–1; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 18, '51; F.M., Aleppo, Syria, '51–4; F.M., Beirut, Syria, '54–7; F.M., Sidon, Syria, '57——.

ASA ELMORE EVEREST; N.Y.; M.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) May 8, '50; S.S., Brooklyn, N.Y., '50–1; W.C., do., '51–2; W.C., Peru, N.Y., '51–8; S.S., Masonville, N.Y., '58–9; S.S. (Presb.) Mooers, N.Y., '59–'64; Ch., U.S.A., '64–5; W.C., Peru, N.Y., '65——.

STEPHEN SYDNEY GOODMAN; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) July, '51; S.S., Brooklyn, N.Y., '51–2; S.S., Oriskany, N.Y., '52–4; Pas., Milford, N.Y., '54–8; S.S., Unadilla, N.Y., '58——.

RICHARD HALL; N.H.; D.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 8, '50; S.S., Pt. Douglas, Minn., '50–6; Ag., A.H.M.S., St. Paul, Minn., '56——.

WHEELOCK NYE HARVEY; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1844; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) May 18, '53; Pas., Bethel, Ct., '53–8; Pas., Milford, Ct., '58–'62; Pas., Wilton, Ct., '62——.

JOHN HAWKS; Mass.; A.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '51; S.S., Newport & Montezuma, & Toronto, Ind., '55–6; S.S., Kirtland, O., '56–7; S.S., Perrysville, Ind., '58–9; S.S., Rockville, Ind., '60——.

SIMEON SPAFFORD HUGHSON; N.J.; O.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 20, '50; S.S., Walworth, N.Y., '50–2; S.S., Penn Yan, N.Y., '52–4; Pas., Rushville, N.Y., '54–'64.

WILLIAM H. LOCKWOOD; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S. & Pas., Coventryville, N.Y., '51–7; S.S., Lowville, N.Y., '57–'64; S.S., Eau Claire, Wis., '64——.

*HUGH SNEED MCELROY; Ky.; Cr.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Sept., '50; S.S., Midway, Ky., '51–4; S.S., McAfee, Ky., '54–5; Pas., Detroit, Mich., '55–7; Died, do., Dec. 24, '57, æt. 29.

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PETER J. H. MYERS; N.Y.; M.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '50; S.S., Clinton, N.Y., '50–2; S.S., Middlebury, Vt., '52–3; W.C., Mooers, N.Y., '53; Pas., Haverstraw, N.Y., '54–9; C.M., Brooklyn, N.Y., '60–3; Ch., do., '64; Pas., Dandridge, Tenn., '65——.

EMERY H. PAGE; N.Y.; B.U., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Bap.) '50; Pas., Charlestown, Mass., '50–8; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '59——

WILSON PHRANER; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 28, '51; Pas., Sing Sing, N.Y., '51——.

EPAMINONDAS JAMES PIERCE; Pa.; D.C., 1845; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '51; F.M., Gaboon, W. Af., '51–'60; W.C., Phila., Pa., '60–3; S.S., Del. Water Gap, Pa., '63–5; S.S., W. Phila., Pa., '65——.

LEWIS HUBBARD REID; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 4, '50; Pas., Fayetteville, N.Y., '50–'62; Pas., Syracuse, N.Y., '62——.

*SAMUEL ANDLEY RHEA; Tenn.; U.E.T., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 2, '51; F.M., Gawar, Persia, '51–8; F.M., Seir, Persia, '60–1; F.M., Oroomiah, Persia, '61–5; Died, near do., Sept. 3, '65, æt. 38.

GEORGE GABY RICE; Vt.; U.Vt., 1845; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 29, '51; S.S., Fairfield, Io., '50–1; S.S., Council Bluffs, Io., '51–9; S.S., Hiawatha & Albany, Kan., '59——. Address, Albany, Kan.

*HENRY EDWIN RUGGLES; Vt.; D.C., 1845; U.T.S., '48–'50; Ord. (Cong.) '51; Pas., Eaton Village, N.Y., '51–6; Died, Newbury, Vt., Dec. 24, '56, æt. 34.

CHARLES SECCOMBE; Mass.; D.C., 1847; U.T.S., '48–'50; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 8, '50; Pas., Falls of St. Anthony, Minn., '50——.

FRANKLIN GOLDTHWAITE SHERRILL; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1846; U.T.S., '46–7, 8–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 13, '50; S.S., Ceresco & Ripon, Wis., '50–3; S.S. (Cong.) Caledonia & Oak Creek, Wis., '53–8; S.S., Fulton, Wis., '58–'61; S.S., Oak Creek, Wis., '61–4; W.C., Milwaukee, Wis., '64——.

EDWIN GRAHAM SMITH; Ill.; K.C., 1846; L.T.S., '47–9; U.T.S. '49–'50; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 7, '50; Tremont, Ill., '57——.

NAHUM IGNACE STEINER; Bohemia; U.T.S., 1847–'50; Ag. A.S.M.C.J., N. York City, '50–4; W.C., N. York City, '54——.

SETH BRADLEY STONE; Ct.; Y.C., 1842; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '50; F.M., Ifafa, Zulus, S. Africa, '51——.

GUY CHANDLER STRONG; Vt.; M.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) '50; S.S., Moira, N.Y., '50–3; S.S., Grandville, Mich., '55–9; S.S., Boston, Mich., '60–3; S.S., Sharon, Mich., '63–5; S.S., Saranac, Mich., '65——.

WICKS S. TITUS; N.Y.; U.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'50; Ord. (M.E.) June 4, '54; Pas., New-Brunswick, N.J., '51–2; Tea., Pennington, N.J., '52–3; Tea., Fulton, N.Y., '53–4; Pas., Ogdensburgh, N.Y., '54–6; Pas., Canton, N.Y., '56–7; Pas., Watertown, N.Y., '57–9; Pas., Camden, N.Y., '59–'61; Pas., Weedsport, N.Y., '61–3; Pas., Mexico, N.Y., '63–4; Pas., Geddes, N.Y., '64——.

JAMES WALKER; N.Y.; A.C., 1844; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '52; S.S., Waynesville, Ill., '50–2; S.S., Unionville, Ill., '52–8; S.S., Eckford & Tekonsha, Mich., '58–'64. Address, Marshall, Mich.

JAMES HENRY WARREN; Io.; K.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–'50; Ord. (Cong.) May 8, '50; S.S., San Francisco, Cal., '50–1; Pas., Nevada City, Cal., '51–8; Ed., San Francisco, Cal., '58–'62; Pas., San Mateo, Cal., '62–4; Ag., A.H.M.S., San Francisco, Cal., '65——. 30.

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*Charles Luther Adams; N.Y.; H.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–8; Aub.T.S., '48–'50; Ord. (Cong.) '50; S.S., Neenah, Wis., '50–2; Died, do., Oct. 24, '52, æt. 32.

John Eliot Benton; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '47–9; N.H.T.S., '49–'50; Ord. (Cong.) '51; S.S., Mission Dolores, Cal., '51–8; S.S., Folsom, Cal., '59——.

Charles Loring Brace; Ct.; Y.C., 1846; N.H.T.S., '47–8; U.T.S., '48–9; Europe, '50–2; Sec., C.A.S., N. York City, '53——.

Edwin Johnson; Ct.; Y.C., 1846; U.T.S., '47–9; N.H.T.S., '49–'50; Ord. (Cong.) June 6, '52; S.S., Milford, Ct., '50–1; S.S. & Pas., Jacksonville, Ill., '51–8; Pas., Boston, Mass., '59–'61; Pas., Bangor, Me., '61–5; Pas., Baltimore, Md., '65——.

Nathaniel B. Klink; N.Y.; U.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–8; P.T.S., '48–'50; Ord. (Presb.) '53; S.S., Oneida Valley, N.Y., '51–2; S.S., W. Galway, N.Y., '52–3; Pas., Balston Spa, N.Y., '53–4; Pas., Fairmount, N.J., '55–9; S.S., Sacramento, Cal., '60–1; S.S., Vallejo, Cal., '62——.

John H. Meacham; N.Y.; U.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–8; Tea., Buffalo, N.Y.

*Homer Bartlett Morgan; N.Y.; H.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–8; Tea., '48–9; Aub.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (Presb.) July 9, '51; F.M., Salonica, Turkey, '52–3; F.M., Smyrna, Asia, '53–6; F.M., Antioch, Syria, '57–'65; Died, Smyrna, Asia, Aug. 26, '65, æt. 38.

Alfred Plant; Mass.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–8; N.H.T.S., '48–'50; Trade, St. Louis, Mo., '51——.

Aaron Potter; N.Y.; U.C., 1842; U.T.S., '47–8; H.T.S., '48–'50; Ord. (Bap.)

Josiah Addison Priest; N.Y.; H.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–8; Ord. (Presb.) June 25, '51; Pas., Cooperstown, N.Y., '51–5; Pas., Homer, N.Y., '55–8; Pas., W. Bloomfield (Montclair) N.J., '58–'61; Europe, '61–2; S.S., Cooperstown, N.Y., '63; Pas., Gloversville, N.Y., '64——.

Edward C. Robb; Tenn.; N.U., 1841; U.T.S., '47–8; P.T.S., '48.

Thomas Henderson Rouse; N.Y.; W.C., 1847; E.W.T.S., '47–9; U.T.S., '49–'50; E.W.T.S., '50; Ord. (Cong.) July 18, '54; S.S., Feeding Hills, Mass., '50–1; S.S. & Pas., Poquonnock, Ct., '51–6; Pas., Jamestown, N.Y., '56——.

Henry R. Smith; N.Y.; U.C., 1844; U.T.S., '47–8; P.T.S., '48–9; Ord. (Presb.) '49; S.S., Leesburgh, Va., '49——.

James Hewitt Trowbridge; N.Y.; M.C., 1847; U.T.S., '47–9; N.H.T.S., '49–'50; Ord. (Presb.) Nov., '53; Pas., Haverstraw, N.Y., '50–3; Pas., Marshall, Mich., '54–6; Pas., Dubuque, Io., '56–'62; Pas., Chicago, Ill., '62–5; W.C., Chicago, Ill., '65——.

*William Wardlaw; Tenn.; Ja.C., 1846; U.T.S., '47–8; Died, Shelbyville, Tenn., Mar., '49, æt. 25. 15.

1851.

William Pratt Barker; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Med.Coll., N.Y., '51–3; Ord. (Presb.) May 4, '53; F.M., Satara, India, '51–8; F.M., Khokar, India, '58–'65. Address, N. York City.

*Daniel Bond; N.Y.; H.C., 1848; Aub.T.S., '48–'50; U.T.S., '50–1; Res. Lic., '51–2; Ord. (Presb.) June 29, '52; Pas., Peekskill, N.Y., '52; Died, do., Aug. 20, '52, æt. 25.

Edgar Warner Clarke; N.Y.; W.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord.

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(Presb.) Dec. 9, '56; S.S., Evans, N.Y., '51–4; Pas., Medina, N.Y., '55–'60; S.S., Milton, N.Y., '62——.

ELI CORWIN; N.Y.; W.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) June 22, '51; Sea. Ch., San Francisco, Cal., '51–2; Pas., San José, Cal., '52–8; S.S. & Pas., Honolulu, S. Islds., '58——.

LEWIS GANO; N.J.; U.T.S., 1848–'51; Res. Lic., '51–2; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 7, '55; Tea., Woodstock, Ct., '51; Trav., Europe, '51–2; S.S., Bethlehem, N.J., '52–3; Pas., Whitehall, N.Y., '54–6; S.S., Davenport, Io., '56–7; S.S., Albany, Ill., '57–8; W.C., Chicago, Ill., '58–9; Deposed, Presb. of Troy, June 29, '60.

*ADMATHA GROUT; Vt.; D.C., 1845; U.T.S., '48–'51; Inv., W. Brattleboro, Vt., '51–5; Inv., Osawatomie, Kan., '55; Died, do., Sept. 6, '55, æt. 38.

THOMAS SAMUEL HASTINGS; N.Y.C.; H.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Res. Lic., '51–2; Ord. (Presb.) July 5, '52; Pas., Mendham, N.J., '52–6; Pas., N. York City, '56——. D.D., U.N.Y., '65.

THERON HOLBROOK HAWKS; Mass.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '48–'51; Res. Lic., '51–2; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 5, '55; Pas., W. Springfield, Mass., '55–6; Pas. (Presb.) Cleveland, O., '61——. D.D., W.C., '64.

LOUIS PALEMON LEDOUX; La.; A.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) June 22, '51; S.S., Newport, Ky., '52; Pas., Monroe, Mich., '53–5; Pas., Richmond, Va., '55–8; Pas., Cornwall Landing, N.Y., '58——. D.D., Ind.U., '61.

ARUNAH HALL LILLY; N.Y.; W.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; And.T.S., '49–'50; U.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 10, '51; S.S., Centreville, N.Y., '53–5; Pas., Silver Creek, N.Y., '56–9; S.S., E. Palmyra, '60——.

SAMUEL WALLACE PHELPS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. '51; H.M., N.W. Ill., '51–2; Pas., Lee Centre, Ill., '52——.

SANFORD WASHBURN ROE; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) Aug. 22, '52; S.S., N. Bergen, N.J., '51–2; Pas., Cairo, N.Y., '52–'60; Pas., Jamestown, N.Y., '60–5; W.C., do., '65——.

*EDWARD F. ROSS; N.Y.; U.C., 1848; And.T.S., '48–'50; U.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 26, '51; Pas., Morrisania, N.Y., '51–4; W.C., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '54–5; Died, Pleasant Valley, N.Y., Feb. 22, '55, æt. 29.

JOSEPH ROWELL; N.H.; Y.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 12, '51; Sea. Ch., Panama, New-Granada, '52–6; do., Aspinwall, N.G., '56–8; do., San Francisco, Cal., '58–9; Pas., San Francisco, Cal., '59——.

JAMES SINCLAIR; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1848; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 13, '51; S.S. & Pas., Cutchogue (L.I.) N.Y., '51–'61; S.S., Boiling Spring, N.J., '61–2; S.S., Croton Falls, N.Y., '62–4; W.C., Harlem, N.Y., '64–5; Pas., Smithtown Branch (L.I.) N.Y., '65——.

*JOSEPH WALWORTH SUTPHEN; N.Y.; H.C., 1847; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 7, '51; F.M., Marsovan, Turkey, '51–2; Died, do., Oct. 9, '52, æt. 27.

LYMAN WESLEY WALSWORTH; O.; O.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (M.E.) May 13, '55; Pas., Lattintown, N.Y., '51–2; Pas., Deposit, N.Y., '52–4; Pas., Newburgh, N.Y., '54–6; Pas., Dobbs' Ferry, N.Y., '56–8; Pas., Pine Plains, N.Y., '58–'60; Pas., Marlboro & Lattintown, N.Y., '60–2; Pas., Hillsdale, N.Y., '62–4; Pas., Lee, Mass., '64——.

EPHER WHITAKER; N.J.; Del.C., 1847; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 10, '51; Pas., Southold (L.I.) N.Y., '51——.

AARON ROBARTS WOLFE; N.J.; W.C., 1844; U.T.S., '44–5; Tea., '45–8; U.T.S., '48–'51; Ord. (Presb.) Nov., '53; Tea., Tallahassee, Fla., & S.S., Jamonia, Fla., '53–5; Tea., N. York City, '55–8; S.S., Parsippany, N.J., '58–9; Tea., Montclair, N.J., '59——. 19.

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*Austin Arnold; Ct.; Y.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; Law, San Francisco, Cal., '49–'50; Died, do., '50, æt. 28.

Myron Barrett; N.Y.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '48–'50; P.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 2, '53; S.S., Detroit, Mich., '52–3; Pas., Newton, N.J., '54–9; W.C., do., '59–'63; S.S., New-Haven, Ct., '63–4; S.S., White Plains, N.Y., '65; W.C., Newton, N.J., '65——.

*Jacob Edgerton Blakely; Vt.; M.C., 1844; Tea., '44–8; U.T.S., '48–9; Aub.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (Cong.) '59; Pas., E. Poultney, Vt., '53–4; Died, do., May 6, '54, æt. 33.

Charles Duryee Buck; N.Y.; W.C., 1845; U.T.S., '48–9; Ord. (R.D.) '61; S.S. & Pas., Peekskill, N.Y., '52——.

Matthias Day; O.; O.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; Trade, Mansfield, O., '50——.

Hannibal Goodwin; N.Y.; U.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; Ord. (P.Ep.) June 29, '51; S.S., Allentown, Pa., '51–3; Rec., Bordentown, N.J., '53–8; Rec., San Francisco, Cal., '58–'62; Rec., Napa, Cal., '63–4; Rec., San Francisco, Cal., '64——.

Robert Gray; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1848–9; Lit., N. York City.

William Brooks Greene; Mass.; Y.C., 1845; U.T.S., '48–9; N.H.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 15, '55; Pas., Waterville, Me., '55–8; S.S., Needham, Mass., '59——.

Francis Augustine Howe; Mass.; A.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; M.D., Har.C., '54.

Richard Goodell Keyes; N.Y.; H.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; Aub.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 29, '52; S.S. (Presb.) Westford, N.Y., '53–4; S.S., Painted Post, N.Y., '54–6; S.S., Dexter & Brownsville, N.Y., '57–'60; S.S., Evansville, N.Y., '61; S.S., Burrville, N.Y., '63–4; W.C., Watertown, N.Y., '65——.

Daniel B. Lyon; N.Y.; U.C., 1847; U.T.S., '48–9; Aub.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (P.Ep.); H.M., Saginaw, Mich., '52–8; H.M., Ionia, Mich., '59–'63; H.M., Ripon, Wis., '64——.

John McDevitt; N.J.; Bel.C., 1847; P.T.S., '48–'50; U.T.S., '50; Prot. Miss., N. York City, '51–2; do., Chicago, Ill., '52–5; do., Louisville, Ky., '56–'62; Ireland, '63; C.M., Louisville, Ky., '64——.

*Daniel Temple Noyes; Mass.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '48–9; And.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 16, '53; Pas., Dorchester, Mass., '53–5; S.S., Prairie du Sac, Wis., '55–8; S.S., Spring Green, Wis., '58–'61; U.S.A., '61–2; Killed, Corinth, Miss., Oct. 4, '62, æt. 38.

*Alexander Fisher Olmsted; Ct.; Y.C., 1844; U.T.S., '48–9; Phil. Dep., Y.C., '49, '51–3; Died, New-Haven, Ct., '53, æt. 30.

Andrew Tully Pratt; Ct.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '48–9; N.H.T.S., '49–'51; M.D., U.N.Y., '52; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 8, '52; F.M., Aintab, Asia, '53–8; F.M., Aleppo, Syria, '58–'60; F.M., Antioch, Syria, '61–2; F.M., Aleppo, Syria, '62–3; F.M., Marash, Syria, '63——.

George Soule; Ct.; A.C., 1847; Tea., '47–8; E.W.T.S., '48–9; U.T.S., '49–'50; E.W.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 18, '55; S.S., Ashford, Ct., '51–2; S.S. & Pas., Hampton, Ct., '53——.

Giles Buckingham Willcox; Ct.; Y.C., 1848; U.T.S., '48–9; N.H.T.S., '49–'50; And.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Cong.) June 15, '53; Pas., Fitchburgh, Mass., '53–6; Pas., New-London, Ct., '59——. 17.

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1852.

JOHN WILLIAM BAILEY; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 9, '52; Pas., Galesburgh, Ill., '52–7; Prof., K.C., do., '57–'63; S.S., Bloomington, Ill., '64——.

CHARLES WASHINGTON BAIRD; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 4, '53; Ch., Rome, It., '52–4; Ag., A. & F.C.U., N. York City, '54–5; W.C., do., '55–9; Pas. (R.D.) S. Brooklyn, N.Y., '59–'61; Pas. (Presb.) Rye, N.Y., '61——.

JASPER NEWTON BALL; N.H.; D.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Cong.) June 30, '53; F.M., Cesarea, Syria, '53–6; F.M., Yoggat, Turkey, '56–'61; S.S., Oconto, Wis., '62–4; S.S., Grand Rapids, Wis., '64——.

JAMES LEONARD CORNING; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; N.H.T.S., '50–1; U.T.S., '51–2; Ord. (Cong.) June 22, '52; S.S., Quinebaug, Ct., '52–3; Pas. (Presb.) Stamford, Ct., '53–6; Pas., Buffalo, N.Y., '57–9; Pas., Milwaukee, Wis., '59–'61; S.S. (Cong.) Woodstock, Ct., '61–2; Pas., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., '63——.

EDWARD TOPPIN DOANE; N.Y.; I.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 26, '54; F.M., Ebon Isld., Micronesia, '53——.

CHARLES SEELY DUNNING; N.Y.; W.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 8, '58; S.S., Binghamton, N.Y., '52–3; Tut., U.T.S., '53–7; Pas., Franklin, N.Y., '58–'61; Pas., Honesdale, Pa., '61——.

HOMER NORTHROP DUNNING; N.Y.; Y.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Cong.) '52; Pas., Gloversville, N.Y., '52——.

LEVI WELLS HART; Ct.; Y.C., 1846; Tea., '46–9; U.T.S., '49–'52; Tea., Brooklyn, N.Y., '53——.

*THOMAS D. HUDSON; Va.; W.C.Va., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) '53; S.S., Newbern, Va., '53–5; Died, Wythe Co., Va., July 15, '55, æt. 31.

THOMAS JEFFERSON LAMAR; Tenn.; Mv.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) '54; H.M., Weston, Mo., '52–4; Tea., Savannah, Mo., '54–7; Prof., Mv.C., '57–'61; S.S., Maryville, Tenn., '62——.

ELIJAH DOUGLAS MURPHY; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) May 4, '53; C.M., Brooklyn, N.Y., '53–4; S.S. (Cong.) Centerbrook, Ct., '55–6; S.S., Indian Orchard, Mass., '56–8; Pas., Avon, Ct., '59–'64; U.S.C.Com., '64; Pas. (Presb.) N. York City, '64——.

CHARLES FREDERICK MUSSEY; O.; D.C., 1848; And.T.S., '49–'51; U.T.S., '51–2; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 26, '54; S.S., McConnellsville, O., '54–5; Pas., Westfield, N.Y., '55–'61; Pas., Batavia, N.Y., '62——.

OSCAR NEWTON; Miss.; Mi.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Tea., Jackson, Miss., '52–6; Tea., Summit, Miss., '57–9; Tea., Crystal Springs, Miss., '60——.

*EDWARD PEET; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '49–'52; Prof., D. & D. Inst., N. York City, '48–'63; Died, do., Jan. 27, '62, æt. 35.

EDGAR M. RICHARDSON; Miss.; Mi.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S., Grenada, Miss., '52——.

JAMES M. RICHARDSON; Miss.; Mi.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) '52; S.S., Marion, Miss., '52–8; Tea., Enterprise, Miss., '58–'60; S.S., Flower's Place, Miss., '60——.

JOHN ALONZO SEYMOUR; O.; A.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 2, '54; Pas., Franklin, O., '54–7; Pas., Glastenbury, Ct., '57–'62; Pas., Enfield, Mass., '62——.

JAMES REDFIELD SMITH; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1849–'52; Ord. (Presb.) May, '53; S.S., Edgington, Ill., '53–4; S.S., Elizabeth & Plum River, Ill., '54–'62; S.S., Elizabeth, Ill., '62–4; W.C., Pleasant Corners, Ill., '64——.

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WILLIAM SPOONER SMITH; Mass.; A.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 27, '54; S.S., Prompton & Bethany, Pa., '52–3; Pas., N. York City, '54–6; S.S., Stratham, N.H., '57–8; Pas., Guilford, Ct., '59–'65; W.C., Grantville, Mass., '65——.

ELIJAH WOODWARD STODDARD; N.Y.; A.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) July 11, '52; S.S., Hawley, Pa., '52–5; Pas., Amenia, N.Y., '56–'60; Pas., Angelica, N.Y., '60–4; Pas., Succasunna, N.J., '64——.

GEORGE PHILLIPS TINDALL; Mich.; U.M., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. '53; Pas., Dayton, O., '53–7; Pas., Indianapolis, Ind., '57–'63; Pas., Ypsilanti, Mich., '63——.

FREDERICK WHITNEY WILLIAMS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'52; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 8, '54; Pas., New-Canaan, Ct., '54–9; S.S., N. York City & vicinity, '59——. Address, N. York City. 22.

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*WILLIAM WILDMAN CUMBERLAND; N.J.; Ma.C., 1846; U.T.S., '49–'51; Died, '61, æt. 40.

WILLIAM COWPER DICKINSON; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'51; And.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 12, '54; Pas., Middleboro, Mass., '54–6; S.S., Wilmington, Del., '56; S.S., Gloucester, Mass., '57; Pas., Kenosha, Wis., '59–'60; Pas. (Presb.) Lake Forest, Ill., '60——.

HENRY KINGMAN EDSON; Mass.; A.C., 1844; Tea., '44–9; U.T.S., '49; S.S., Westhampton, Mass., '52; Tea., Denmark, Io., '52——.

JUNIUS LORIN HATCH; Mass.; A.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; N.H.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Cong.) '53; S.S., Gloucester, Mass., '53–5; S.S., Brooklyn, N.Y., '55–'60; S.S. (Unit.) Concord, N.H., '64——.

*HENRY CONDICT HEDGES; N.J.; Y.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'50; Trade, N. York City, '51–9; Died, Newark, N.J., '59, æt. 31.

ISAAC NEWTON HILL; N.Y.; M.U., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; Ord. (Bap.) '51; Pas., Somerville, N.J., '51–'64; Pas., Jerseyville, Ill., '65——.

*JAMES BARBER HOWARD; Mass.; W.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; Died, Pittsfield, Mass., '56, æt. 34.

*JOSEPH HURLBUT, Jr.; Ct.; Y.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; Tut. Y.C., New-Haven, Ct., '52–4; Died, do., '55, æt. 27.

*JOHN FRELINGHUYSEN JUDD; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1844; Tea., '44–9; U.T.S., '49–'50; Tea., Berkshire, N.Y., '50–2; Inv., do., '52–9; Died, do., Feb. 12, '59. æt. 33.

*JOHN MCNULTY; N.Y.C.; Bel.C., 1849; Nbg.T.S., '49–'50; U.T.S., '50–1; P.T.S., '51–2; Ord. (Presb.) '54; S.S., Donaldson, Pa., '52–3; H.M., Richland City, Wis., '53–4; S.S., Dekorra, Wis., '54–'61; Died, do., May 15, '61, æt. 32.

JOHN NEWBANKS; N.Y.; W.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; Aub.T.S., '50–2; Ord. (Presb.) '52; Pas., Chester, N.Y., '52–5; Inv., Troy, N.Y., '55——.

JOSIAH WILCOX NORTH; Ct.; H.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'50; N.H.T.S., '50–2; Ord. (Cong.) '52; S.S., Geneseo, Ill., '52–4; S.S., Como, Ill., '55–6.

HENRY JOHNSON PATRICK; Mass.; A.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'51; And.T.S., '52; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 16, '54; Pas., Bedford, Mass., '54–'60; Pas., W. Newton, Mass., '60——.

THOMAS RUGGLES GOLD PECK; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'51; Ord. (R.D.) '54; Pas., Richmond (S.I.) N.Y., '54–9; Pas., Charleston, S.C., '59–'64; Pas., Hastings upon Hudson, N.Y., '65——.

ISAAC OLIVER SLOAN; Pa.; J.C., 1842; U.T.S., '49–'50.

DAVID HAVEN THAYER; N.Y.; U.C., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50; N.H.T.S., '50–2; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 5, '53; Pas., Mt. Carmel, Ct., '53——.

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*Cornelius Williams Tolles: N.J.; C.N.J., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'51; Lit., Newark, N.J., '51–'61; U.S.A., '61–4; Died, of wounds, near Winchester, Va., Nov., '64, æt. 36.

George S. Woodhull; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1848; U.T.S., '49–'50; P.T.S., '50–2; Ord. (Presb.) May 18, '53; Pas., Point Pleasant, W. Va., '53–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–4; S.S. (Cong.) Tinmouth, Vt., '65——. 18.

1853.

Carson William Adams; Del.; D.C., 1850; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 26, '53; Pas., Pole Creek & Salem Chh., Va., '54–7; Pas., Thompsonville, Ct., '57——.

Peter Mason Bartlett; N.Y.; W.C., 1850; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) Aug., '53; Ag., A.T.S., S.W. Ohio, Cincinnati, O., '53–4; Pas., (Presb.) Circleville, O., '54–7; Pas., Lansingburgh, N.Y., '58–'60; S.S., Flushing (L.I.) N.Y., '60–1; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; S.S., Williamstown, Mass., '64——.

Elias Levi Boing; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1850; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 26, '53; F.M., Choctaws, Ind. Ter., '53–4; S.S., (Cong.) Almont, Mich., '55; S.S. (Presb.) Durham, N.Y., '56–'64; Pas., Angelica, N.Y., '64——.

John Henry Brodt; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1850–3; Res. Lic., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) June 26, '54; S.S., Columbia, Cal., '54–5; Pas. (Cong.) Petaluma, Cal., '56–9; Pas. (Presb.) Maryville, Cal., '60–3; S.S., S. Fran., Cal., '64–5; W.C., Orange, N.J., '65——.

Levi Parsons Crawford; Ill.; I.C., 1848; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 23, '53; Ag., A.S.S.U., Ill., '53–6; Pas., Sandwich, Ill., '56–'65; W.C., Somonauk, Ill., '65——.

Richard Chapman Dunn; Ill.; K.C., 1847; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 19, '54; S.S, Dewitt & Jamesville, N.Y., '53–4; Pas., Toulon, Ill., '54——.

*Edwin Goodell; Vt.; D.C., 1850; U.T.S., '50–3; Res. Lic., '53–4; Ord. (Cong.) June 12, '54; F.M., Smyrna, Asia, '54–5; Inv., Norwich, Vt., '56–'63; Died, do., '64, æt. 40.

George Henry Gould; Mass.; A.C., 1850; U.T.S., '50–1; And.T.S., '51–2; U.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 13, '62; S.S., Waukegan, Wis., '53; S.S., Kenosha, Wis., '54; Evang., '55–6; Trav., Europe, '57; Evang., '58–'62; S.S., Springfield, Mass., '63–4; Pas., Hartford, Ct., '64——.

Timothy Allyn Hazen; Ct.; W.C., 1849; E.W.T.S., '50–2; U.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 11, '54; Tea., Lenox, Mass., '53–4; Pas., Dalton, Mass., '54–8; S.S., Broadbrook, Ct., '58–'64; Pas., Egremont, Ct., '65——.

Henry Griswold Jesup; Ct.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 26, '54; Pas., Stanwich, Ct., '54–'62; Inv., Westport, Ct., '63——.

Vernette Le Roy Lockwood; Ill.; K.C., 1850; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) Dec., '54; S.S., Galena, Ill., '53–4; Pas., Granville, Ill., '54–9; Pas. (Presb.) Rahway, N.J., '59–'64; W.C., Brooklyn, N.Y., '64–5; Pas., Durham, N.Y., '65——.

Samuel Loomis; O.; W.R.C., 1849; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Presb.) '57; Ag., A.T.S., Athens, Ga., '53–4; S.S., Grinnell, Io., '55–7; S.S., Roseville & New-Lexington, O., '57–8; Pas., Rensselaerville, N.Y., '59–'63; Pas., Vineland, N.J., '63–5.

*Charles Finney Martin; Ill.; K.C., 1846; Tea., Lisbon, Ill.,

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'46–'50; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) '54; F.M., Copts, Cairo, Egypt, '54–8; Pas., Peru, Ill., '58–'63; D. Sec., A.T.S. (of Boston) Nashville, Tenn., '63–4; Died, do., Feb. 7, '64, æt. 37.

WARREN MAYO; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1850–3; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 4, '54; S.S., Head of Del., N.Y., '53–8; S.S., Minneola, Kan., '59; S.S., Ludlow, Mass., '60–2; Pas., Danby, N.Y., '62——.

JOHN MCCAMPBELL; Tenn.; Mv.C., 1849; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 26, '53; S.S., Auburn, Miss., '53–7; S.S., Lexington, Miss., '57–'63; Ch., Reb. Army, '63–5; S.S., ——, N.C., '65——.

JAMES JOHN MCMAHON; Ireland; U.T.S., 1850–3; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 4, '54; Pas., Richmond, Va., '54–8; Pas., Marion, Va., '59–'64; W.C., N. Haverstraw, N.Y., '64——.

AARON BURR PEFFERS; Ct.; U.N.Y., 1850; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) May 28, '55; Pas., New-Fairfield, Ct., '55–8; S.S., Charlton Centre, N.Y., '58–9; Pas., Epsom, N.H., '60–5; W.C., do., '65——.

JOHN REID; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1850–3; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '54; Pas., Franklinville (L.I.) N.Y., '54–'60; S.S., New-Haven, N.Y., '61——.

JOSEPH EDWIN ROY; Ill.; K.C., 1848; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 30, '53; S.S., Brimfield, Ill., '53–5; Pas., Chicago, Ill., '55–'60; Ag., A.H.M.S., Chicago, Ill., '60–5; S.S., Savannah, Ga., '65——.

ALFRED BROWN SWIFT; Vt.; U.Vt., 1847; U.T.S., '49–'51, 2–3; Ord. (Presb.) Jan., '55; Pas., Middle Granville, N.Y., '55–'61; S.S. (Cong.) Edinburgh, Vt., '61——.

SIGISMUND UHLFELDER; N.Y.C.; Ok.C., 1848; U.T.S., '50–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 26, '53; S.S., Lower Liberty, O., '53–5; S.S., Marine, Ill., '56–7; S.S., Westfield, Wis., '57–9; S.S., Sherill's Mount, Io., '59–'62; Trade, N. York City, '63——.

THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN WHITE; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1849; U.T.S., '49–'50, 1–3; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 4, '54; S.S., Greenville, N.Y., '53–5; Pas., Mendham, N.J., '56–'62; Pas., Delhi, N.Y., '63——. 22.

JOSEPH R. ASH; Pa.; Del.C., 1849; U.T.S., '50–1; Ord. (Bap.); Pas., Mankato, Minn., '60–2.

JOSEPH AVERY BENT; Vt.; M.C., 1845; Tea., Galesburgh, Ill., '45–9; Tut., M.C., '49–'50; U.T.S., '50–1; And.T.S., '51–3; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 1, '54; Pas., Cornwall, Ct., '54–6; S.S. & Tea., Hoyleton, Ill., '56–'65; Prof., Wh.C., Wheaton, Ill., '65——.

GEORGE A. CALDWELL; Tenn.; U.T.S., 1850–1; Ord. (Presb.) '53; S.S., Athens, Tenn., '53–'63; Ch., Reb. Army, '63–5; S.S., Bristol, Tenn., '65——.

CHARLES JEWETT COLLINS; Pa.; W.C., 1845; U.T.S., '50; P.T.S., '51–4; Tea., Wilkesbarre, Pa., '55–6; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 31, '56; Pas., Danville, Pa., '57——.

JUDSON HAWLEY HOPKINS; N.Y.; R.C., 1850; U.T.S., '50–2; P.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (Presb.) Dec., '60; S.S., Greenwich, Ct., '53–4; W.C., Ravenswood (L.I.) N.Y., '54–9; Pas., Newburgh, N.Y., '60–4; W.C., Ravenswood, (L.I.) N.Y., '65——.

*FRANCIS N. SHAW; N.Y.C.; And.T.S., 1850–1; U.T.S., '51; Died.

WILLIAM BEINHAUER SILBER; N.Y.C.; W.U., 1850; U.T.S., '50–1; Tut., N.Y.A., N. York City, '52——.

ALLEN TRAVER; N.Y.; Pa.C., 1851; U.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (Ev.Lu.) Sept., '54; Pas. (Presb.) Corfu, N.Y., '56——. 8.

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1854.

ALBERT GRAHAM BEEBEE; N.Y.; A.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–2; A.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) June 20, '54; F.M., Marash, Turkey, '54–9; Pas., Pleasant Mount & Unionville, Pa., '60–2; S.S., Hancock, N.Y., '62–3; Pas., Manitowoc, Wis., '64–5; S.S., Geneva, Ill., '65——.

WILLIAM EDWARD CALDWELL; Ill.; U.T.S., 1851–4; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 10, '63; S.S., Jamesville & Orville, N.Y., '54–6; Inv., '56–'62; S.S., Wellfleet, Mass., '62——.

JAMES MONROE CARROLL; N.Y.; W.U., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (M.E.) Ap. 2, '59; Pas., Providence, R.I., '57–9; Pas., Westville, Ct., '59–'61; Pas., Bloomfield, Ct., '61–3; Pas., N. York City, '63–4; Pas., New-Canaan, Ct., '64——.

VARNUM D. COLLINS; Ind.; Wab.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) May 17, '55; F.M., Rio Janeiro, B., '55–6; S.S., Phila., Pa., '56–7; Explo., Japan, China, &c., '58——.

LUTHER HART CONE; Ct.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 5, '55; H.M., Indian Orchard, Mass., '55; S.S. & Pas., Chicopee, Mass., '56——.

LA FAYETTE DUDLEY; N.Y.; A.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) '57; Tea., Davenport, Io., '54–5; Pas., Cedar Rapids, Io., '56–9; S.S., Atalissa, Io., '59–'61; Tea., Bath, N.Y., '62–4; Tea., Cornwall, Ct., '65——.

GEORGE E. EAGLETON; Tenn.; U.U., 1851; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) '54; S.S., Cooksville, Miss., '54–7; S.S., Cornersville, Tenn., '57–'62; H.M., E. Tenn., '62–5; H.M., ——; N.C., '65——.

WALTER FREAR; N.Y.; Y.C., 1851; U.T.S, '51–4; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '55; S.S., Iowa City, Cal., '55–6; S.S., Placerville, Cal., '57–'61; S.S., Grass Valley, Cal., '62–4; Pas., Santa Cruz, Cal., '64——.

THOMAS NELSON HASKELL; O.; U.Mi., 1851; U.T.S., '51–2; And.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 7, '55; Pas., Wash. City, D.C., '54–8; Pas. (Cong.) E. Boston, Mass., '58–'62; Pas. (Presb.) E. Boston, Mass., '62——.

WILLIAM STEVENS KARR; N.J.; A.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 26, '54; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '54——.

MARTIN KELLOGG; Ct.; Y.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–2; And.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 2, '55; S.S., Shasta, Cal., '55–7; Pas., Grass Valley, Cal., '57–9; Prof., Cal. C., Oakland, Cal., '60——.

ETHAN P. LARKIN; R.I.; O.C., 1852; U.T.S., '51–4; Tea., Milwaukee, Wis., ——; Trade, Peru, S. Am.

*PATRICK J. LEO; Ireland; U.T.S., 1851–4; Ord. (P.Ep.) '58; Ag., A. & F.C.U., Boston, Mass., '54–7; Rec., Annsdown, Ireland, '58–'64; Died, do., Oct., '64, æt. 37.

HENRY A. LOUNSBURY; N.Y.; U.C., 1849; Aub.T.S., '51–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 18, '56; Pas., Seabrook, N.H., '56–8; S.S., Beverly, Mass., '58–9; S.S., Wilton, Me., '60–2; S.S., Richmond, Me., '62–5,

WALDO WHITING LUDDEN; Mass.; W.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; S.S., Magnolia, Io., '55–6; Tea. of Music, New-Haven, Ct., '57——.

JERRE LORENZO LYONS; Pa.; W.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 9, '54; F.M., Tripoli, Syria, '54–'62; F.M., Sidon, Syria, '62–3; Inv., Montrose, Pa., '63——.

WILLIAM T. MCELROY; Ky.; Cr.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) '54; S.S., McAfee, Ky., '54–7; W.C., Lebanon, Ky., '58–'60; Pas., Maysville, Ky., '60–2; S.S., Louisville, Ky., '62——.

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WILLIAM EDWARDS MERRIMAN; Vt.; W.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 13, '57; S.S., S. Plainfield, Ct., '56–7; Pas., Batavia, Ill., '57–'60; Pas., Green Bay, Wis., '61–3; Prest., Rip.C., Ripon, Wis., '63——.

JOHN W. MOSELEY; Mo.; L.T.S., 1851–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) '55; H.M., Deerfield, La., '55–6; H.M., Richland, La., '56–7; H.M., Deerfield, La., '57——.

*FLOYD OVERTON; N.Y.; A.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; Died, Elmwood, Ill., Aug. '55, æt. 32.

SANFORD RICHARDSON; Ill.; K.C., 1846; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) June 25, '54; F.M., Erzeroom, Asia, '54–6; F.M., Arabkir, Asia, '56——.

OVA HOYT SEYMOUR; Mich.; U.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 24, '55; Pas., Deposit, N.Y., '54–7; Pas., Cortland, N.Y., '58–'63; Ch., U.S.A., '63–5; W.C., Cortland, N.Y., '65——.

THOMAS EDWARD SKINNER; N.C.; U.N.C., 1847: U.T.S., '51–4; Ord. (Bap.) '54; Pas., Raleigh, N.C., '54——.

CHARLES CASEY STARBUCK; N.Y.; O.C., 1849; O.T.S., '51–2; U.T.S., '52–4; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 11, '55; F.M., Jamaica, W.I., '55–61; Tea., N. York City, '62——.

JOHN SHERIDAN ZELIE; N.Y.; A.C., 1851; B.T.S., '51–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Cong.) May 16, '55; S.S., Mokelumne Hill, Cal., '55–7; S.S., Santa Cruz, Cal., '57–'60; S.S., Redwood City, Cal., '61–3; S.S., Princeton, Mass., '64——. 25.

WILLIAM ELLIOTT BASSETT; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–2; N.H.T.S., '52–4; Res. Lic., do., '54–5; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 14, '56; Pas., Central Village, Ct., '56–9; W.C., Andover, Mass., '60–1; S.S., N. Manchester, Ct., '61–3; S.S. & Pas., Warren, Ct., '63——.

JAMES BOLTON; Pa.; U.C., 1851; U.T.S., '51–3; Ord. (R.D.) May 3, '56; Pas. Fordham, N.Y., '56–'65; Pas., Colt's Neck, N.J., '65——.

THEODORE BOURNE; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1851–3; Sec., Af. Civ. Soc.; Trade, N. York City.

CHAUNCY MARVIN CADY; Vt.; U.M., 1851; U.T.S., '51–3; Ed. & Pub., Chicago, Ill.

HENRY BARTON CHAPIN; N.Y.; Y.C., 1847; U.T.S., '51–2; P.T.S., '52–4; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '54; C.M., N. York City, '54–6; Pas., Steubenville, O., '56–8; Pas., Trenton, N.J., '58——.

*JAMES JOHNSTON; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1851–3; Died, N. York City, Aug. 15, '53, æt. 35.

JACOB WILLIAM MARCUSSOHN; Russia; W.C., 1852; E.W.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–4; E.W.T.S., '54; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 23, '55; F.M., Salonica Turkey, '56–9; F.M., Constantinople, Turkey, '59–'62; S.S. (Presb.) Lockport, N.Y., '63——.

SIDNEY HARPER MARSH; Vt.; U.Vt., 1846; U.T.S., '51–2; Ord. (Cong.); Prest., P.U., Forest Grove, Or., '54——. D.D., U.Vt., '62.

ALEXANDER MURDOCH; N.Y.; U.C., 1845; U.T.S., '51–3; Ord. (Presb.) '57; S.S., Madison, N.Y., '57–8; Ch., U.S.A., '62–5. Address, Elmira, N.Y. 9.

1855.

CHARLES HENRY BARRETT; Me.; Y.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Sea Captain, '56–'62; W.C., N. York City, '62——.

ALBERT BOOTH; Ct.; Y.C., 1850; U.T.S., '52–3; E.W.T.S., '53–4;

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U.T.S., '54-5; Ord. (M.E.) Ap. 18, '59; Pas., Darien, Ct., '55–7; Pas., Westchester, N.Y., '57–9; Pas., Litchfield, Ct., '59–'61; Pas., Seymour, Ct., '61–2; Pas., Freeport & Bethel (L.I.) N.Y., '62–4; Pas., Rockville Centre (L.I.) N.Y., '64——.

Rabbi Joseph Wales Buckland; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1850; U.T.S., '53–5; Ord. (Bap.) June 21, '55; Pas., N. York City, '55–6; Pas., Sing Sing, N.Y., '57–'64; Pas., N. York City, '65——.

Edwin Otway Burnham; N.Y.; H.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Cong.) '58; S.S., Columbus, Io., '56–7; S.S., Wilton, Minn., '57——.

Wentworth Sanborn Butler; N.H.; D.C., 1848; B.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–5; Librarian, Soc. Lib., N. York City, '55——.

Edward Payson Crane; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1851; U.T.S., '51–2, 3–5; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 14, '55; Pas., Rockland Lake, N.Y., '55–7; S.S., St. Augustine, Fla., '57–9; S.S., Pilatka & Fernandina, Fla., '59–'65; Prof., Wt.U., Pittsburgh, Pa., '65——.

Samuel Worcester Crittenden; Pa.; U.T.S., 1852–5; Ord. (Presb.) '56; Pas., Carmel, N.Y., '56–7; Pas., Clifton (S.I.) N.Y., '58–9; Pas., Darby, Pa., '62–5; Ag., P.P.C., Phila., Pa., '65——.

Ira O. De Long; N.Y.; Aub.T.S., 1852–4; U.T.S., '54–5; Res. Lic., '58–9; Ord. (Presb.) June 23, '63; S.S., Hornellsville, N.Y., '59–'63; S.S., Macedon, N.Y., '63–4; S.S., Honeoye Falls, N.Y., '64——.

Ambrose Dunn; Pa.; A.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) June 23, '57; Pas., Fairview & Manchester, Pa., '57——.

James Harrison Dwight; Turkey; Y.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Res. Lic., '55–7; Ord. (Presb.) May 24, '57; Tea., Newark, N.J., '55–7; Pas., Cherry Valley, N.Y., '57–8; S.S. & Pas., Englewood, N.J., '59——. Ch., U.S.A., '61–3.

James Chidester Egbert; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) June 13, '55; Pas., W. Hoboken, N.J., '55——.

Albert Fitch; O.; W.R.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) '61; S.S., Greenport (L.I.) N.Y., '56–7; S.S., Orient (L.I.) N.Y., '58–'62; Ch., N. York City, '62–3; W.C., do., '63——.

Alfred Loomis Harrington; Ill.; I.C., 1849; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '55; S.S., Peru, Ill., '55–9; Agric., Tonica, Ill., '60——.

Henry Harris Jessup; Pa.; Y.C., 1851; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 1, '55; F.M., Tripoli, Syria, '56–'62; F.M., Beirut, Syria, '62——. D.D., U.N.Y., '65.

John McKean; Ireland; U.T.S., 1852–5; Ord. (Presb.) '56; Pas., Perry, Pa., '56–'60; S.S., Emlenton, Pa., '60–4; S.S., Perry, Pa., '64——.

Edwin Dyer Newberry; Mich.; Cl.U., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 10, '56; Pas., Phila., Pa., '56–'61; Pas., Ionia, Mich., '63——.

Gardiner Spring Plumley; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1850; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 11, '55; Pas., N.Y.C., '55–7; Pas., Metuchen, N.J., '58——.

Timothy Hopkins Porter; Ct.; Y.C., 1848; U.T.S., '52–5; Tea., Astoria (L.I.) N.Y., '55–'60; Prof., P.C., Havana, N.Y., '60——.

Belville Roberts; Pa.; U.M., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '56; S.S., Hickman, Ky., '56–8; S.S., Stillwater, N.Y., '58–'60; Pas., Rochester, N.Y., '61–5; Pas., Freeport, Ill., '65——.

James Pierce Root; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1852–5; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 16, '56; H.M., College Point (L.I.) N.Y., '55–6; Sec. C.A.S., Brooklyn, N.Y., '57; Pas., Walton, N.Y., '57–'60; S.S., North Woodstock, Ct., '61; Pas., Elmwood, R.I., '61——. Address, Providence, R.I.

Bela Newton Seymour; Mass.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Cong.) June 21, '55; S.S., ——, Cal., '56–8; S.S., Camptonville, Cal., '59–'65; Pas., Hayward's, Cal., '65——.

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EDWARD STRATTON; Pa.; U.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) June 11, '56; Pas., Ashland, N.Y., '56–'60; Pas., Greenport (L.I.) N.Y., '60——.

DON CARLOS TAFT; N.H.; A.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; S.S., Elmwood, Ill., '55–6; Tea., do., '56——.

TILLMAN CONKLING TROWBRIDGE; Mich.; U.N.Y., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 15, '55; F.M., Constantinople, Turkey, '56——

ALLEN WRIGHT; Choc. Ter.; U.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–5; Ord. (Presb.) '55; F.M., Armstrong Academy, Choc. Nation, Ind. Ter., '55–9; F.M., Boggy Depot, Ark., '59——. 25.

SAMUEL THOMAS ANDERSON; Miss.; Cu.U., 1852; U.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (C.Presb.) Aug., '54; Prof., Chapel Hill Col., Texas, '54–8; Prof., U.C., Miss., '58–9; Prof., U.C., Ill., '59–'60; Prest., Mo. Fem. Col., '60–4; Pas., Waynesburgh, Pa., '64——. D.D., Way.C., '64.

JOSEPH ROGERS ARMSTRONG; Mo.; Ma.C., 1852; L.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) '56; S.S., W. Ely, Mo., '56; Tea., Kirkwood, Mo., '59–'61; Tea., Carrollton, Ill., '61——.

MARVIN BRIGGS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1852; U.T.S., '52–3; Inv., '53–4; Tea., Fauquier Co., Va., '54–7; P.T.S., '58–'60; C.M., N. York City, '61–4; Trade, do., '64——.

JOHN ALEXANDER BUCKNER; Ky.; Cr.C., 1852; P.T.S., '52–4; U.T.S., '55.

WILLIAM NEAL CLEVELAND; N.Y.; H.C., 1851; U.T.S., '52–4; Ord. (Presb.) '56; Tea., Brooklyn, N.Y., '56–8; S.S., Southampton, (L.I.) N.Y., '58–'63; W.C., N. York City, '64——.

NEWTON W. DARLINGTON; O.; Wab.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–3; Ord. (M.E.) Feb. 28, '63; Pas., Covington, Ky., '58–9; Pas., Maysville, Ky., '59–'60; Pas., Augusta, Ky., '61–2; Pas., Covington, Ky., '62–3; Pas., Newport, Ky., '63–5.

HENRY T. HUNTER; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1852; U.T.S., '52–4; Law, N. York City, '56——.

DAVID MARGOT; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1852–4; Ord. (P.Ep.); N. York City, ——; Rec., Rondout, N.Y., '64——.

CORNELIUS WORTENDYKE LA FAYETTE MORROW; N.Y.C.; W.U., 1847; U.T.S., '52–3.

CHARLES SEYMOUR ROBINSON; Vt.; W.C., 1849; U.T.S., '52–3; P.T.S., '53–5; Ord. (Presb.) June 13, '55; Pas., Troy, N.Y., '55–'60; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '60——.

EDWARD PARMELEE SMITH; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1849; N.H.T.S., '52–3; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Cong.) June 11, '56; Pas., Pepperell, Mass., '56–'63; Ag., U.S.C.C., Phila., Pa., '63——.

HENRY MARTYN SWIFT; Vt.; W.C., 1851; U.T.S., '52–4; Ord. (Cong.); S.S., Lamoille, Ill., '58–9; Middlebury, Vt., '59——

RUSSELL DUDLEY VAN DEURSEN; Va.; H.S.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–3; Civil Engineer, Ohio, '54–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Aug. 29, '61; S.S., Gallipolis, O., '61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–2; S.S., Gallipolis, O., '62——.

WESLEY P. WRIGHT; C.W.; Vic.C., 1852; U.T.S., '52–3; ——, Canada West, '53——. 14.

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1856.

CHESTER SOLON ARMSTRONG; Mich.; U.M., 1852; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 6, '56; Pas., Lansing, Mich., '56–'65; Ch., U.S.A., '64–5; Pas., Lansing, Mich., '65——.

JAMES BLAIR BONAR; N.Y.C.; Wab.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 18, '57; S.S., Peekskill, N.Y., '56–7; Pas., Montreal, C.E., '57——.

ALONZO BROWN; N.H.; D.C., 1850; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 5, '56; Pas., Clifton (S.I.) N.Y., '56–8; Tea., N. York City, '58——.

ISRAEL BRUNDAGE; Pa.; U.T.S., 1853–6; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 7, '56; S.S., Prompton & Waymart, Pa., '56–'64; S.S., Kirkwood, N.Y., '64——.

*JACKSON GREEN COFFING; O.; Ma.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Res. Lic. '56–7; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 9, '56; F.M., Aintab, W. Asia, '57–'61; F.M., Hadjin & Adana, W. Asia, '61–2; Killed by assassins, Alexandretta, W. Asia, Mar. 26, '62, æt. 37.

JOHN PAINE CUSHMAN; N.Y.; U.C., 1851; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) May 29, '60; Pas., Sand Lake, N.Y., '60–2; Pas. (Cong.) Brighton, Mass., '63——.

CHARLES HARDING; Mass.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Cong.) July 3, '56; F.M., Bombay, India, '57–'62; F.M., Sholapoor, India, '62——.

EDWIN LUCIUS HURD; Ill.; K.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) '56; S.S. & Pas., Augusta, Ill., '56——. Address, Galesburgh, Ill.

EVERETT BEMAN HURLBUT; Ill.; K.C., 1852; And.T.S., '53–4; U.T.S., '54–6; Res. Lic., And.T.S., '56–7; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 1, '58; S.S., Fontanelle, Neb. Ter., '58–'63; S.S., Elkhorn City, Neb. Ter., '63——.

MICHAEL D. KALOPOTHAKES; Greece; U.A., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 26, '57; Ed., Athens, Greece, '57——.

ALEXANDER MCLEAN; N.Y.; H.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 21, '57; Pas., Fairfield, Ct., '57——.

JAMES HARVEY PARSONS; N.Y.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–6; Res. Lic., '56–7; Ord. (Presb.) '59; S.S., Coudersport, N.Y., '59–'63.

HERMAN CAMP RIGGS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1852; U.T.S., '53–6; Res. Lic., '56–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 14, '57; S.S., St. Catharine's, C. W., '56–9; Pas., Potsdam, N.Y., '60——.

GEORGE LIVERMORE TUCKER; Wis.; Bel.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 2, '57; S.S., N. York City, '56–7; S.S., Fox Lake, Wis., '57–'60; S.S., Trempeleau, Wis., '60——.

HENRY MARTYN TUPPER; Mass.; Y.C., 1850; U.T.S., '51–2, 4–6; Res. Lic., '56–7; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 12, '59; Pas., Waverly, Ill., '59——.

CHARLES CLARK WALLACE; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) June 4, '56; Pas., Tremont, N.Y., '56–'60; Pas., Perth Amboy, N.J., '60–4; Pas., Placerville, Cal., '64——.

GEORGE HILLS WHITE; Ind.; Wab.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 2, '56; F.M., Oorfa, W. Asia, '57–8; F.M., Marash, W. Asia, '58–'63; Inv., Chester, Vt., '63——.

WILLIAM CLARKE WHITFORD; N.Y.; U.C. 1853; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 13, '56; Pas., Milton, Wis., '56–9; Tea., Milton, Wis., '58——.

MARINUS WILLETT; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1846; U.T.S., '53–6; Ord. (Cong.) May 19, '58; S.S., Port Chester, N.Y., '56–7; Pas., Black Rock, Ct., '58–'61; W.C. (Presb.) N. York City, '62——. 19.

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ROBERT COATES ALLISON; Pa.; A.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) June 3, '60; Prof., Ag.C., Pa., '59–'60; S.S., Tionesta, Pa., '60–3; S.S., La Fayette, N.Y., '64——.

HENRY MARTYN BAIRD; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1850; U.T.S., '53–5; P.T.S., '55–6; Tut., C.N.J., '55–9; Prof., U.N.Y., N. York City, '59——.

ERASTUS NEWTON BATES; O.; W.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4; Trade, Chester, O.

*THEODORE HIRAM BENJAMIN; Ct.; A.C., 1852; And.T.S., '53–4; U.T.S., '54–5; Died, Bethel, Ct., Sept. 11, '55, æt. 27.

WILLIAM BURT DADA; N.Y.; H.C., 1852; Aub.T.S., '53–4; U.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (Presb.) July 1, '56; S.S., Skaneateles, N.Y., '56–8; S.S., Jackson, Mich., '59–'60; S.S. & Pas. (Cong.) Clear Water, Minn., '60——.

FRANCIS FENELON FORD; N.Y.; H.C., 1851; U.T.S., '53–4; P.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Presb.) '57; S.S., Leroy, N.Y., '57–8; S.S., Danville, N.Y., '58–9; S.S., Newark, N.J., '63–4; Pas. (Cong.) Kalamazoo, Mich., '65——.

EDWARD WARNER FRENCH; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 15, '57; Pas., Bergen, N.J., '57——.

JUSTUS CLEMENT FRENCH; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–5; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 5, '57; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '57——.

JAMES R. HALE; N.Y.; And.T.S., 1853–4; U.T.S., '54–5.

THOMAS HARRISON; Ill.; K.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4.

*THEODORE HENRY HART; N.Y.; H.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; Trade, Canandaigua, N.Y.; Died, do., '61, æt. 30.

ISAAC SMITHSON HARTLEY; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; And.T.S., '54–6; Res. Lic., '57–8; Ord. (R.D.) May 8, '64; Pas., N. York City, '64——.

*MATTHEW WOOD HASKELL; Mass.; A.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4, 5–6; Died, Amherst, Mass., '56, æt. 29.

CHARLES JENKINS HILL; Pa.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; And.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 28, '57; Pas., Nashua, N.H., '57–'64; W.C., Pittsfield, Mass., '64——.

JOSEPH DANA HOWARD; Me.; B.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4. Law, N. York City.

CHARLES MCEWEN HYDE; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; Tea., Sheffield, Mass., '54–9; P.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 19, '62; S.S., Goshen, Ct., '60–1; Pas., Brimfield, Mass., '62——.

HENRY M. LILLY; N.Y.; Bel.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4;

JOHN W. MCMURRAN; Va.; U.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (Presb.) '57; S.S., Fairfax C.H., Va., '55–6; S.S. & Pas., Pine View, Fauquier Co., Va., '56——.

EDWARD C. MILES; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1849; U.T.S., '53–4; And.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Cong.) June 28, '60; Pas., Stratham, N.H., '60–4; W.C., Exeter, N.H., '64——.

HAMILTON MORGAN; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1853–4;

CHARLES H. NORTON; N.J.; U.Pa., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4. Trade, N. York City.

CHARLES RHODES POMEROY; N.Y.; W.U., 1853; U.T.S., '53–4; Ord. (Presb.) '64; S.S. (M.E.) Ovid, N.Y., '63–4; Pas. (Presb.) Brooklyn (E.D.) N.Y., '64——.

HIRAM POTTER; N.Y.; H.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; Ed., Bath, N.Y.

HENRY AUGUSTUS SMITH; Pa.; W.C., 1853; U.T.S., '53–5; Ord. (Presb.) '58; Pas., Phila. (Mantua) Pa., '64——.

WILLIAM C. WHITE; Ind.; Wab.C., 1852; U.T.S., '53–4; P.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Presb.) July 24, '60; Pas., Cuba, N.Y., '59–'62; Prof., Wab.C., Crawfordsville, Ind., '62——.

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1857.

JOSEPH ANDERSON; N.Y.C.; N.Y.A., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Res. Lic., '57–8; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 8, '58; S.S. & Pas. (Cong.) Stamford, Ct., '59–'61; Pas., Norwalk, Ct., '61–4; S.S., Waterbury, Ct., '64——.

QUINCY BLAKELY; Vt.; U.Vt., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 16, '59; S.S. & Pas., Rodman, N.Y., '58–'64; Pas., Campton, N.H., '64——.

THEODORE LUIN BYINGTON; N.J.; C.N.J., 1849; U.T.S., '54–7; Res. Lic., '57–8; Ord. (Cong.) June 4, '58; F.M., Adrianople, Turkey, '58–'60; F.M., Eski Zagra, Turkey, '60——.

EDWARD CHESTER; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1854–7; Ord. (Presb.) May 31, '57; S.S., Manhattanville, N.Y., '57–8; F.M., Tirupuvanum, India, '59–'61; F.M., Madras, India, '61–2; F.M., Madura, India, '62–3; F.M., Dindigul, India, '63——.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH COBB; N.Y.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (R.D.) Sept. 1, '57; Pas., Adriance (Hopewell) N.Y., '57——.

JAMES MILLIGAN DICKSON; Vt.; D.C., 1853; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 18, '57; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '57–'62; Pas., Newark, N.J., '63——.

WILLIAM BUCK DWIGHT; Turkey; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '57–9; Tea., Englewood, N.J., '59——.

HENRY MARTYN HAZELTINE; N.Y.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 25, '60; Pas., Sherman, N.Y., '60——.

GEORGE DIAH ALONZO HEBARD; N.Y.C.; D.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. '58; S.S., Clayville, N.Y., '57; S.S., Clinton, Io., '57–'61; S.S., Iowa City, '61——.

CHARLES DOWNS HELMER; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1852; Tea., D. & D.I., N. York City, '53–4; U.T.S., '54–7; Trav., Europe, '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) Sept., '59; S.S., Hartford, Ct., '59–'60; Pas. (Presb.) Milwaukee, Wis., '60–5; Inv., N. York City, '65——.

CHARLES HOOVER HOLLOWAY; Pa.; A.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 27, '57; S.S., Rensselaerville, N.Y., '57; Prof., Ash.C.I., '58; S.S., Ashland, N.Y., '59–'61; Pas., Shelter Isld., N.Y., '61–4; Tea., Randolph, N.Y., '64–5. Tea., Middletown, Del., '65——.

*CARLTON S. HORTON; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Inv., Madeira Isld., '58–'64; Died, Buffalo, N.Y., Dec. 13, '64, æt. 32.

INGLIS LAURIE; Ill.; I.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Res. Lic., N.W.T.S., '57–8.

CHAUNCY L. LOOMIS; Mo.; W.R.C., 1846; Res. Lic., '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) '59; F.M., Corisco, W.Af., '59——

CHARLES HENRY PAYSON; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 25, '60; S.S., N. York City, '57——.

ROLLIN AUGUSTUS SAWYER; O.; W.R.C., 1851; U.T.S., '54–7; Res. Lic., '57–8; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 17, '58; Pas., Yonkers, N.Y., '58–'62; Pas., Newark, O., '62——.

JOSEPH FORD SUTTON; N.J.; R.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 8, '57; S.S., Hanover, N.J., '57–8; Pas., Parsippany, N.J., '58–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '62; Ag., U.S.C.C., '63–4; S.S., Howell, Mich., '64–5; Pas., Phila., Pa., '65——.

LEWIS THOMPSON; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1854–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 9, '57; Pas., Whippany, N.J., '57——.

WILLIAM THOMSON; Pa.; U.Pa., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 27, '58; S.S., Blossburgh, Pa., '57–'60; S.S., Tamaqua, Pa., '60——.

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AVERY SKINNER WALKER; N.Y.; O.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 24, '57; S.S., Lodi, N.J., '57–'60; Pas. (Cong.) Rockville, Ct., '61–4; Pas., Dover, N.H., '64——.

ERSKINE NORMAN WHITE; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–7; Ord. (R.D.) June 9, '59; Pas., Richmond, N.Y., '59–'62; Pas. (Presb.) New-Rochelle, N.Y., '62——. 21.

WILLIAM ALVIN BARTLETT; N.Y.; H.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 4, '58; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '58——.

JOHN MILLOTT ELLIS; O.; O.C., 1851; U.T.S., '55–6; O.T.S., '56–7; Prof., O.C., Oberlin, O., '58——.

ENOCH KRAIG EVANS; N.Y.; A.C., 1853; U.T.S., '54.

THEODORE ADOLPHUS GARDNER; Ill.; W.C., 1853; U.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (R.D.) Ap. 16, '62; S.S., Manhattanville, N.Y., '55——; Pas., Buskirk's Bridge, N.Y., '62——.

JOHN GIBSON; Vt.; U.C., 1853; U.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (Presb.) '58; S.S., Wheatland, Io., '59; W.C., Washington, Io., '60——.

CHARLES GORDON HAYES; Vt.; Y.C., 1851; U.T.S., '54; Law, N. York City.

JOSEPH WELTON HUBBARD; N.Y.C.; H.C., 1850; U.T.S., '54–5; P.T.S., '55–7; Ord. (Presb.) Aug. 5, '57; Pas., Bridgeton, N.J., '57——.

LYMAN H. JOHNSON; Wis.; U.T.S., 1854–6; Ord. (Cong.) '56; S.S., Elkhorn, Wis., '56–9; S.S., Rockton, Ill., '60–4; S.S., Galena, Ill., '65——.

RUFUS OSGOOD MASON; N.H.; D.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–6; M.D., U.N.Y., '59; Physician, N.H.

JAMES QUICK; Mich.; U.M., 1854; U.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 12, '57; F.M., Panditeripo, Jaffna, Ceylon, India, '57——.

DANIEL JAY SPRAGUE; N.J.; A.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–5; Trade, N. York City, '56——.

JAMES D. THOMAS; Md.; Del.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–6; Ord. (Presb.) '58; S.S., Poplar Springs, Md., '57–8; Pas., Makemie Chh., Md., '58——

*JAMES UGLOW; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1847; U.T.S., '54–7; Physician, N. York City; Died, do., '64, æt. 37.

BRADISH CALVIN WARD; Ill.; Jef.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–5; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 8, '60; Tea., St. Charles, Ill., '57–9; S.S., Geneseo, Ill., '60–2; S.S., Waukegan, Ill., '63–4; Ch., U.S.A., '64–5; Address, N. York City. 14.

1858.

WILLIAM WISNER ADAMS; Ill.; W.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 26, '60; S.S., Como, Ill., '59–'60; Pas., Fall River, Mass., '64——.

JOHN EZEKIEL BAKER; N.Y.; W.C., 1853; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) July 19, '59; Pas., Arkport, N.Y., '59–'63; S.S., Cuba, N.Y., '63–4; S.S., Mid. Granville, N.Y., '65——.

WILLIAM FREDERICK VINCENT BARTLETT; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) '61; S.S., Natchez, Miss., '58–'61; Ch., Reb. Army, '61–3; S.S., N. Orleans, La., '64–5; W.C., Brooklyn, N.Y., '65——.

EDMUND WOODWARD BROWN; N.Y.; Y.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) Jan., '61; S.S., S. Cornwall, Ct., '58; S.S., Alexandria, Va., '58–9; S.S., West-Dresden, N.Y., '59–'65; P.M., Whitesboro, N.Y., '65——.

LA FAYETTE BUSHNELL; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1855–8; License withdrawn, Oct. 3, '59.

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FRANCIS WILLIAM CASE; Wis.; Bel.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Tea., N. York City, '58–9; Agric., Whitewater, Wis., '59——.

EDSON LYMAN CLARK; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '56–8; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 30, '59; S.S. & Pas., Dalton, Mass., '58——.

JOHN M. CLYMER; Va.; Del.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) '58; Pas., Marion, Va., '58–9; Pas., Woodstock, Va., '59——.

GEORGE ARBA DICKERMAN; Ct.; Y.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '59–'60; S.S., Canaan, Ct., '60–1; W.C., Canaan, Ct., '61–4.

LESTER MORSE DORMAN; Ct.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Cong.) June 6, '60; S.S., Winsted, Ct., '59–'60; Pas., Manchester, Ct., '60——.

DAVID FITCH; O.; W.R.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Res. Lic., '58–9; Tea., Flushing (L.I.) N.Y., '58–'61; Tea., Brooklyn (E.D.) N.Y., '62——.

JOSEPH KINGSBURY GREENE; N.Y.C.; B.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 10, '58; F.M., Nicomedia, Turkey, '59–'63; F.M., Broosa, Turkey, '63——.

CHARLES THOMAS HALEY; N.Y.C.; C.N.J., 1853; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 31, '60; Pas., Roseville, N.J., '60——. Address, Newark, N.J.

JOHN KELLOGG HARRIS; N.Y.; W.C., 1852; U.T.S., '54–6, 7–8; Ord. (Presb.) '58; Pas., Kerr's Creek, Va., '58——

JAMES SEYMOUR HOYT; Ct.; Y.C., 1851; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Cong.) June 26, '58; Pas., Port Huron, Mich., '58——.

SAMUEL JESSUP, JR.; N.Y.; C.N.J., 1854; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) May 3, '59; S.S., Berkshire, N.Y., '59; S.S., Amity, N.Y., '60; S.S. & Pas., Dansville, N.Y., '60——.

WILLIAM HENRY KNOUSE; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1851; U.T.S., '53–4, 5–8; Ord. (Cong.) May 4, '59; Pas., N. Greenwich, Ct., '59–'63; Pas., Cutchogue (L.I.) N.Y., '63——.

GEORGE CLEMENT NOYES; N.Y.C.; I.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 19, '59; S.S., La Porte, Ind., '59——.

SYLVESTER HILL OPDYKE; N.J.; W.U., 1853; U.T.S., '54–6, 7–8; Ord. (M.E.) Ap., '62; Pas., Bloomfield, N.J., '58–'60; Pas., Clinton, N.J., '60–2; Pas., Flemington, N.J., '62–4; Pas., Rahway, N.J., '64–5; Pas., Elizabethport, N.J., '65——.

WILLIAM LAERTES PAGE; N.Y.; H.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Presb.) July 12, '59; S.S., Phelps, N.Y., '58–'62; S.S. (Cong.) Grand Rapids, Mich., '63; S.S. (Presb.) Wolcott, N.Y., '64——.

EDWARD PAYSON POWELL; N.Y.; H.C., 1853; U.T.S., '54–6, 7–8; Ord. (Cong.) '61; S.S., Clinton, N.Y., '58–'61; Pas., Adrian, Mich., '61——.

ALEXANDER DAVID STOWELL; N.Y.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '55–8; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 17, '58; Pas., Woodbridge, Ct., '58–'60; S.S., E. Granville, Mass., '60–3; S.S., Southampton, Mass., '63–5; S.S., Wilbraham, Mass., '65——.

GEORGE M. VAN DERLIP; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1851; U.T.S., '55–8; Trade, N. York City, '58——.

ROBERT HENRY WILLIAMSON; N.Y.; W.C., 1853; Ep.T.S., '55–7; U.T.S., '57–8; S.S., Dodgeville, Wis., '58–9; S.S., Rockford, Ill., '64——.

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*ORLANDO NEWTON BENTON; Pa.; U.T.S., 1855–6; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 18, '57; S.S.M., Lynchburgh, Va., '56–7; S.S. & Pas., Apalachin, N.Y., '58–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–2; Killed in battle, Newbern, N.C., Mar. 14, '62, æt. 36.

DANIEL N. BORDWELL; Mich.; O.C., 1852; Tut., O.C., '53–5; U.T.S., '55–6; O.T.S., '56–8; Ord. (Cong.) June 6, '59; S.S. & Pas., Le Claire, Io., '58–'60; S.S., Lansing, Io., '60–3; Ch., U.S.A., '63–4; S.S., St. Charles, Io., '64——.

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HORATIO WOODWARD BROWN; N.Y.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–6; Tut., Y.C.,'56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 17,'59; S.S., Ripon, Wis., '59–'60; S.S., Burnett, N.Y., '61–3; Pas. (Presb.) Lyons, N.Y., '64——.

CARROLL CUTLER; N.H.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–6; Tut., Y.C., '56–8; Europe, '58–9; Res. Lic., Y.C., '59–'60; Prof., W.R.C., Hudson, O., '60——.

WILLIAM EASTMAN DICKINSON; Mass.; A.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–7; And.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 19, '60; Pas., E. Orleans, Mass., '60–2; S.S., Montville, Ct., '65——.

GIDEON DRAPER; N.Y.; D.C., 1849; U.T.S., '56–7; Ord. (M.E.) May 12, '61; Pas., Salisbury, Ct., '57–9; Pas., Rhinebeck, N.Y., '59–'61; Pas., Sheffield, Mass., '61–3; Pas., White Plains, N.Y., '63–5; Prof., G.C., Lima, N.Y., '65——.

JOHN G. EVANS; Mich.; U.M., 1854; U.T.S., '55–6.

MORRIS J. FRANKLIN; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–7; M.D., —; C.M. of A.S.M.C. Jews, '57–'61; Surg., U.S.A., '62–4; Address, N. York City.

JOSHUA BEERS HALL; N.Y.; U.Vt., 1853; U.T.S., '55–7; Aub.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (Presb.) '58; Pas., Lysander, N.Y., '58–'64; Pas., Pittstown & Johnsonville, N.Y., '64——. Address, Tomhannock, N.Y.

JAMES GARLAND HAMNER; Md.; W.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–7; Ord. (Presb.) '59; Pas., Milford, Del., '60–3; S.S., Phila., Pa., '64——.

THOMAS W. HOOPER; Va.; H.S.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55; U.T.S.Va., '56–7; Ord. (Presb.) '58; Pas., Hanover C.H., Va., '58——

ALBERT BARNES KING; N.J.; C.N.J., 1855; U.T.S., '55–6; P.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (Presb.) '61; S.S., N. York City, '58–'60; Pas., Red Bank, N.J., '61–2; S.S., Gilboa, N.Y., '62–3; Pas., Wyoming, Pa., '63——.

NATHANIEL MCCONAUGHY; O.; W.R.C., 1852; U.T.S., '55–7; P.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (Presb.) June 12, '61; Pas., Millville, N.J., '61——.

ROBERT L. MCMURRAN; Va.; U.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–7; Ord. (Presb.) '59; Pas., P. Edward C.H., Va., '59–'60; Pas., Shepherdstown, Va., '60——

GEORGE ALPHA MILLER; Ct.; W.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–7; E.W.T.S., '58–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 29, '59; Pas., Burlington, Ct., '59–'62; S.S., Broadalbin, N.Y., '63——.

CHARLES DEKAY NOTT; N.Y.; U.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–6; N.B.T.S., '56–8; Ord. (R.D.) Oct. 25, '59; Pas., Mohawk, N.Y., '60–4; Pas., (Presb.) Manchester, N.J., '64–5.

*HENRY ALBERTSON POST; N.Y.C.; N.Y.A., 1855; U.T.S., '55–6; P.T.S., '56–8; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 10, '60; S.S., Warrensburgh, N.Y., '60–1; Died, do., Nov. 12, '61, æt. 26.

EDWIN WILBUR RICE; N.Y.; U.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–7; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 23, '60; S.S.M., La Crosse, Wis., '58–'60; S.S.M., St. Louis, Mo., '61; S.S.M., La Crosse, Wis., '61–5; Gen.S.S.Ag., Milwaukee, Wis., '65——.

GEORGE P. RICHARDSON; Miss.; U.Mi., 1855; U.T.S., '55–6; Ord. (Presb.); S.S., ——, Miss., 57——.

CHARLES MELLEN TYLER; Mass.; Y.C., 1855; U.T.S., '55–6; Ord. (Presb.) June, '57; Pas., Galesburgh, Ill., '57–9; Pas., Natick, Mass., '59——.

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1859.

HENRY JACOB ACKER; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1856; U.T.S., '55–7, 8–9; Ord. (Cong.) June 23, '59; S.S., Greenport (L.I.) N.Y., '59–'60; Pas. (Presb.) Amity, N.Y., '61–5; Ch., U.S.A., '63–5; D.Sec., A.T.S., New-Britain, Ct. '65——.

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GOODLOE BOWMAN BELL; Pa.; Y.C., 1852; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Oct., '59; S.S., Manhattanville, N.Y., '59; S.S., Hardiston, N.J., '59–'65.

EDWIN CONE BISSELL; Ct.; A.C., 1855; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 22, '59; Pas., Westhampton, Mass., '59–'64; Pas., San Francisco, Cal., '64——.

JESSE BRUSH; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1854; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 2, '59; Pas., Susquehanna, Pa., '59–'61; S.S., Westhampton, Mass., '62–3; Ch., U.S.A., '63–5; Pas. (Cong.) Vernon, Ct., '65——.

WALTER HALSEY CLARK; N.Y.; W.C., 1854; Aub.T.S., '56–8; U.T.S., '58–9; Ord. (Presb.) June 30, '59; F.M., Gaboon, W. Af., '60–1; F.M., Corisco Isld., W. Af., '61——.

EUGENE DOUGLASS; N.Y.C.; N.Y.A., 1854; U.T.S., '56–9; Heid.U., Ger., '59–'62; U.S.A., '62–5. Address, Albany, N.Y.

*WILLIAM WILLARD EARLE; Mass.; A.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 29, '60; S.S., Canton, Miss., '59–'61; Died, Worcester, Mass., March, '61, æt. 31.

WILLIAM JACOB ERDMAN; Pa.; H.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '60; S.S., St. Catharine's, C.W., '59–'60; S.S., St. Paul, Minn., '60–1; S.S., Fayetteville, N.Y., '61–4; Ch., U.S.A., '64; Pas., Clinton, N.Y., '65——.

EDWARD PAYSON GOODWIN; N.Y.; A.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 4, '59; Pas., Burke, Vt., '59–'60; Pas., Columbus, O., '60——.

CHARLES EDWIN GRIGGS; Ct.; A.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Inv., Chaplin, Ct., '59——.

HIRAM COLLINS HAYDN; N.Y.; A.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 16, '62; S.S., Montville, Ct., '59–'61; Pas., W. Meriden, Ct., '62–5.

THEODORE JAMES HOLMES; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 22, '59; Pas., E. Hartford, Ct., '61——.

WILLIAM KENDRICK; O.; U.T.S., 1858–9; Ord. (Presb.) '60; S.S., Montrose, Io., '60; S.S., Leon, Io., '61–3; S.S., Sharon, Ill., '64–5. Address, Spring Hill, Ill.

HENRY KIMBALL; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1852–3, 7–9; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 19, '62; S.S., N. Woburn, Mass., '60–1; Pas., Sandwich, Me., '62–3; S.S., N. York City, '63–4; Sec., C.U.A., N. York City, '64——.

JOHN KIMBALL; Vt.; D.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 1, '61; S.S., N. York City, '59–'60; S.S., Grass Valley, Cal., '61–2; S.S., San Francisco, Cal., '62–3; Ch., U.S.A., '63–5; Supt. of Col. Schools, Washington, D.C., '65——.

CHARLES EUGENE KNOX; N.Y.; H.C., 1856; Aub.T.S., '56–7; U.T.S., '57–9; Tut., H.C., '59–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 8, '64; Pas. E. (R.D.) Utica, N.Y., '60–2; S.S., Morristown, N.J., '63–4; Pas., Bloomfield, N.J., '64——.

JAMES TURNER LEFTWICH; Va.; C.N.J., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) '59; Pas., Alexandria, Va., '59–'61; S.S., Wytheville & Marion, Va., '62——. Address, Wytheville, Va.

JOEL LINSLEY; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1856–9; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 1, '60; S.S., Hillsboro, Ill., '60–1; S.S., Manlius, N.Y., '61–2. Address, Millville, N.Y.

JAMES ANDREW LITTLE; N.Y.C.; N.Y.A., 1854; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) July 21, '61; S.S., Canastota (R.D.) N.Y., '61–3; S.S. (Cong.) Paterson, N.J., '63–4; S.S. (Presb.) P. Amboy, N.J., '64——.

THOMAS H. MCCALLIE; Tenn.; Bur.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Sept., '59; S.S., Chattanooga, Tenn., '59——.

CHARLES GARDINER MCCULLY; N.Y.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) July 17, '60; Pas., Milltown, St. Stephen, N.B., '60——. Address, Milltown, Me.

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AUGUSTUS LEANDER MARDEN; N.H.; D.C.,1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) May 30, '61; S.S., Cabot, Vt., '59–'61; Pas., Piermont, N.H., '60——.

JAMES THOMAS MATTHEWS; Mass.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 28, '59; S.S., Port Jervis, N.Y., '59–'60; S.S., Kenosha, Wis., '60–4; W.C., Chicago, Ill., '64——.

ARTHUR MITCHELL; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1853; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) May 8, '59; Pas., Richmond, Va., '59–'61; Pas., Morristown, N.J., '61——.

GEORGE PIERSON, JR.; N.J.; C.N.J., 1853; U.T.S., '56–9; S.S., Waitsfield, Vt., '60; Inv., Orange, N.J., '61——.

CHARLES H. RUSSELL; Ct.; U.T.S., 1856–9; Ord. (Presb.) '59; Pas., Williamsport, Md., '59–'61; U.S.A., '62–4; Trade, Bridgeport, Ct., '64——.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS SMITH; O.; Ma.C., 1853; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) May 14, '61; S.S., Coleraine, Mass., '59–'60; Pas., Rockland, Me., '61–3; Tut., Den.U., Granville, O., '63——.

ROBERT BAYARD SNOWDEN; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1854; U.T.S., '54–5, 6–9; Res. Lic., '60–1; Ord. (Cong.) May 1, '61; S.S., Montville, Ct., '61–3; S.S., Ludlow, Vt., '64–5; Pas., Nevada City, Cal., '65——.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS STODDARD; Mass.; W.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 18, '59; Pas., Washington Heights, N. York City, '59——.

JAMES HENRY TAYLOR; O.; B.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 2, '59; Pas., New-Rochelle, N.Y., '59–'62; S.S. (Cong.) Eastport, Me., '62–3; Pas. (Presb.) Orange, N.J., '63——.

*CHARLES F. WINSHIP; Ill.; K.C., 1853; U.T.S., '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 27, '59; F.M., Mendi Mission, W. Africa, '60–3; U. States, '63–5; Died, Princeton, Ill., July 1, '65, æt. 39.

JOHN MILTON WOLCOTT; Mass.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 20, '61; Pas., South-Britain, Ct., '61–5.

SIMEON FOSTER WOODIN; N.Y.; W.C., 1855; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Presb.) June 19, '59; F.M., Fuh Chau, China, '60——.

JAMES DUNHAM WYCKOFF; Ill.; K.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 29, '59; H.M., Ruefield, Ill., '59–'65; Ag., Cairo, Ill., '65——. Address, Elmwood, Ill. 34.

GOTTFRIED EDWARD ALEXANDER; N.Y.C.; L.T.S., 1856–7; U.T.S., '57–8.

ROBERT ATKINSON; Pa.; M.U., 1856; M.T.S., '56–7; U.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (Bap.) Sept. 2, '58; Pas., Newark, N.J., '58——.

*THOMAS LYFORD AMBROSE; N.H.; B.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–7; And.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (Cong.) July, '58; F.M., Oroomiah, Persia, '59–'61; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; Died, of wounds, Ft. Monroe, Va., Aug. 19, '64, æt. 35.

DANIEL HOYT BLAKE; Ill.; K.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–8; Ord. (Cong.) June 9, '59; S.S., Mendota, Ill., '59–'60; S.S., Fond du Lac, Wis., '60–1; Pas., Princeton, Ill., '62–4; Ag., A.M.A., Hilton Head, S.C., '64–5.

HENRY NITCHIE COBB; N.Y.; Y.C, 1855; U.T.S., '56–7; Ord. (Presb.) June 16, '60; F.M., Oroomiah, Persia, '60–2; Inv., Tarrytown, N.Y., '63——.

JOHN PIERSEL HAIRE; O.; W.C., 1855; L.T.S., '56–7; And.T.S., '57–8; U.T.S., '58–9; Ord. (Presb.) Ap., '61; S.S., Elizabethtown, O., '59–'60; S.S., Aurora, Ind., '60–2; W.C., Elizabethtown, O., '62——.

WILLIAM ALLEN HALLOCK; Ct.; A.C., 1855; N.H.T.S., '56–7; U.T.S., '57–8; E.W.T.S., '58–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 24, '60; Pas., Gilead, Ct., '60–4; Inv., Jamestown, N.Y., '64——.

JESSE WINEGAR HOUGH; N.Y.; Y.C., 1853; U.T.S., '56–8; N.H.T.S.,

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'58–9; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 13, '59; S.S., N. York City, '58–'60; Pas. (Cong.) Williston, Vt., '60–5; Pas. (Presb.) Saginaw City, Mich., '65——.

HENRY LYNES HUBBELL; Ct.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–7; And.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 24, '61; Pas., Amherst, Mass., '61–5.

HENRY G. MCARTHUR; Ill.; K.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–8; C.T.S., '58–9; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 25, '59; S.S., McGregor, Io., '59–'61; S.S., Oshkosh, Wis., '63–5.

ROBERT LEEPER MCCORD; Wis.; I.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–7; L.T.S., '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 4, '61; S.S., New-Berlin, Ill., '60; Pas., Lincoln, Ill., '61——.

JOHN LAWRENCE MILLS; Ct.; Y.C., 1855; U.T.S., '56–8; Tut., Y.C., '58–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 24, '63; S.S., Seymour, Ct., '63——.

*DAVID OWEN; Wis.; Bel.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56; Died, N. York City, Nov., '56, æt. 28.

*GEORGE CHESTER ROBINSON; Pa.; Y.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56; Pas. (M.E.) Brooklyn, N.Y., '58–9; Pas., Cincinnati, O., '59–'62; Inv., Europe, '62; Died, Wellsboro, Pa., Sept. 21, '63, æt. 30.

THORNTON BIGELOW PENFIELD; O.; O.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–8; Ord. (Cong.) '58; F.M., Brainerd, Jamaica, W.I., '58——.

HORACE PAYSON SMITH; Mass.; A.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–7.

WILLIAM WOOD SQUIRE; C.E.; Q.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–7; Ord. (Wes.); S.S., ——, C.E., '58——.

*AMHERST LORD THOMPSON; Mass.; A.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–7; And.T.S., '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 2, '60; F.M., Oroomiah, Persia, '60; Died, Seir, Persia, Aug. 25, '60, æt. 26.

*JOHN WINN UNDERHILL; Mass.; A.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–7; And.T.S., '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 6, '59; Pas., N. Amherst, Mass., '59–'62; Died, do., Oct. 17, '62, æt. 32.

WILLIAM HAYES WARD; Mass.; A.C., 1856; U.T.S., '56–7; Tut., Bel.C., '57–9; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 8, '60; Pas., Oskaloosa, Kan., '60——. 20.

1860.

EDWIN ALLEN; N.Y.; G.C., 1857; L.T.S., '57–9; U.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 19, '62; S.S., Panama Centre, N.Y., '62——.

JOHN FRANCIS BAIRD; Pa.; U.T.S., 1857–'60; S.S., Cedarville, N.J., '60–3.

ELIJAH CLARK BALDWIN; Ct.; U.T.S., 1857–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 5, '60; Pas., Bethel, Ct., '60–5; Pas., Branford, Ct., '65——.

HENRY WATKINS BALLANTINE; Ind.; Ind.U., 1856; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 10, '61; F.M., Bombay, India, '62–5; S.S., Marietta, O., '65——.

AUGUSTUS FIELD BEARD; Ct.; Y.C., 1857; Aub.T.S., '57–8; U.T.S., '58–'60; Ord. (Cong.) May 25, '60; S.S., Cape Elizth., Me., '60–2; Pas., Bath, Me., '62——.

FREDERIC MAYER BIRD; Pa.; U.Pa., 1857; Hk.T.S., '57–9; U.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Ev. Lu.) Sept., '61; Pas., Rhinebeck, N.Y., '60–2; Ch., U.S.A., '62–3; Pas., W. Phila., Pa., '65——.

HENRY MARTYN BRIDGMAN; Mass.; A.C., 1857; E.W.T.S., '57–8; U.T.S., '58–'60; Ord. (Cong.) June 27, '60; F.M., Ifumi, Zulu Country, S. Af., '60——.

LYSANDER TOWER BURBANK; N.H.; W.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Cong.) June 13, '60; F.M., Bitlis, Assyria, '60——.

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ELISEE CHARLIER; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1857–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 19, '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; Tea., Phila., Pa., '65——.

ASAHEL LEWIS CLARK; Mass.; A.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 11, '61; Pas., Hyde Park, Pa., '61——.

ELISHA GREENE COBB; N.Y.; A.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 20, '60; Pas., Peekskill, N.Y., '60——.

ALFRED SOMERS COLLINS; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Res. Lic., '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 23, '61; S.S., Albany, N.Y., '63; S.S., Andover, N.J., '64; W.C., Brooklyn (E.D.) N.Y., '65——.

DAVID STUART DODGE; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 16, '61; Trav., Europe, '62–3; W.C., N. York City, '64; Prof. E., Syr. C., Beirut & N. York City, '64——.

JOHN BERNARD FAIRBANK; Ill.; I.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 24, '60; S.S., Fox Lake, Wis., '60——.

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN FORBES; N.Y.C.; N.Y.A., 1854; U.T.S., '57–'60; Tea., N. York City, '60–2; Tea., Rahway, N.J., '62–4; Tea., N. York City, '64——.

LORENZO MARTEL GATES; Mich.; U.M., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 29, '60; Pas., Hillsdale, N.Y., '60–2; S.S., Lowell & Arlington, Wis., '62–3; Pas., Columbus, Wis., '63–4; S.S., Roscoe, Ill., '64——.

GEORGE SEAMAN GRAY; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1857; Aub.T.S., '57–9; U.T.S., '59–'60; S.S., Portland, Me., '60–1; S.S., Westbrook, Me., '61–2; S.S., Cinnati, O., '62–3; Tea., Englewood, N.J., '63——.

JAMES ALPHEUS GRIFFES; Mich.; U.M., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 21, '60; S.S., Howell, Mich., '61–3; S.S., Salina, Saginaw, & Carrollton, Mich., '63–5; S.S., New-Market, Tenn., '65——.

NORMAN JONES; O.; D.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 13, '64; S.S., Yellow Springs, O., '60–3; Ch., U.S.A., '64; W.C., Washington, O., '65——.

JOHN HAMILTON MCMONAGLE; Ill.; K.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 22, '60; Pas., E. Machias, Me., '60–1; S.S., Placerville, Cal., '61–3; Ch., U.S.A., S. Francisco, Cal., '64——.

IRVING MAGEE; N.Y.; W.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Ev.Lu.) Sept., '62; S.S., Valatie, N.Y., '61–5; S.S., Baltimore, Md., '65——.

JOHN ALLEN MAXWELL; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 27, '60; Pas., S. Orange, N.J., '60——.

ALEXANDER D. MOORE; D.C.; Cn.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 21, '60; S.S., Dauphin, Pa., '60——.

GEORGE BENTON NEWCOMB; N.Y.C.; W.C., 1856; U.T.S., '58–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 15, '61; Pas., Bloomfield, Ct., '61——.

EDMUND MORRIS PEASE; Mass.; A.C., 1854; U.T.S., '56–7; Tut., A.C., '57–8; U.T.S., '58–'60.

ARTHUR TAPPAN PIERSON; N.Y.C.; H.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) May 13, '60; S.S., W. Winsted, Ct., '60; Pas. (Cong.) Binghamton, N.Y., '60–2; S.S., Norwalk, Ct., '63; Pas. (Presb.) Waterford, N.Y., '63——.

JAMES AVERY SKINNER; N.Y.; H.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 21, '61; Tut., H.C., '60–2; Ag., N. York City, '62–3; H.M., S. Francisco, Cal., '63–4; S.S., Santa Clara, Cal., '64–5; S.S., Stockton, Cal., '65——.

DAVID HOUSTON TAYLOR; Mich.; U.M., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 9, '60; S.S., Saginaw City, Mich., '60——.

JOHN SEYMOUR WHITMAN; Mass.; W.C., 1854; U.T.S., '55–6; Aub.T.S., '57–8; U.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 4, '61; S.S., Rochester, Minn., '61–2; S.S., Charlemont, Mass., '63–5; W.C., Williamstown, Mass., '65——.

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HERMANN DIETRICH WRAGE; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1857; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 10, '61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–2; Tea., N. York City, '62——. 30.

DAVID BEALS; Mass.; A.C., 1857; E.W.T.S., '57–8; U.T.S., '58–9; E.W.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Cong.) June 10, '63; S.S. & Pas., Hartland, Ct., '61——.

JOHN STOTTOFF BEEKMAN; N.J.; C.N.J., 1857; U.T.S., '57–8; P.T.S., '58–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 10, '63; Pas., Farmington, Ill., '63——.

PHILIP BERRY; N.J.; R.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–8; Ord. (R.D.) '61; Pas., Glenville, N.Y., '62–3; F.M., Sidon, Syria, '63–5; Pas., Athens, Pa., '65——.

CHARLES GOODRICH BISBEE; O.; O.C., 1857; O.T.S., '57–8; U.T.S., '58–9; O.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Cong.); S.S., Alpena, Mich., '60——.

WILLIAM CRAWFORD; Mass.; A.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–8; And.T.S., '58–'60; Ord. (Cong.) May 4, '61; S.S., Clearwater, Minn., '61–2; S.S., Danvers, Mass., '62–3; S.S., Central City, Col. Ter., '63——.

GEORGE BENSON DECHANT; Pa.; U.T.S., 1857–9; M.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Ger. Ref.) July, '60; Pas., Fennersville, Pa., '60——.

ALFRED NELSON DENNY; Ill.; I.C., 1854; U.T.S., '57–9; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 17, '60; S.S., Mason, Ill., '60–3; S.S., Nashville, Ill., '63–4; W.C., Moro, Ill., '64——.

CHARLES BROCKWAY DYE; N.Y.; Y.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–9; Res. Grad., N.H.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 26, '59; Pas., Torrington, Ct., '59–'60; W.C., New-Haven, Ct., '60–2; Pas. (Presb.) Romulus, N.Y., '62–3; U.S. Navy, '63–4; W.C., New-Haven, Ct., '65——.

ALONZO GOODRICH FAY; N.Y.; U.T.S, 1857–8; Law, N. York City, '59——.

ALEXANDER HUTCHINS; N.Y.; W.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–8; S.S., Fitchburgh, Mass., '64–5; Pas. E. (Cong.) Brooklyn, N.Y., '65——.

MANCIUS HOLMES HUTTON; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1857; U.T.S., '57–9; N.B.T.S., '59–'60; Res. Lic., U.T.S., '61–2; Ord. (R.D.) June 5, '64; Pas., Mt. Vernon, N.Y., '64——.

WILLIAM KIDDER; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1857; U.T.S., '57–9.

PETER MCVICAR; Wis.; Bel.C., 1856; U.T.S., '57–8; And.T.S., '58–'60; Ord. (Cong.) '60; S.S., Topeka, Kan., '60——.

NELSON MILLARD; N.Y.; U.C., 1853; U.T.S., '59; Trav., Europe, '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) May 13, '62; Pas., Montclair, N.J., '62——.

ELDRIDGE MIX; O.; W.C., 1854; U.T.S., '57–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 6, '60; S.S., N. York City, '61; Pas., Burlington, Vt., '62——.

JAMES BAYES PEARSON; N.Y.C; W.U., 1851; U.T.S., '58–9; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 14, '60; Pas., Winsted, Ct., '60–2; S.S., Plymouth Hollow, Ct., '63——.

EDWARD ROBERTS; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–8; Tea. of S. Music.

RANDOLPH SAILER; Pa.; U.Pa., 1857; U.T.S., '57–9.

ERASTUS SEYMOUR; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1857–'60; Ord. (Presb.) '62; S.S. & Pas., Cochecton, N.Y., '60–3; Ch., Brooklyn, N.Y., '64——.

ROBERT HALL WALTON; Va.; Del.C., 1854; U.T.S., '57–8.

ALFRED TILESTON WATERMAN; R.I.; Y.C., 1855; U.T.S., '57–8; P.T.S., '58–'60.

NATHAN DANA WELLS; Mass.; Y.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57–8; Law, N. York City.

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CHARLES WETHERBY; N.H.; M.C., 1856; U.T.S., '59; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 28, '59; Pas., N. Cornwall, Ct., '59——. 23.

1861.

FREDERICK H. ADAMS; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 25, '65; S.S., Constantia, N.Y., '61–4; S.S., Marquette (L.S.) Mich., '65——.

WILLIAM SWAN ADAMSON; N.Y.C.; Aub.T.S., 1858–9; U.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 17, '61; S.S., Greene, N.Y., '61–2; S.S., Wolcotville, Ct., '63——.

JAMES HERVEY BEALE; Pa.; Del.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 29, '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; S.S., Christiana, Del., '65——.

JAMES IVERSON BOSWELL; Pa.; Di.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (M.E.) '65; Pas., Hudson City, N.J., '63–4; Pas., Green's Chapel, N.J., '64–5; Pas., Somerville, N.J., '65——.

ISAAC NELSON CALDWELL; Tenn.; Mv.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; E. Tenn., '61–4; ——, N.C., '65——.

SAMUEL CARLILE; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1855; U.T.S., '56–7; Stu. of Law, '57–9; U.T.S., '59–'61; S.S. & W.C., N. York City, '61——.

LYMAN DWIGHT CHAPIN; N.Y.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) July 6, '62; F.M., Tienstin, China, '63——.

ROYAL WASHBURN CLARK; Mass.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Agric., Amherst, Mass.

JAMES WILLIAM COLEMAN; N.Y.; C.N.J., 1856; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 6, '64; Pas., Darien, Ct., '64——.

SMITH CURTIS; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1858; P.T.S., '58–9; U.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 16, '62.

ALBERT ERDMAN; Pa.; H.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 29, '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62–3; Pas., Clinton, N.Y., '64——.

HENRY THORNTON FORD; N.Y.; W.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; S.S., Newark, N.J., '62–3; S.S., Rocky Hill, Ct., '63——.

WILLIAM LUTHER GAYLORD; Ct.; E.W.T.S., 1857–8; U.T.S., '58–9, '60–1; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 14, '60; Pas., Fitzwilliam, N.H., '60——.

*HENRY HASTINGS; Vt.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Cong.) June 11, '62; S.S., E. Machias, Me., '62–3; Died, Townsend, Vt., Jan. 19, '63, æt. 30.

ISAIAH BARDSLEY HOPWOOD; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1859; Aub.T.S., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) July 10, '61; Pas., Coventry, N.Y., '61–3; S.S., Oxford Furnace, N.J., '63——.

SAMUEL JESSUP; Pa.; U.T.S., 1858–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 10, '61; F.M., Sidon, Syria, '63; F.M., Tripoli, Syria, '64——.

ALONZO PECK JOHNSON; Ct.; U.T.S., 1857–8, 9–'61; Ord. (Cong.) June 5, '62; H.M., U.S.A., '63–4; S.S., Alton, N.H., '64–5; Pas., Waukesha, Wis., '65——.

THEODORE KRUGER; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1858–'61; Ord., '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62——.

JAMES MCLAUGHLIN; Ill.; I.C., 1857; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 8, '61; S.S. & Tea., Red Bluff, Cal., '61——.

FRANKLIN NOBLE; D.C.; W.C., 1856; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 30, '62; Pas., Sandusky, O., '62–4; Pas. (Cong.) Torringford, Ct., '65——

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MOSES PAYSON PARMELEE; Vt.; U.Vt., 1855; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Cong.) July 2, '61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–2; F.M., Erzeroom, Asia, '63——.

SIDNEY PHOENIX; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1850; U.T.S., '58–'61; S.S., Roxbury & Richmond, Vt., '62; Agric., Rochester, N.Y., '63——.

GEORGE EDWARD POST; N.Y.; N.Y.A., 1854; M.D., U.N.Y., '60; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) June 5, '61; F.M., Tripoli, Syria, '63——.

JOHN BENJAMIN REEVE; N.Y.C.; Cl.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) June 5, '61; Pas., Phila., Pa., '61——.

ISAAC RILEY; Pa.; Y.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 5, '62; Pas., Middletown, Del., '61–4; Pas., Pottsville, Pa., '64——.

JAMES ROBERTSON; N.J.; U.T.S., 1858–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 16, '62; S.S., Danbury, Ct., '61——.

EDSON ROGERS; N.Y.; Y.C., 1857; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 21, '62; S.S., Cincinnatus, N.Y., '62——.

LEVI PARSONS SABIN; O.; D.C., 1856; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 4, '64; S.S., New-London, Wis., '62–3; S.S., Stockbridge, Wis., '63–4; U.S.A., '64. Address, Washington, D.C.

SAMUEL SCOVILLE; Ct.; Y.C., 1857; And.T.S., '57–9; U.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Cong.) '62; Pas., Norwich, N.Y., '62——.

CHARLES WHEELER SHARP; Ct.; Y.C., 1859; N.H.T.S., '58–9; U.T.S., '59–'61; Res. Lic., N.H.T.S., '61–2; Ord. (Cong.) June 28, '65; S.S., Hancock, N.Y., '64–5; Pas., Greene, N.Y., '65——.

JAMES WORTHINGTON STARK; Mich.; U.M., 1858: U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) '63; S.S., Danville, Ill., '61–3; S.S., Jefferson, Wis., '63–4; S.S., Berlin, Wis., '64——.

GEORGE BURDER TOLMAN; Vt.; U.Vt., 1856; U.T.S., '56–8, '60–1; Ord. (Cong.) July 10, '62; M. of Leg., Greensboro, Vt., '61–2; Pas., Sheldon, Vt., '62——.

JOHN PILLSBURY WATSON; N.H.; B.C., 1856; B.T.S., '58–9; U.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Presb.) June 22, '62; Tea., Salisbury, Ct., '61; S.S., E. Putnam, Ct., '62——.

SAMUEL WYCKOFF; Pa.; Al.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 11, '61; S.S., Kerr's Hill, Pa., '61; S.S., Titusville, Pa., '62; Pas., Peoria, Ill., '63–4; Pas., Knoxville, Ill., '65——. 34.

JOSEPH PERRY BIXBY; Ct.; W.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'60; And.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 30, '62; Pas. (Presb.) Boston, Mass., '62–4; Pas., Phila., Pa., '64——.

WOLCOTT CALKINS; N.Y.; Y.C., 1856; U.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 22, '62; A. Pas., Hartford, Ct., '62–4; Pas. (Presb.) Phila., Pa., '64——.

SAMUEL CAMP; N.Y.; H.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–'60; Trav., Europe.

GEORGE RYERSON CARROLL; Io.; U.T.S., 1858–'60; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 16, '60; S.S., Maysville, Io., '60; S.S., Wyoming, Io., '61——.

ISAAC CLARK; Ct.; Y.C., 1856; U.T.S., '58–9; And.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 12, '61; Pas., Elmira, N.Y., '61——.

MANUEL JACOB DRENNAN; O.; O.C., 1857; U.T.S., '58–'60; Trav., Europe, '60–1; S.S., Windham, Ct., '62–3; Lit., N. York City, '63——.

HANFORD ABRAHAM EDSON; N.Y.; W.C., 1855; U.T.S., '58–'60; Trav., Europe, '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. '62; S.S., Niagara Falls, N.Y., '62–4; Pas., Indianapolis, Ind., '64——.

ALFRED AUGUSTUS ELLSWORTH; Mass.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '58–9;

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And.T.S., '59–'61 ; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 4, '62 ; Pas., Milford, Mass., '62——.

SAMUEL LANKTON GEROULD ; N.H. ; D.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '58–'60 ; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 2, '61 ; Pas., Stoddard, N.H., '61——.

ALVIN BANISTER GOODALE ; N.Y. ; A.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '58–9 ; Stu. of Med., '59–'60 ; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 5, '60 ; F.M., Marash, Asia, '61–4 ; S.S., Belle Plain, Minn., '65——.

EDWARD PAYSON HAMMOND ; Ct. ; W.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '58–9 ; Free Chh. Col., Edinburgh, '60–1 ; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 2, '63 ; Evang., Vernon, Ct., '63——.

CHARLES HENRY HAYWOOD ; N.Y. ; W.C., 1851 ; U.T.S., '58–9.

GEORGE WILLIAM HOLLAND ; Va. ; Ro.C., 1857 ; G.T.S., '58–9 ; U.T.S., '59–'60 ; G.T.S., '60–1.

DANIEL KLOSS ; Mich. ; U.M., 1858 ; G.T.S., '58–9 ; U.T.S., '59–'60 ; Ord. (Ev.Lu.) '61 ; S.S., Bridgeport, Ct., '61——.

FRANCIS LOBDELL ; Ct. ; A.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '58–9 ; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 3, '59 ; Pas., Warren, Ct., '59–'63 ; Pas., Bridgeport, Ct., '63–5 ; Rec. (P.Ep.) Cincinnati, O., '65——.

CURTIS JERRE LYONS ; S. Islds. ; W.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '58–'61.

THOMAS NICHOLS ; N.Y. ; C.N.J., 1856 ; U.T.S., '58–'60 ; And.T.S., '60–1 ; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 11, '63 ; Pas., Chester, N.Y., '63——.

HENRY DAVENPORT NORTHROP ; N.Y. ; A.C., 1857 ; U.T.S., '58–9 ; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 22, '60 ; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '60–2 ; Pas., London, Eng., '63——.

FREDERICK WEBSTER OSBORN ; N.J. ; Y.C., 1855 ; U.T.S., '58–'60 ; And.T.S., '60–1 ; S.S., Hartford, Ct., '65——.

SAMUEL LYMAN PINNEO ; N.J. ; Y.C., 1856 ; U.T.S., '57–8, '59–'60 ; Trade, St. Louis, Mo.

GEORGE BURLEIGH SPALDING ; Vt. ; U.Vt., 1856 ; U.T.S., '58–'60 ; And.T.S., '60–1 ; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 4, '61 ; Pas., Vergennes, Vt., '61–4 ; Pas., Hartford, Ct., '64——.

JOHN COLEMAN TAYLOR ; N.Y. ; U.C., 1858 ; Aub.T.S., '58–9 ; U.T.S., '59–'60 ; And.T.S., '60–1 ; Ord. (Presb.) '61 ; Pas., Sweden, N.Y., '61–5 ; S.S., Chattanooga, Tenn., '65 ; S.S., Corry, Pa., '65——.

*JAMES EDWIN TOWER ; Mass. ; A.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '58–'60 ; And.T.S., '60–1 ; Died, Groton, Mass., Aug. 18, '62, æt. 28. 23.

1862.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS ALRICH ; Del. ; Wn.C., 1855 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ; Ord. (Presb.) '61 ; S.S., So. Washington, Vt., '61 ; Ch., Reb. Army, '61–5.

ALVIN BAKER ; N.Y. ; H.C., 1859 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 3, '62 ; S.S., Cornwall, N.Y., '62–4 ; S.S., Otisco, N.Y., '65——.

MARTIN LUTHER BERGER ; N.Y. ; W.C., 1859 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ; Ord. (R.D.) '63 ; Pas., E. Millstone, N.J., '63–5 ; Pas., Fishkill, N.Y., '65——.

WHITING CYRUS BIRCHARD ; Pa. ; Al.C., 1858 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 29, '62 ; S.S., Cherry Tree, Pa., '62——.

LEWIS MEAD BIRGE ; O. ; W.R.C., 1857 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 5, '62 ; Ch., U.S.A., '62–5 ; Res. Grad., U.T.S., N.York City, '65——.

ZIBA NICHOLS BRADBURY ; N.J. ; Y.C., 1859 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. '63 ; S.S., Howard, N.Y., '62——.

*WILLIAM THOMPSON CLAPP ; O. ; W.R.C., 1857 ; U.T.S., '59–'62 ;

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Ord. (Cong.) Dec. 16, '64; S.S., Edinburgh, O., '64–5; Died, do., Mar. 23, '65, æt. 27.

MALCOLM MCGREGOR DANA; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 19, '63; S.S., Winsted, Ct., '62–4; Pas. (Cong.) Norwich, Ct., '65——.

WILLIAM REED EASTMAN; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1854; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 12, '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; S.S. (Cong.) Grantville, Mass., '64–5; S.S., Southington (Plantsville) Ct., '65——.

JOHN HARRINGTON EDWARDS; Ill.; Bel.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 4, '63; S.S. & Pas., W. Lebanon, N.H., '62——.

*JOSIAH GOLD EVERTS; N.Y.; U.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–2; Died, Havana, N.Y., May '63, æt. 28.

BENTLEY STEPHEN FOSTER; Pa.; W.C., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) July 12, '65; S.S., Franklin, Pa., '65——.

EDWARD PAYSON GARDNER; N.Y.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 11, '64; S.S. & Pas., Cherry Valley, N.Y., '62——.

JOHN QUINCY HALL; O.; A.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 1, '63; S.S., Mt. Gilead, O., '62–3; S.S., Darlington, Wis., '63——.

SAMUEL PIERSON HALSEY; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1859–'62; Ord. (Presb.) July 8, '62; Pas., Rockaway, N.J., '62–5; Pas., Stamford, Ct., '65——.

THOMAS WHITE HUGHES; Tenn.; Mv.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; C.M., N. York City, '62——.

ELNATHAN JUDSON; N.Y.C.; B.U., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Insane, Somerville, Mass., '64——.

CHARLES COTTON KIMBALL; Wis.; Bel.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 11, '63; S.S., New-Hartford, N.Y., '63–4; S.S., Leroy, N.Y., '64——.

WILLIAM WALLACE KIRBY; N.Y.; U.C., 1855; P.T.S., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–2.

DELAVAN LEVANT LEONARD; N.Y.; H.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Res. Lic., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) June 8, '64; S.S., New-Britain, Ct., '63–4; S.S., Washington (New-Preston Hill) Ct., '64——.

JOHN ELBERT LONG; O.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 4, '64; S.S., Hublersburgh & Spring Mills, Pa., '62——. Address, Hublersburgh, Pa.

SAMUEL MURDOCK; N.J.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) June 14, '65; Tea., Bloomfield, N.J., '62–3; S.S., Coshocton, N.Y., '63–4; S.S., Craneville, N.J., '64——.

ALFRED MARION PENLAND; N.C.; Mv.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Tea., N. York City, '62——.

JOHN THURSTON RHODES; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1859–'62; Tea., Flatbush (L.I.) N.Y., '62——.

ALBERT GLEASON RULIFFSON; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1859–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 12, '62; C.M., N. York City, '62–4; S.M., Minneapolis, Minn., '64——.

ROBERT CONRAD RUSSELL; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1859–'62; S.S., Bristol, Me., '62–4.

AMOS FRANKLIN SHATTUCK; N.H.; A.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; S.S., Charlestown, N.H., '63–4; S.S., Surry, N.H., '64——.

CHARLES DANNELLY SHAW; Pa.; U.T.S., 1859–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Nov. 5, '62; Pas., Paterson, N.J., '62——.

JAMES WOODWARD STRONG; Wis.; Bel.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 28, '62; S.S., Brodhead, Wis., '62–4; S.S., Faribault, Minn., '65——.

ELIAS FITCH TANNER; N.Y.; W.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) May, '64; S.S., Pardeeville, Wis., '62–4; S.S., Barton, Wis., '64——.

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JAMES NELSON THRESHER; Ct.; A.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Bap.) '63; S.S., St. Cloud, Minn., '63–4; S.S., Fair Haven, Minn., '64——.

IRA CHARLES TYSON; Pa.; U.T.S., 1859–'62; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 7, '62; Pas., Hughsonville, N.Y., '62——.

JAMES DUNCAN WILSON; Pa.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Presb.) July 1, '63; S.S. & Pas., N. York City, '62——. 33.

JAMES MCKINNEY ALEXANDER; S. Islds.; W.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Presb.) June 11, '65; S.S., San Leandro, Cal., '65——.

EUGENE HENRY AVERY; Ill.; Bel.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 22, '63; S.S., Roscoe, Ill., '63–4; Pas. (Presb.) Warren, Ill., '64——.

*DANIEL BOWE; Mass.; Y.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'60; And.T.S., '60–2; Ag., Port Royal, S.C., '62; Died, N. York City, Oct. 30, '62, æt. 29.

JOHN PETER BRISCOE; Tenn.; Mv.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'61; S.S., Blountville, Tenn., '62——.

GEORGE WHITEHILL CHAMBERLAIN; D.C.; Del.C., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'61; Bib. Col., Rio Janeiro, S.A., '62——.

GEORGE HENRY COFFEY; N.Y.; Y.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'60; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 15, '65; S.S., Saugerties, N.Y., '61–4; Pas., Jackson, Mich., '65——.

RUFUS CHOATE CROCKER; Ill.; K.C., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'61.

SYLVANUS SAMUEL DEARBORN; N.H.; D.C., 1855; U.T.S., '59–'60.

HENRY SWIFT DE FOREST; N.Y.; Y.C., 1857; N.H.T.S., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–1; Tut., Y.C., '61–3; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 2, '63; Ch., U.S.A., '63——.

DANIEL BLISS DUDLEY; Vt.; D.C., 1856; U.T.S., '59–'60; Lit.

HORACE FRANKLIN DUDLEY; N.H.; D.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'60; Aub.T.S., '60–2; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 6, '65; S.S., So. Trenton, N.Y., '62–5; S.S., Paris, N.Y., '65——.

DANIEL HENRY EVANS; O.; M.U., 1859; Al.T.S., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–1; And.T.S., '61–2; Ord. (Presb.) '62; S.S., Blissfield & Palmyra, Mich., '62——. Address, Blissfield, Mich.

CHARLES HALL EVEREST; N.Y.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Cong.) '62; Owego, N.Y., '62–5; S.S., Brooklyn, N.Y., '65——.

FLAVIUS LYLE EWING; Tenn.; Mv.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'61; S.S., Lewisburgh, Tenn., '62——.

RUFUS BARNARD GUILD; Vt.; K.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'60, '61; Tea., '61–2; C.T.S., '62–4; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 3, '64; Pas., Galva, Ill., '64——.

JOHN THOMAS GULICK; S. Islds.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'62; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 22, '64; F.M., N. China, '64——.

HENRY HOPKINS; Mass.; W.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'61; Ord. (Cong.) '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; W.C., Williamstown, Mass., '64——.

JAMES WAKEMAN HUBBELL; Ct.; Y.C., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'60; And.T.S., '61–3; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 21, '64; S.S., Plainville, Ct., '63–4; Pas., Milford, Ct., '64——.

JOSEPH WALKER MARSH; Vt.; U.Vt., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'60.

VICTOR MILLER; Md.; P.C., 1858; G.T.S., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–1; G.T.S., '61–2; Ord. (Ev.Lu.) '63; Pas., New-Wilmington, Pa., '63——.

WILLIAM ENOS BOISE MOORE; Mass.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'60; And.T.S., '60–2; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 4, '65; S.S., Barnstable (Centreville) Mass., '62–4; Pas., Huntington, Mass., '65——.

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MARCUS NORTH PRESTON; Wis.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'60; Aub.T.S., '60–2; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 2, '62; Pas., Skaneateles, N.Y., '62——.

JUSTIN GAMALIEL RILEY; N.Y.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'61; Tea., Brooklyn, N.Y., '62——.

LEICESTER JOTHAM SAWYER; N.Y.; K.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'61; N.H.T.S., '62; U.S.A., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 20, '64; Pas., Sheboygan, Wis., '64——.

MOODY ADONIRAM STEVENS; N.H.; U.T.S., 1859–'61; Ord. (Cong.) '61; Ch., U.S.A., '61–2; S.S., Plympton, Mass., '62–4.

WILLIAM JACKSON STOUTENBURGH; N.Y.; W.C., 1858; Aub.T.S., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 17, '61; Pas., N. York City, '61–4; Pas. (Cong.) Allen's Grove, Wis., '64——.

LEANDER TALLMADGE; N.J.; Y.C., 1855; U.T.S., '59–'61; Tea., Deckertown, N.J., '62——

EDWARD GERRISH THURBER; Mich.; U.M., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'61; And.T.S., '61–2; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 29, '62; S.S. & Pas., Walpole, Mass., '62——.

JOSEPH HOPKINS TWICHELL; Ct.; Y.C., 1859–'61; And.T.S., '64–5; Ord. (Presb.) '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62–4; Pas. (Cong.) Hartford, Ct., '65——.

WILLIAM JAMES WRIGHT; Vt.; U.C., 1857; U.T.S., '59–'60; P.T.S., '60–2; Ord. (Presb.) '63; Ch., U.S.A., '63—— 30.

1863.

CHARLES TREAT BERRY; N.J.; C.N.J., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 17, '63; Pas., Valatie, N.Y., '63——.

ALBERT CASTLE BISHOP; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) May 15, '64; S.S., Warrensburgh, N.Y., '63–5; Pas., Sand Lake, N.Y., '65——.

GEORGE MILLS BOYNTON; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1858; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 28, '63; Pas., Riverdale, N.Y., '63——.

FREDERICK ADOLPHUS MILLER BROWN; N.Y.; U.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) May 15, '64; S.S. & Pas., Parsippany, N.J., '63——.

GEORGE FARNSWORTH CHAPIN; N.H.; A.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Res. Lic., '63–4; Tea., N.Y., '63–5; S.S., Lawrence, Kan., '65——.

WILLIAM HENDEE CLARK; O.; W.R.C., 1859; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Jan. 6, '64; Pas., Spencertown, N.Y., '64–5; W.C., '65——.

HENRY JOSIAH CRANE; Pa.; U.N.Y., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 7, '63; S.S., Wysox, Pa., '63——.

BISHOP FALKNER; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1860–3; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 25, '65; Pas., Brooklyn, N.Y., '65——.

JAMES B. FINCH; Del.; U.T.S, 1860–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 5, '63; S.S., Orient (L.I.) N.Y., '63–5; S.S., Nebraska City, N.T., '65——

HENRY MARTYN GRANT; Persia; Aub.T.S., 1860–2; U.T.S., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) Nov. 17, '63; Pas., E. Canaan, Ct., '63——.

ELLSWORTH JEROME HILL; N.Y.; U.T.S., 1860–3; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 26, '64; S.S., Thornton Station, Ill., '64——.

JOEL JACKSON HOUGH; N.Y.; Y.C., 1859; U.T.S., '61–3; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 6, '64; S.S., Cannonsville, N.Y., '63——.

JOHN MCVEY; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 17, '63; S.S., N. York City, '63–4; Pas., New-Lebanon, N.Y., '64——.

*WILLIAM WISNER MARTIN; N.J.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–1; And.T.S., '61–2; U.T.S., '62–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 18, '63; S.S., Sonora,

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Cal., '63–5; Pas., San José, Cal., '65; Died, Brooklyn, N.Y., Oct. 16, '65, æt. 27.

JOHN HENRY MEACHAM; Pa.; U.C., 1852; Tea., Hanover C.H., Va., '52–3; Alex.T.S., '53–4; Ag., A.S.S.U., Va., '54; U.T.S., Va., '55–7; Col., A.T.S., & Ag., N.C. & Va., '57–'61; U.T.S., '61–3; Del., U.S.C.C., '63–4; C.M., N. York City, '64——.

*EDWIN ELISHA MERRIAM; Mass.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Aug. 3, '64; Pas., Salem, Pa., '64–5; Died, do., Feb. 17, '65, æt. 28.

ALMON BAXTER MERWIN; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1857; U.T.S., '57, 9–'60; P.T.S., '60–1; U.T.S., '62–3; Tut., D. & D.I., N. York City, '63——.

WILLIAM DWIGHT MORTON; N.Y.C.; U.C., 1857; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Cong.) June 29, '64; Pas., Huntington, Ct., '64——.

ALEXANDER NESBITT; N.Y.C.; N.Y.A., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 17, '63; Pas., Tremont, N.Y., '63——.

ABRAM J. QUICK; N.J.; W.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 7, '64; S.S., Richmond, Mass., '63–4; Pas., Seymour, Ct., '65——.

ADONIRAM JUDSON RICH; Me.; N.T.S., 1860–2; U.T.S., '63; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 30, '64; Pas., Dorchester, Mass., '64——.

LEONARD ELDRO RICHARDS; O.; O.W.U., 1859; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 15, '63; S.S., Stamford, N.Y., '63——.

*ROBERT HUGH RICHARDSON; Va.; U.T.S., 1860–3; C.M., N. York City, '63; Died, do., Oct. 6, '63, æt. 28.

EZRA DAVIS SHAW; N.Y.; Ma.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–3; Ord. (Presb.) Aug. 10, '64; S.S., Wilkesville, O., '63–4; S.S., Middleport, O., '64——.

*JOHN PAINE TORREY; Vt.; U.Vt., 1858; U.T.S., '60–3; Died, Beverly, Mass., July 22, '63, æt. 26.

JOHN WALKER; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1858; U.T.S., '59–'60, 1–3; Tea., N.H.

WILLIAM WHITE WILLIAMS; Io.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '59–'60, 1–3; Ord. (Presb.) May 14, '65; Temp. Ag., Phila., Pa., '63——. 27.

JONATHAN W. BACHMAN; Tenn.; U.T.S., 1860–1; Reb. Army, '62–4; H.M., Hawkins Co., Tenn., '65——.

NATHAN BACHMAN; Tenn.; E.&H.C., 1857; U.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) '63; S.S., Kingsport, Tenn., '63——.

MOSES BRADFORD BOARDMAN; N.H.; A.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–2; And.T.S., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 1, '63; Pas., Lynnfield Centre, Mass., '63——.

HARRY BRODHEAD; N.Y.; Y.C., 1859; U.T.S., '60–1; LL.B., C.C., '64; Law, N. York City, '64——.

SAMUEL DUNHAM; Ct.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–2; And.T.S., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) Oct. 4, '64; Pas., W. Brookfield, Mass., '64——.

*CHARLES EASTON; N.Y.; Y.C., 1859; Tea., Memphis, Tenn., '59–'60; U.T.S., '60–1; Inv., Black River Falls, Wis., '61–2; do., Wellsville, N.Y., '62–3; Died, do., Ap. 5, '63, æt. 29.

DAVID ROWE EDDY; N.Y.; U.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) '61; S.S., Wenona, Ill., '61–3; S.S. & Pas., Belvidere, Ill., '63——.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS HAZELTON; Pa.; D.C., 1858; U.T.S., '60–1; And.T.S., '61–3; Tea.

HENRY FRANCIS HYDE; Ct.; A.C., 1859; U.T.S., '60–1; E.W.T.S., '61–3; Ord. (Cong.) June 1, '64; Pas., W. Woodstock, Ct., '64——.

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GEORGE LACON LEYBURN; Va.; W.C.Va., 1859; U.T.S., '60–1; Ord. (Presb.) '62; Pas., Liberty, Va., '62——.

DAVID MCALLISTER; N.Y.; U.C., 1860; Al.T.S., '60–1; U.T.S., '61–2; Ed., N. York City, '62——.

WILLIAM C. MACY; N.Y.; U.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–1; Tea., W. Bloomfield, N.Y., '61; Tut., U.C., '61–4; Adj. Prof., U.C., Schenectady, N.Y., '64——.

ISRAEL GRIFFITHS MATTHEWS; Md.; U.T.S., 1860–1.

*LUCIUS LATHROP MERRICK; Mass.; A.C., 1860; E.W.T.S., '60–1; U.T.S., '61–2; U.S.A., '62–4; Died of wounds, James River, Va., Oct. 7, '64, æt. 35.

SAMUEL MILLER; N.Y.; H.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–1; Aub.T.S., '61–3; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 13, '64; S.S., Eaton, N.Y., '64——.

REESE MARSHALL NEWPORT; O.; Ma.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–1. U.S.A., '61–4.

THEODORE STRONG POND; N.Y.; H.C., 1860; U.T.S., '60–1; And.T.S., '61–3; Tea., N. York City, '63——.

EDWARD AUGUSTUS RAND; N.H.; B.C., 1857; U.T.S., '61–2; U.S.A., '62–4; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 2, '65; Pas., Amesbury Mills, Mass., '65——.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE ROSE; Ill.; Bl.C., 1859; U.T.S., '60–2; Ord. (Cong.) '62; S.S., Chesterfield, Mass., '62——.

MILTON LEONARD SEVERANCE; Vt.; M.C., 1859; U.T.S., '60–2; And.T.S., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 17, '64; Pas., Boscawen, N.H., '64——.

EDWARD CLARENCE SMITH; Pa.; U.T.S., 1860–2; Tea., Phila., Pa., '62——.

JUDSON SMITH; Mass.; A.C., 1859; O.T.S., '60–2; U.T.S., '62–3; O.T.S., '63; Tut., O.C., Oberlin, O., '62——.

EDMUND ROOT STILES; O.; O.C., 1859; O.T.S., '60–2; U.T.S., '62–3; O.T.S., '63; Ord. (Cong.) Feb. 2, '64. Address, Brighton, O. 23.

1864.

EDWIN NORTON ANDREWS; Ct.; A.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 5, '64; Ch., U.S.A., Memphis, Tenn., '64–5; W.C., New-Britain, Ct., '65——.

CHARLES WALDRON BUCKLEY; Ill.; Bl.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 17, '63; Ch., U.S.A., Montgomery, Ala., '64; Ag., Freedmen's Bureau, Montgomery, Ala., '65——.

LESTER HALL ELLIOT; Vt.; U.Vt., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; S.S., Colchester, Vt., '64——.

DAVID RUDACH FRAZER; Md.; C.N.J., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Presb.) Mar. 8, '65; W.C., Clifton (S.I.) N.Y., '65——.

WALTER HARRIS GILES; Mass.; A.C., 1861; P.T.S., '61–2; U.T.S., '62–4; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 26, '64; F.M., Cesarea, W. Turkey, '65——.

GEORGE HERMON GRIFFIN; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Cong.) June 22, '65; Pas., Milford, Ct., '65——.

ANDREW JACKSON HETRICK; Pa.; C.N.J., 1860; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 5, '65; S.S. & Pas. (Cong.) Westport, Ct., '65——.

JOHN CEPHAS HOUGHTON; Mass.; A.C., 1861; B.T.S., '61–2; P.T.S., '62–3; U.T.S., '63–4; S.S., Still River, Mass., '64–5; S.S., Royalton, Vt., '65——.

MARTIN PARKINSON JONES; Pa.; U.Pa., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; S.S., Paoli, Pa., '64——.

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OLIVER ADDISON KINGSBURY; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–4; S.S., (Cong.) Mid. Haddam, Ct., '65——.

THOMAS MARSHALL; N.H.; D.C., 1857; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 18, '64; S.S. & Pas., Mankato, Minn., '64——.

GEORGE FRANKLIN MERRIAM; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1861; P.T.S., '61–2; U.T.S., '62–4; S.S., Mason Village, N.H., '64——.

WILLIAM WHITING NEWELL, Jr.; N.Y.C.; U.N.Y., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Presb.) Sept. 25, '64; S.S., Coopertown, N.Y., '64–5; Pas., Wappinger's Falls, N.Y., '65——.

EDWARD PHILIPS PAYSON; N.Y.; Y.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Presb.) Feb. 23, '64; Ch., U.S.A., '64–5; S.S., Mott Haven & Manhattanville, N.Y., '65——. Address, N. York City.

NATHAN MANNING SHERWOOD; N.J.; N.B.T.S., 1861–2; U.T.S., '62–4; Ord. (Presb.) '65; Pas., Paterson, N.Y., '65——.

JOHN PHILIP STEIN; Pa.; F.M.C., 1861; M.T.S., '61–3; U.T.S., '63–4; Ord. (G.R.) '64; Pas., Schuylkill Haven, Pa., '64——.

HENRY AUGUSTUS PEARSON TORREY; Mass.; U.Vt., 1858; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Cong.) May 3, '65; Pas., Vergennes, Vt., '65——.

HORACE ROBBINS WILLIAMS; Ct.; A.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–4; Ord. (Cong.) May 4, '64; Pas., Almont, Mich., '64——.

CHARLES ENT WILSON; N.J.; M.U., 1861; U.T.S., '61–4; S.S., Seville, N.J., '64——.

CHRISTIAN WISNER; N.J.; U.T.S., 1861–4; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 29, '64; Pas., Bloomfield, N.J., '64——.

FRANCIS PORTER WOODBURY; Mich.; W.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–2; And.T.S., '62–3; U.T.S., '63–4; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 11, '65; Prof., Ol.C., Olivet, Mich., '65——. 21.

JOHN HENRY BECKER; N.Y.; U.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–2; Inv., Cohoes, N.Y., '62——.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1861–3; Trade, N.York City, '63——.

SAMUEL RUSSELL BUTLER; Mass.; W.C., 1858; U.T.S., '62–4; Labrador.

JAY CLIZBE; N.Y.; U.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–2; And.T.S., '62–4; Ord. (Cong.) Ap. 5, '65; Pas., Amherst, Mass., '65——.

LEMUEL JACOB DEAL; Pa.; U.Pa., 1860; U.T.S., '61–3; M.D., U.Pa., '64; Ass. Surgeon, U.S.A., N. Orleans, La., ——.

DANIEL DENISON; N.J.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–2; And.T.S., '62–4; Ag., U.S.C.C., '64–5. Address, Portland, Ct.

CHAUNCY GOODRICH; Mass.; W.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–2; S.S., Fairfield, Vt., '64.

JAMES HASWELL HARWOOD; Vt.; W.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–2; Tea., '62–3; Ord. (Cong.) Jan. 28, '63; Pas., Chicago, Ill., '63——.

SAMUEL COX HAY; N.J.; U.T.S., 1861–3; Ord. (Presb.) Dec. 8, '63; S.S., Peotone, Ill., '64——.

ROBERT GROSVENOR HUTCHINS; Ct.; W.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–2; And.T.S., '62–4; Ord. (Cong.) '64; Pas., E., Brooklyn, N.Y., '65——.

JOSIAH EDWARD KITTREDGE; N.J.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61; And.T.S., '62–4. Address, Montclair, N.J.

CHARLES HENRY MCCREERY; Mich.; U.M., 1860; U.T.S., '61–2; Ass. Comm., F.Bureau, Columbia, S.C., ——.

NATHANIEL MIGHILL; Mass.; A.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–2; And.T.S., '62–4; Ord. (Cong.) Sept. 29, '64; Pas., E. Cambridge, Mass., '64——.

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HENRY FRANKLIN CLOUGH NICHOLS; Mass.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '61–2;
THOMAS HUNTINGTON PEASE; N.Y.C.; U.Vt., 1857; U.T.S., '61–3; Lit., Brooklyn, N.Y., '63——.
AARON PECK; N.J.; C.N.J., 1857; U.T.S., '61–4; Ag., A.S.S.U., Cleveland, O., '65——.
CHARLES HERBERT RICHARDS; N.H.; Y.C., 1860; U.T.S., '61–2, 3–4; And.T.S., '64–5; S.S., Duxbury, Vt., '64.
JOSEPH THOMAS ROBERT; Io.; U.T.S., 1862–3.
SYLVESTER FRANKLIN SCHOONMAKER; N.Y.; Y.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–2; Ord. (Cong.) '62; Ch., U.S.A., '62——
WILLIAM THAYER SMITH; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1860; P.T.S., '61–2; U.T.S., '62–3; Inv., Hanover, N.H.
WILLIAM HENRY THORNE; Pa.; U.T.S., 1861–3; Ord. (Presb.) June 7, '64; Pas., Allentown, Pa., '64——.
ERSKINE UHL; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1860; U.T.S., '61–3; Tea., Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 22.

1865.

WILLIAM HENRY BEARD; Mass.; U.T.S., 1862–5.
ALPHEUS WHITNEY BILLINGS; Mich.; W.C., 1861; U.T.S., '62–5; Ag., A.T.S., Mich.
ZERAH FRANKLIN BLAKELY; Ind.; Wab.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5; Res. Lic., L.T.S., Cincinnati, O., '65——.
ELIJAH LEVINGS BURNETT; N.Y.; U.Vt., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5; S.S., Coleraine, Mass., '65——.
JOHN JAY CRANE; N.Y.; U.N.Y., 1861; U.T.S., '62–5. Address, Hastings upon Hudson, N.Y.
JOSEPH DANIELSON; Ct.; W.C., 1861; U.T.S., '61–2; And.T.S., '62–3; U.T.S., '63–5; Ord. (Cong.) Aug., '65; Pas., Saccarappa, Me., '65——.
JAMES WILSON DAVIS; Vt.; U.Vt., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5.
BENJAMIN ANGIER DEAN; Mass.; A.C., 1862; U.T.S., '64–5; Res. Lic., And.T.S., '65——.
DANIEL WEBSTER FOX; N.Y.C.; A.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5; Ord. (Cong.) Aug. 15, '65; Pas., Newtown, Ct., '65——.
ELLIOT CHAPIN HALL; N.Y.; Y.C., 1862; N.H.T.S., '62–4; U.T.S., '64–5.
JAMES BARTLETT HAMMOND; Mass.; U.Vt., 1861; U.T.S., '61, 3–5; Lit., Berlin, Europe.
WILLIAM ALBERT JAMES; Ct.; W.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5.
RUSSELL MELZO KEYES; O.; Bel.C., 1861; U.T.S., '62–5; Ord. (Cong.) '65; S.S., Conneaut, O., '65——.
DAVID LITCHARD KIEHLE; N.Y.; H.C., 1861; U.T.S., '62–5; Ord. (Presb.) May 14, '65; S.S., Preston, Minn., '65——.
NATHANIEL SCHUYLER MOORE; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1861; And.T.S., '62–3; U.T.S., '63–5. Address, Brooklyn, N.Y.
MASON NOBLE, JR.; R.I.; W.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5. Address, Newport, R.I.
CYRUS MURDOCK PERRY; Mass.; A.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5; Ord. (Cong.) Mar. 28, '65; Ch., U.S.A., '65——.
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERT; Io.; N.T.S., 1862–4; U.T.S., '64–5. Address, N. York City.

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Silas Richards Selden; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1845; U.T.S., '62–5; Trade, N. York City.

Austin Parsons Stockwell; Mass.; A.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5; Ord. (Presb.) May 14, '65; Pas., Pleasant Plains, N.Y., '65——. Address, Staatsburgh, N.Y.

Thomas Gardner Thurston; S.Islds.; Y.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–5. Address, N. York City. 21.

Samuel Taylor Clarke; N.Y.; H.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–4. Address, Buffalo, N.Y.

Edward Benton Coe; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–3; Prof., Y.C., '63——. Address, Paris, France.

James Otis Denniston; N.Y.C.; Y.C., 1856; U.T.S., '61–2; U.S.A., '63–5; S.S., Ludlow, Vt., '65——.

Francis Joel Fairbanks; Mass.; A.C., 1862; P.T.S., '62–3; U.T.S., '63–4.

Samuel Augustus Koch Francis; Pa.; P.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–4; G.T.S., '64–5.

Edward Selah Frisbee; N.Y.; A.C., 1860; U.T.S., '62–3; Tea., Northampton, Mass., '63——.

Silas Harvey Mellis; N.Y.C.; U.T.S., 1862–4; And.T.S., '64–5; S.S., ——, Colorado, '65——.

*Langford Stuart Page; N.Y.; H.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–3; Died, Avon, N.Y., July, '63, æt. 26.

Eben Burt Parsons; Mass.; W.C., 1859; U.T.S., '62–4; Aub.T.S., '64–5; Ord. (Presb.) Ap. 11, '65; S.S., Turin, N.Y., '65——.

James Andrews Schultz; Pa.; F.&M.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–3; M.T.S., '63–4; U.T.S., '64; Inv., Fairview Vill., Pa., '64——.

*Charles Herbert Stanley; Mass.; D.C., 1859; U.T.S., '62–4; Died, Beverly, Mass., June 8, '64, æt. 26.

Henry Beman Underwood; N.J.; W.C., 1862; U.T.S., '62–3; And.T.S., '63–5.

Gulick Van Aken; N.Y.C.; P.T.S., 1862–3; U.T.S., '63–4; Ord. (Presb.) Oct. 16, '64; Pas., Phila., Pa., '64——.

Charles Henry Somers Williams; N.Y.; U.C., 1856; U.T.S., '63–4.

*Charles Coe Wright; O.; W.R.C., 1861; U.T.S., '62–3; Died, N. York City, Feb., '63, æt. 23. 15.

SYNOPSIS.

Whole number of Students,	1178
Deceased,	152
Supposed to be living,	1026
Whole number of Alumni,	673
Deceased,	69
Supposed to be living,	604
Whole number of other Students,	505
Deceased,	83
Supposed to be living,	422

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NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS.

In the preparation of this Catalogue, the utmost fullness and accuracy of information has been sought. It has been obtained, when practicable, directly from the persons concerned. In a majority of cases, it has been necessary to procure it from other sources, involving an expenditure of much time and labor in consulting the Records of Ecclesiastical Bodies, the Reports of Missionary Societies, the Triennial Catalogues of Literary Institutions, extended files of weekly, monthly, and quarterly Periodicals, and the personal recollections of fellow-students. In some cases, no information at all could be obtained; in others, only meagre and imperfect information. In this first effort of the kind, therefore, an approximation only to entire fullness and perfect accuracy could be secured. It is earnestly requested that all omissions and mistakes be communicated to the Recorder, or one of the Professors, for the next Triennial.

The following Order has been observed:

1. The Name, in full, when it could be ascertained.
2. The State, in which the Student resided, at his entrance.
3. The Time and Place of Graduation, if any.
4. The Time and Place of Theological Study.
5. The Date and Denomination of Ordination, if any.
6. The Time, Place, and Character of Occupation, subsequent to the Theological Course.
7. The Time and Source of Honorary Degrees.

Under each year the names of the Students are arranged, alphabetically, in two lists; the first includes all who finished their Theological Course here, and received a Diploma from this Seminary; the second, separated from the former by a (——◆——) dash, all other Students who have, at any time during the three years, been connected with the Class.

The Dead are, as usual, distinguished by an (*) asterisk. A (——.) dash with a period indicates present residence; without a period, the last known residence. The Geographical Abbreviations are such as are in common use, and will readily be understood. The same is true of the Months of the year, and Academic Titles. N.Y.C. denotes New-York and Brooklyn, as practically one community. Below will be found a Schedule of the other

ABBREVIATIONS.

1. LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS.

A.C.	Amherst College, Mass.
Ag.C.	Agricultural College.
Al.C.	Alleghany College, Pa.
Al.T.S.	Alleghany Theo. Sem., Pa.
Alex.T.S.	Alexandria Theo. Sem., Va.
And.T.S.	Andover Theo. Sem., Mass.
Ash.C.I.	Ashland Coll. Inst., N.Y.
Aub.T.S.	Auburn Theo. Seminary, N.Y.
B.C.	Bowdoin College, Me.
B.T.S.	Bangor Theo. Sem., Me.
B.U.	Brown University, R. I.
Bel.C.	Beloit College, Wis.
Bib.Ins.	Biblical Institute.
Bf.C.	Belfast College, Ireland.
Bt.C.	Burritt College, Tenn.
C.C.	Columbia College, N.Y.
C.N.J.	College of N. Jersey.
C.T.S.	Chicago Theo. Sem., Ill.
Cal.C.	College of California.
Cl.U.	Cleveland University, O.
Cn.C.	Columbian College, D.C.
Col.T.S.	Columbia Theo. Sem., S. C.
Cr.C.	Centre College, Ky.
Cumb.C.	Cumberland College, Ky.
Cu.U.	Cumberland Univ., Tenn.
D.C.	Dartmouth College, N.H.
D. & D.I.	Deaf and Dumb Institute.
Del.C.	Delaware College, Del.
Den.U.	Denison University, O.
Di.C.	Dickinson College, Pa.
E. & H.C.	Emory & Henry College, Va.
Ep.T.S.	Gen. Epis. Theo. Sem., N.Y.
F. & M.C.	Franklin & Marshall Col., Pa.
G.C.	Genesee College, N.Y.

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G.T.S.	Gettysburgh Theo. Sem., Pa.
Gil.T.S.	Gilmanton Theo. Sem., N. H.
H.C.	Hamilton College, N. Y.
H.S.C.	Hampden Sydney College, Va.
Har.C.	Harvard College, Mass.
Heid.U.	Heidelberg University, Ger.
Hk.T.S.	Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.
I.C.	Illinois College, Ill.
I.A.U.	Indiana Asbury Univ., Ind.
Ind.U.	Indiana University, Ind.
Ja.C.	Jackson College, Tenn.
Jef.C.	Jefferson College, Pa.
K.C.	Knox College, Ill.
L.F.C.	La Fayette College, Pa.
L.T.S.	Lane Theo. Sem., O.
M.C.	Middlebury College, Vt.
M.T.S.	Madison Theo. Sem., N. Y.
M.U.	Madison University, N. Y.
Ma.C.	Marietta College, O.
Mi.C.	Mississippi College, Miss.
Mv.C.	Maryville College, Tenn.
N.B.T.S.	New-Brunswick Theo. Sem., N.J.
N.H.T.S.	New-Haven Theo. Sem., Ct.
N.T.S.	Newton Theo. Sem., Mass.
N.U.	University of Nashville, Tenn.
N.W.T.S.	North Western Theo. Sem., Ill.
N.Y.A.	N. York Free Academy, N. Y.
Nbg.T.S.	Newburgh Theo. Sem., N. Y.
O.C.	Oberlin College, O.
O.I.	Oneida Institute, N. Y.
O.T.S.	Oberlin Theo. Sem., O.
O.W.U.	Ohio Wesleyan University, O.
Ok.C.	Oakland College, Miss.
Ol.C.	Olivet College, Mich.
P.T.S.	Princeton Theo. Sem., N. J.
P.U.	Pacific University, Oregon.
Pa.C.	Pennsylvania College, Pa.
Q.C.	Quebec College, C. E.
R.C.	Rutgers College, N. J.
Rip.C.	Ripon College, Wis.
Ro.C.	Roanoke College, Va.
Syr.C.	Syrian College, Asia.
T.T.S.	Troy Theo. Sem., N. Y.
U.A.	University of Athens, Greece.
U.C.	Union College, N. Y.
U.Ch.	Univ. of Chicago, Ill.
U.E.T.	Univ. of E. Tennessee.
U.M.	Univ. of Michigan.
U.Mi.	Univ. of Mississippi.
U.N.C.	Univ. of North-Carolina.
U.N.Y.	Univ. of the City of N. York.
U.Pa.	Univ. of Pennsylvania.
U.T.S.	Union Theo. Seminary, N. Y.
U.T.S.Va.	Union Theo. Seminary, Va.
U.U.	Union University, Tenn.
U.Va.	University of Virginia.
U.Vt.	University of Vermont.
Vic.C.	Victoria College, C. W.
W.C.	Williams College, Mass.
W.C.Va.	Washington College, Va.
W.R.C.	Western Reserve College, O.
W.U.	Wesleyan University, Ct.
Wab.C.	Wabash College, Ind.
Way.C.	Waynesburgh College, Pa.
Wn.C.	Washington College, Pa.
Wt.U.	Western University, Pa.
Y.C.	Yale College, Ct.

2. BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

A.B.C.F.M.	Am. Board of For. Missions.
A.B.S.	American Bible Society.
A.E.S.	American Education Society.
A. & F.C.U.	Amer. & For. Christian Union.
A.H.M.S.	American Home Miss. Society.
A.M.A.	Amer. Missionary Association.
A.P.S.	American Protestant Society.
A.S.M.C.J.	Am. Soc. for Melior. the Con. of the Jews.
A.S.S.U.	Amer. Sunday-School Union.
A.T.S.	American Tract Society.
A.T.S. of B.	Amer. Tract Soc. of Boston.
C.A.S.	Children's Aid Society.
C.U.A.	Christian Union Association.
P.C.H.M.	Presb. Com. of Home Missions.
P.P.C.	Presb. Publication Committee.
S.F.S.	Seamen's Friend Society.
U.S.C.C.	United States Chris. Commission.

3. MISCELLANEOUS.

A.P.	Associate Pastor.
Adj. Prof.	Adjunct Professor.
Æt.	Years of Age.
Ag.	Agent.
Agric.	Agriculture.
As.Sec.	Assistant Secretary.
Ass.Com.	Assistant Commissioner.
Bap.	Baptist.
C.M.	City Missionary.
C.Pas.	Colleague Pastor.
Ch.	Chaplain.
Col.	Colporteur.
Cong.	Congregational.
D.Sec.	District Secretary.
Ed.	Editor.
Ev.Lu.	Evangelical Lutheran.
Evang.	Evangelist.
F.M.	Foreign Missionary.
Ger.Ref.	German Reformed.
Ger.Tea.	German Teacher.
H.M.	Home Missionary.
Ind.Meth.	Independent Methodist.
Inv.	Invalid.
Lit.	Literary Pursuits.
M.E.	Methodist Episcopal.
M. of Leg.	Member of Legislature.
Mod.	Moderator.
Ord.	Ordained.
P.Ep.	Protestant Episcopal.
Pas.	Pastor.
Phil.Dep.	Philosophical Department.
Phys.	Physician.
Presb.	Presbyterian.
Prest.	President.
Prin.	Principal.
Prin. of Sem.	Principal of Seminary.
Prof.	Professor.
Prot.Miss.	Protestant Missionary.
R.C.	Roman Catholic.
R.D.	Reformed Dutch.
R.R.Sup.	Rail Road Superintendent.
Rec.	Rector.
Res.Grad.	Resident Graduate.
Res.Lic.	Resident Licentiate.
S.M.	Synodical Missionary.
S.S.	Stated Supply.
S.S.Ag.	Sunday-School Agent.
S.S.M.	Sunday-School Missionary.
Sec.	Secretary.
Soc.Lib.	Society Library.
Tea.	Teacher.
Tem.Sup.	Temporary Supply.
Trav.	Traveling.
Tut.	Tutor.
U.S.A.	United States Army.
Unit.	Unitarian.
W.C.	Without Charge.
Wes.	Wesleyan.

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Ruliffson, Albert G., 1862
Russell, Charles H., 1859
Russell, Robert C., 1862
Rutherford, Collingwood, 1846

Sabin, Levi P., 1861
Sahagyan Hohannes Der, 1847
Sailer, Randolph, 1860
Sailor, John, 1847
Salter, William, D.D., 1843
Sawyer, Leicester J., 1862
Sawyer, Rollin A., 1857
Sawyer, Samuel, 1848
Saxton, J. Addison, 1839
Schenck, Addison V. C., 1846
Schermerhorn, Henry O., 1842
Schermerhorn, John W., 1843
Schoonmaker, Sylvester F., 1864
Schory, Peter D., 1843
Schultz, James A., 1865
Schuyler, George W., 1840
Scoville, Samuel, 1861
Scudder, Henry M., D.D., 1843
Seccombe, Charles, 1850
Seely, Abraham T., 1844
Seely, Raymond H., D.D., 1842
Selden, Silas R., 1865
Severance, Milton L., 1863
Seymour, Bela N., 1855
Seymour, Erastus, 1860
Seymour, Henry, 1842
Seymour, John A., 1852
Seymour, Ova H., 1854
Shackford, Charles C., 1839
Sharp, Charles W., 1861
Shattuck, Amos F., 1862
Shattuck, Cortland W., 1846
Shaw, Charles D., 1862
Shaw, Ezra D., 1863
Shaw, Francis N., 1853
Shepherd, Thomas J., D.D., 1843
Sherrill, Franklin G., 1850
Sherwood, Nathan M., 1864
Silber, William B., 1853
Silcox, William L., 1849
Sinclair, James, 1851
Skinner, James A., 1860
Skinner, Thomas E., 1854
Skinner, Thomas H., Jr., 1843
Slauson, Hiram, 1840
Sloan, Isaac O., 1852
Smith, Edward C., 1863
Smith, Edward P., 1855
Smith, Edwin G., 1850
Smith, Henry A., 1856
Smith, Henry R., 1850
Smith, Horace P., 1859
Smith, I. Bryant, 1849
Smith, Jackson, 1840
Smith, James C., 1842
Smith, James M., 1840
Smith, James R., 1852
Smith, Judson, 1863
Smith, Matson M., D.D., 1847
Smith, Socrates, 1845
Smith, William A., 1859
Smith, William S., 1852
Smith, William T., 1864
Snowden, R. Bayard, 1859
Snyder, Peter, 1839
Soule, George, 1851
Spalding, George B., 1861
Spencer, Franklin A., 1841
Spooner, Erastus C., 1842
Sprague, D. Jay, 1857
Squire, William W., 1859
Stanley, Charles H., 1865
Starbuck, Charles C., 1854
Stark, James W., 1861
Starkweather, Frederick M., 1845
Stead, Benjamin F., D.D., 1842
Stein, John P., 1864
Steiner, Nahum I., 1850
Stevens, Moody A., 1862
Stevenson, Andrew J., 1846
Stiles, Edmund R., 1863
Stockwell, Austin P., 1865
Stoddard, Charles A., 1859
Stoddard, Elijah W., 1852
Stoddard, Judson B., 1843
Stone, Andrew L., D.D., 1842
Stone, Seth B., 1850
Stoutenburgh, William J., 1862
Stowell, Alexander D., 1858
Stratton, Edward, 1855
Strong, Edward, D.D., 1842
Strong, Guy C., 1850
Strong, James W., 1862
Strong, Stephen C., 1848
Sunderland, Byron, D.D., 1843
Sutphen, Joseph W., 1851
Sutton, J. Ford, 1857
Swallow, J. Emerson, 1848
Swift, Alfred B., 1853
Swift, Henry M., 1855

Taft, Don Carlos, 1855
Tallmadge, Leander, 1862
Tanner, Elias F., 1862
Taylor, David H., 1860
Taylor, George I., 1847
Taylor, James Henry, 1859
Taylor, John C., 1861
Taylor, Ransom, 1839
Taylor, Townsend E., 1847
Tenney, Ephraim, 1844
Terrett, John C., 1845
Thayer, D. Haven, 1852
Thomas, James D., 1857
Thompson, Amherst L., 1859
Thompson, Lewis, 1857
Thompson, William A., 1843
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Thorne, William H., 1864
Thresher, James N., 1862
Thurber, Edward G., 1862
Thurston, Thomas G., 1865
Tindall, George P., 1852
Titus, Wicks S., 1850
Todd, Charles N., 1846
Tolles, Cornelius W., 1852
Tolman, George B., 1861
Tompkins, James N., 1844
Torrey, David, D.D., 1846
Torrey, Henry A. P., 1864
Torrey, John P., 1863
Tower, J. Edwin, 1861
Townsend, James B., 1838
Traver, Allen, 1853
Trotter, Alexander, 1841
Trowbridge, James H., 1850
Trowbridge, Tillman C., 1855
Tucker, George L., 1856
Tupper, Henry M., 1856
Tuthill, George M., 1846
Twichell, Joseph H., 1862
Tyler, Charles M., 1858
Tyler, George P., D.D., 1840
Tyler, William E., 1848
Tyson, Ira C., 1862

Uglow, James, 1857
Uhl, Erskine, 1864
Uhler, George, 1847
Uhlfelder, Sigismund, 1853
Ulyat, William C., 1849
Underhill, John W., 1859
Underwood, Henry B., 1865
Upham, Albert G., 1843
Upham, Francis W., 1841
Utter, George B., 1843

Vail, Edward J., 1844
Vail, S. Montfort, D.D., 1842
Van Aken, Gulick, 1865
Van Cleef, George S., 1843
Van Derlip, George M., 1858
Van Deursen, Russell D., 1855
Van Nostrand, Jacob, 1842
Very, Lorin, 1841

Waldo, Edmund F., 1840
Waldo, Levi F., 1844
Walker, Avery S., 1857
Walker, James, 1850
Walker, John, 1863
Walker, John A., 1846
Wallace, Charles C., 1856
Walsworth, Edward B., 1848
Walsworth, Lyman W., 1851
Walton, Robert H., 1860
Ward, Bradish C., 1857
Ward, John, 1844
Ward, Thomas S., 1838
Ward, William H., 1859
Wardlaw, William, 1850
Warren, James H., 1850
Warriner, Francis, 1839
Waterman, Alfred T., 1860
Watson, John P., 1861
Weed, Thomas A., 1847
Wells, Nathan D., 1860
Wells, Rufus P., 1845
Wells, Shepherd, 1845
Wetherby, Charles, 1860
Wharton, Charles D., 1844
Wheeler, Hiram, 1842
Whitaker, Epher, 1851
White, Erskine N., 1857
White, George H., 1856
White, Samuel J., 1842
White, Theodore F., 1853
White, William C., 1856
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Whitford, William C., 1856
Whitman, John S., 1860
Whitney, Joseph C., 1849
Whittlesey, Eliphalet, 1843
Willard, J. Livingston, 1844
Willcox, G. Buckingham, 1851
Willcox, William H., 1846
Willett, Marinus, 1856
Willey, Samuel H., 1848
Williams, Charles H. S., 1865
Williams, Frederick W., 1852
Williams, Horace R., 1864
Williams, William W., 1863
Williamson, Joseph G., 1849
Williamson, Robert H., 1858
Willoughby, Henry W., 1844
Wilson, Charles E., 1864
Wilson, James D., 1862
Winship, Charles F., 1859
Winslow, Horace, 1841
Wisner, Christian, 1864
Wiswell, George F., 1844
Wolcott, John M., 1859
Wolfe, Aaron R., 1851
Wood, George I., 1838
Wood, James W., 1840
Wood, William, 1847
Woodbury, Francis P., 1864
Woodhull, George S., 1852
Woodin, Simeon F., 1859
Woodworth, Francis C., 1840
Wrage, Hermann D., 1860
Wright, Allen, 1855
Wright, Charles C., 1865
Wright, E. Monroe, 1842
Wright, Wesley P., 1855
Wright, William J., 1862
Wyckoff, James D., 1859
Wyckoff, Samuel, 1861

Young, Abraham T., 1842
Young, John R., 1845

Zelie, John S., 1854
Zielie, John J., 1847
Zivley, John H., 1847

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